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Volume 7

Philip J. Jaggar

Hausa

HAUSA

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Contents

List of Tables and Figures xxv
Preface xxvii
Cross-Referencing, Abbreviations, Symbols and Transcription xxix
Map xxxiv

1. Introduction 1
1. Previous Linguistic and Pedagogical Works on Hausa 3
2. Data Sources 4

2. Phonology 5
1. Introduction 5
2. Phonological Inventory 5
2.1. Consonants 5
2.2. Vowels and diphthongs 9
3. Tone 12
3.1. Fixed tone patterns 14
3.2. Tonal polarity 15
4. Intonation 16
4.1. Statements 16
4.2. Interrogative constructions 18
5. Word Structure and Phonotactics 20
6. Syllable Structure 23
7. Phonological Rules and Processes 25
7.1. Palatalization 25
7.2. Syllable-final sonorization 26
7.3. Gemination 28
7.4. Metathesis 28

3. Classification of Nouns 30
1. Introduction 30
2. Common Nouns 30
2.1. Dynamic nouns 30
2.2. Non-dynamic nouns 31
2.2.1. Count nouns 31
2.2.2. Collective nouns 32
2.2.3. Noncount nouns 33
2.3. Concrete vs. abstract nouns 34
2.4. Nouns with dual (dynamic/non-dynamic) class membership 35
3. Proper Nouns 35
3.1. Personal names 36
3.1.1. Islamic birth names (**sūnan yankā**) 36
3.1.2. Everyday names (**sūnan rānā**) 37
3.2. Personal names as common nouns 40
3.3. Hypocoristics 40
4. Titles 41
5. Geographical Names 42
5.1. Simple (non-derived) geographical names 43
5.2. Complex (derived) geographical names 43
5.3. Foreign geographical names 45
6. Temporal Names 46
7. Books, Newspapers 47

4. Simple Nouns and Adjectives: Gender and Number 48
1. Introduction 48
2. Gender 48
2.1. Geographical locations 53
2.2. O'clock hours, days of the week, and prayer-times 55
2.3. Months 55
2.4. Numerals 56
2.5. Time and place adverbs used as nouns 56

2.6. Feminine gender forms of nouns and/or adjectives 57
2.6.1. Derivation with **-nìyā** or **-anyà** suffix 57
2.6.2. Inflection with **-ā** suffix 58
3. Plurals of Nouns and Adjectives 61
3.1. Copying and reduplication 64
3.2. Class 1: **-āCē**)^{HLH} 66
3.2.1. Subclass 1a: **-āC$_f$ē**)^{HLH} 66
3.2.2. Subclass 1b: **-āyē**)^{HLH} 66
3.2.3. Subclass 1c: **-āC$_3$ē**)^{HLH} 67
3.3. Class 2: **-(ā)C$_f$ā**)^{HLH} 68
3.3.1. Subclass 2a: **-āC$_3$ā**)^{HLH} 68
3.3.2. Subclass 2b: **-C$_f$C$_f$-ā**)^{HLH} 68
3.3.3. Subclass 2c: **-āC$_f$ā**)^{HLH} 69
3.3.4. Subclass 2d: **-ā**)^{HLH} 69
3.4. Class 3: **-āC$_f$ū**)^{HLH} 70
3.4.1. Subclass 3a: **-āC$_3$ū**)^{HLH} 70
3.4.2. Subclass 3b: **-āC$_f$ū**)^{HLH} 70
3.5. Class 4: **-ōC$_f$ī**)^{H} 71
3.6. Class 5: **-uCā**)^{HL} 72
3.6.1. Subclass 5a: **-unā**)^{HL} 72
3.6.2. Subclass 5b: **-ukā**)^{HL} 73
3.6.3. Subclass 5c: **-uwā**)^{HL} 74
3.6.4. Subclass 5d: **-uC$_f$ā**)^{HL} 75
3.7. Class 6: **-akī/-a(i)kū**)^{LH} 76
3.7.1. Subclass 6a: -CVC-...**-akī**)^{HLHH} 76
3.7.2. Subclass 6b: -CVC-...**-aC$_f$ī**)^{HLHH} 77
3.8. Class 7: **-annī**)^{LH} 77
3.8.1. Subclass 7a: **-ēC$_f$anī**)^{HLHH} 78
3.8.2. Subclass 7b: **-ēC$_3$aC$_f$ī**)^{HLHH} 78
3.9. Class 8: **-ī**)^{LH} 78
3.10. Class 9: **-ū**)^{LH} 79
3.11. Class 10: **-ai**)^{LH} 80

3.11.1. Subclass 10a: CVC$_1$-ā-CVC$_1$**ai**)^{LH} 81
3.12. Class 11: **-ā**)^{H} 82
3.13. Class 12: **-āwā**)$^{LH/H}$ (ethnonymic plurals) 82
3.14. Class 13: Fully-reduplicated plurals (singular noun x 2) 83
3.15. Class 14: "Repetitive-frequentative" plurals (**-e**)^{LH} x 2) 84
3.16. Cross-class plural membership 88
3.17. "Plurals-on-plurals" and plurals reanalyzed as singulars 88
3.18. Different singulars → homophonous plurals 89
3.19. Zero-plurals 90

5. Nominal and Adjectival Derivation 91
1. Introduction 91
2. Suffixal Derivation 91
2.1. Abstract nouns (**-(VN)TA, -(VN)CI,** and **-(VN)TAKA**) 92
2.1.1. **-(VN)TA** (= **-(Vn)tā** and/or **-(Vn)tà**) 92
2.1.2. **-(VN)CI**)$^{H/HL}$ (= **-(an)cī**)^{H} or **-(Vn)cì**)^{HL}) 94
2.1.3. **-(VN)TAKA**)^{LHL} (= **-(Vn)takà**)^{LHL}) 97
2.2. Mutuality/reciprocity (**-ayyà**)^{LHL} and/or **-ēCɓēnìyā**)^{LHHLH}) 98
2.3. Politico-religious systems, movements, etc. (**-iyyà**)^{LHL}) 99
2.4. Related characteristics (**-au**)^{LH}) 100
2.5. Deverbal nouns denoting games (**-e**)^{H}) 102
2.6. "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality" (**-ī**)^{H}) 103
2.7. Ideophonic sound/movement nouns (**-niyā**)$^{LL\text{-}HH}$ or X x 2)$^{LL\text{-}HH}$) 106
3. Prefixal Derivation 107
3.1. Agential, instrumental and locative nouns formed with the prefix **ma-** 107
3.1.1. Agential nouns (**ma**-X-**ī**)^{LH}) 108
3.1.2. Instrumental nouns (**ma-**X-**ī**)^{H}) 111
3.1.3. Locative nouns (**ma-**X-**ā/ī**)^{H}) 111
3.2. Ethnonyms ("persons from X") formed with the prefix **bà-** 113

4. Nominal Compounding 117
4.1. Structure and phonology 117
4.2. Compound gender and number 124
4.3. **Ban**-compounds 126
5. Frozen Reduplicated Nouns 127
5.1. Reduplication of stem syllable(s) 127
5.2. Full reduplication (X x 2) 130
6. Derived Adjectives 131
6.1. Past participial adjectives (**-aC$_f$C$_f$ē**)^{LHH} 131
6.2. Diminutive ideophonic adjectives (**C$_1$īC$_2$īC$_2$ī**)^{LHL} 133
6.3. "Negative-defective" adjectives (CV(V)-C$_i$VV$_j$C$_i$VV$_j$) 134
6.4. Augmentative adjectives (**-ī**)^{H}, **-ēC$_f$è**)^{HL}, etc.) 135
6.4.1. A-type (CVCCVC- + **-ī**)^{H}) 136
6.4.2. B-type (CVVC- or CVCC- + **-ēC$_f$è**)^{HL}) 137
6.4.3. C-type (X-CVC x 2-**ī**)^{LHLH}) 138
6.4.4. Syntactic functions 139
6.4.5. Reduplicated augmentative adjectives 140
6.5. Intensive sensory adjectives (CVC-X-**ā**)^{LHH}) 141
6.6. Compound adjectives 142
6.7. Fully-reduplicated adjectives (stem-V x 2) 143
6.7.1. Reduplicated denominal adjectives ("X-like", "X-y") 143
6.7.2. Reduplicated adjectives ("X-ish") 144
6.8. Agential adjectives (**ma**-X-**ī**) 146
6.9. Ethnonymic adjectives (**bà-**) 147

6. Tense, Aspect, Mood (TAM) System 148
1. An Overview of the TAM System 148
2. Tense and Aspect 154
3. Perfective 155
3.1. Forms 156
3.2. Functions 156
4. Focus Perfective 161

4.1. Forms 161
4.2. Functions 161
5. Negative Perfective 165
5.1. Forms 165
5.2. Functions 165
6. Imperfective 167
6.1. Forms 168
6.2. Functions 168
6.2.1. Verbal predicates 168
6.2.2. Non-verbal stative predicates 172
7. Focus Imperfective-1 173
7.1. Forms 173
7.2. Functions 173
8. Focus Imperfective-2 175
8.1. Forms 175
8.2. Functions 176
9. Negative Imperfective (**bā**...) and Negative-HAVE Imperfective (**bâ**...) 178
9.1. Forms of the Negative Imperfective and Negative-HAVE Imperfective 179
9.2. Functions of the Negative Imperfective and Negative-HAVE Imperfective 179
10. Habitual and Negative Habitual 181
10.1. Forms 181
10.2. Functions 182
11. Subjunctive and Negative Subjunctive 183
11.1. Forms 184
11.2. Functions 184
12. The Neutral Ø-TAM Paradigm 191
13. Future and Negative Future 193
13.1. Forms 194
13.2. Functions 194

14. Allative and Negative Allative 197
14.1. Forms 198
14.2. Functions 198
15. Potential and Negative Potential 200
15.1. Forms 200
15.2. Functions 201
16. Rhetorical 204
16.1. Forms 205
16.2. Functions 205
17. The (4pl) Impersonal Subject Pronoun 207

7. Verb Grades 212
1. Introduction: "Verb Grades" 212
1.1. Tones 215
1.2. Verb-final vowel length 217
2. Primary Grades (Grades 0-3) 219
2.1. Grade 0 (basic verbs) 219
2.1.1. Grade 0 **Ci**-monoverbs 220
2.1.2. Grade 0 **Cā**-monoverbs and HH **CiCā** verbs 221
2.1.3. "Pseudo-monoverbs" (gr0*) 222
2.2. Grade 1 (basic verbs, applicatives) 224
2.2.1. Form 224
2.2.2. Function and meaning 226
2.2.2.1. Basic verbs 226
2.2.2.2. Applicative verbs 227
2.2.2.3. Applicatives with indirect objects 228
2.2.2.4. Denominal grade 1 verbs 229
2.3. Grade 2 (basic transitive verbs, partitives) 230
2.3.1. Form 230
2.3.2. Function and meaning 234
2.3.2.1. Basic verbs 234
2.3.2.2. Partitives 235

2.4. Grade 3 (basic intransitive verbs) 236
2.4.1. Form 236
2.4.1.1. Grade 3 (LH(L) **-a**) 236
2.4.1.2. Grade 3a (HH **-a**) 238
2.4.1.3. Grade 3b (HL **-i, -u, -a**) 238
2.4.2. Function and meaning 239
3. Secondary Grades (Grades 4, 5, 6, 7) 241
3.1. Grade 4 (totality-conclusive, separative-deprivative, unaccusative) 242
3.1.1. Form 243
3.1.2. Function and meaning 244
3.1.2.1. Totality-conclusive 245
3.1.2.2. Separative-deprivative 245
3.1.2.3. Unaccusatives 246
3.1.2.4. Basic grade 4 verbs [- primary grade] 247
3.2. Grade 5 ("efferential" = action directed out and away) 248
3.2.1. Form 249
3.2.1.1. Grade 5 short forms 250
3.2.1.2. Final **-shē** B-form before direct object pronouns 252
3.2.2. Function and meaning 252
3.2.2.1. Intransitive-based gr5s 253
3.2.2.2. Transitive-based gr5s 254
3.2.2.3. Grade 5 verbs with indirect object complements 255
3.3. Grade 6 ("ventive-centripetal" = motion "hither") 256
3.3.1. Form 257
3.3.2. Function and meaning 258
3.4. Grade 7 ("affected-subject") 260
3.4.1. Form 261
3.4.2. Function and meaning 262
3.4.2.1. Affected-subject = semantic patient 262
3.4.2.2. Affected-subject = (human) actor and/or experiencer 265

4. Grade/Extension Stacking 267
5. Verbs (Grs 2, 3, 7) which Switch to an Extension or other Grade before Indirect Objects 269
5.1. The pre-indirect object **-ař**)^{H} D-suffix 270
5.2. Grade-switching before indirect objects 272
6. Verbalizing Suffix **-TA** (= **-(A)TA** or **-VNTA**) 275
6.1. **-(A)TA** (= **-ta, -ata, -āta**) 276
6.2. **-VNTA** (= **-anta** or **-unta**) 278
7. "Pluractional" Verbs 279

8. Verbal Nouns, Deverbal Nouns and Infinitives 285
1. Introduction 285
2. Verbal Nouns 286
3. Infinitive Phrases 288
4. "Weak" vs. "Strong" Verbal Nouns 289
5. Regular Weak and Strong Verbal Nouns 292
5.1. Weak verbal nouns (WVNs) with the suffix **-ˋwā** 292
5.2. Strong verbal nouns (SVNs) 294
5.2.1. Regular strong verbal nouns 294
5.2.2. Irregular strong verbal nouns 297
5.2.2.1. Class 1 = final **-ā** 298
5.2.2.2. Class 2 = final **-ī** 300
5.2.2.3. Class 3 = final **-ē** 300
5.2.2.4. Class 4 = final **-ō** 300
5.2.2.5. Class 5 = final **-ū** 301
5.2.2.6. Class 6 = SVNs with feminine suffix **-iyā** or **-uwā** 301
6. Verbs with More than one Verbal Noun 301
7. Deverbal Nouns (DVNs) 303
7.1. DVN = weak verbal noun with the suffix **-ˋwā** 305
7.2. DVN = regular strong verbal noun 306
7.3. DVN = irregular strong verbal noun 306

7.4. DVNs with the feminine suffix **-iyā** or **-uwā** 309
7.5. Verbs with more than one DVN 309

9. Noun Phrase Syntax 310
1. Introduction 310
2. Determiners 312
2.1. Specific indefinite determiner (SID) **wani/wata/wa(ɗan)su** (m./f./pl.) 312
2.1.1. Specific indefinite determiner = pronoun 315
2.2. The definite determiner (DD) suffix **-ˆn/-ˆr̃/-ˆn** (m./f./pl.) 316
2.2.1. Anaphoric **ɗîn** 'the/that one in focus/question' 321
2.3. Demonstratives 323
2.4. Independent pronouns as pre-head determiners 330
2.5. Genitive constructions 332
2.5.1. Independent "free" possessives **na(a)/ta(a)/na(a)** (m./f./pl.) 332
2.5.2. Bound genitives **-n/-r̃/-n** (m./f./pl.) 335
2.5.3. Possessive **ɗin** 340
2.5.3.1. Following (NP+) numerals 340
2.5.3.2. Following consonant-final nouns and unassimilated loanwords 340
2.6. Generic reference 341
3. Adjectives 342
3.1. Attributive adjectives (pre- or postnominal) 343
3.2. Posthead only attributive adjectives 347
3.3. Predicate adjectives 348
3.4. Adjectives as heads of elliptical NPs 348
3.5. Diminutive prehead modifier **ɗa-n** ('son-of'), etc. 349
3.6. Adjectival phrases 349
3.7. Adjectival modifiers formed with connective **mài/màsu** and **maràs/maràsā** + NP 350
3.8. Noun + non-specific **kàzā** 'such-and-such' 355

3.9. Noun + prepositional phrase 356
3.10. Comparison with attributive **mafì** phrases 357
4. Numerals and other Quantifiers 358
4.1. Cardinal numbers 358
4.2. Ordinal numbers 363
4.3. Fractions 365
4.4. Dates and clock-times 365
4.5. Percentages and decimals 366
4.6. Multal ('many, much') and paucal ('a few, a little') quantifier expressions 367
5. Universal Quantifiers (Determiners and Pronouns) 370
5.1. Universal-distributive **kō-**...*wh*-word determiners ('every, each X') 370
5.2. Universal-distributive **kō**...*wh*-word proforms ('everyone, everything' etc.) 371
5.3. Negation and **kō-***wh* expressions ('no one, nothing', 'not everyone, not everything') 374
5.4. Universal-collective quantifier **DUK** ('all') 375
5.4.1. **DUK** = determiner 376
5.4.2. **DUK** = pronoun 379
5.4.3. **DUK** = adverb 380
6. Reflexives and Reciprocals 381
6.1. Reflexives 381
6.1.1. Basic reflexives 381
6.1.2. Emphatic reflexives 385
6.2. Reciprocals 389
7. Non-specific Pronouns ('so-and-so') 390
8. NP Coordination 391
8.1. 'And' = **dà** 391
8.2. 'Or' = **kō** 394
8.3. 'But' = **àmmā** or **sai dai** 395

9. Apposition 396
9.1. Right dislocation 399

10. Personal Non-Subject Pronouns 401
1. Introduction 401
2. Personal Pronoun Sets 402
2.1. Independent pronouns 404
2.2. Object pronouns 406
2.2.1. Strong (H tone) object pronouns 406
2.2.2. Weak (L tone) object pronouns 407
2.3. Indirect object pronouns 409
2.4. Free possessive pronouns 410
2.5. Bound genitive pronouns 411
2.6. Reflexives 413
2.7. Reciprocals 413

11. The Syntax of Simplex Clauses 414
1. Introduction: Simple Sentence Types 414
2. Simple Declarative Verbal Sentences 414
2.1. Clause structure elements 415
2.1.1. Subject 415
2.1.2. Person-aspect-complex (PAC) 416
2.1.3. Verb phrase and major clause types 417
3. Syntactic Classification of Verbs 420
3.1. Transitive verbs 420
3.1.1. Monotransitive verbs (SVO_d) 420
3.1.2. Ditransitive verbs (SVO_iO_d) 421
3.1.3. SVO_dComp 423
3.2. Efferential (grade 5) verbs 424
3.3. Intransitive verbs 425
3.3.1. Subject = actor 425
3.3.2. Subject = affected participant 425

3.3.3. Simple intransitive verbs (mainly gr3) 426
3.3.4. Unaccusatives (mainly gr4) 426
3.3.5. Affected-subject gr7 verbs (including semantic passives) 426
3.4. Transitive/intransitive verbs 427
3.5. Copular verbs 428
3.6. "Dative" verbs 429
3.7. Phrasal verbs (**yi** 'do' + dynamic noun, or **yi** or **ji** 'feel' + emotion noun) 430
3.8. Sociative verbs (verb + preposition **dà** 'with') 432
4. Imperative 435
4.1. LH tone Imperatives 437
4.1.1. LH Imperative (zero object) A-form 437
4.1.2. Imperatives of sociative verbs (= LH A-form + **dà** + NP) 440
4.1.3. LH Imperative B-form (with pronoun direct object) 440
4.1.4. LH Imperative C-form (with noun direct object) 443
4.1.5. LH Imperative D-form (with indirect object) 444
4.2. All L tone Imperatives (grades 1 and 4 C-forms) 446
4.3. Imperatives of monosyllabic verbs 446
4.3.1. A-form (zero object) Imperative = H tone 447
4.3.2. B-form Imperative = LH tone on [verb-pronoun] 448
4.3.3. C-form Imperative = H tone 449
4.3.4. D-form Imperative = L tone (occasionally H) 450
4.4. Special Imperatives 'come!' and 'go!' 451
5. Negation of Verbal Clauses (= **bà**(**a**) VP **ba**) 451
5.1. Position of the second ...**ba** 452
6. Non-verbal Clauses 457
6.1. Non-verbal clauses [-TAM] 457
6.1.1. Equational (X = Y) and identificational (= Y) sentences 457
6.1.2. Identificational and equational sentences with emphatic **kè nan** 463
6.1.3. Existential sentences 464
6.1.4. Presentational sentences 468

6.2. Non-verbal sentences with an Imperfective TAM 469
6.2.1. Possessive HAVE predicate 470
6.2.2. Locative adverb predicate 472
6.2.3. Stative predicate 472
6.2.4. Equational-like NP predicate 472
7. Comparison and Equivalence 473
7.1. Higher degree comparison 474
7.2. Equivalent degree comparison 477
7.3. Lesser degree comparison 478
7.4. Sufficiency ('be enough') and excess ('be too X') 478
7.5. 'So X (that)' comparison 479
8. Indirect Objects 480
8.1. Postponement of a heavy indirect object NP 485
9. Exclamations, Interjections, Greetings, etc. 486
9.1. Exclamations of contempt/dismissiveness (X + **-ō**)^{H} (+ **matà**)) 488
9.2. Formulae (greetings, responses, etc.) 490
9.3. Interjections 491
9.4. Derivative exclamations **-i**)$^{HL(H)}$ 491

12. Focus, Questions, Relativization and Topicalization 493
1. Introduction 493
2. Focus 493
2.1. Focus fronting 494
2.2. In situ focus 496
2.3. Negation 498
2.4. Focus-fronting and syntactic function 499
2.5. Focus in nonverbal equational (and identificational) constructions 505
2.6. Pseudo-cleft constructions 507
2.7. Sentence-level emphasis (with copula **nē/nề** or **kề nan**) 508
2.8. Focus with particles ('only', 'just', 'even', 'at least', etc.) 511
3. Questions and Question-Words 512

3.1. *Wh*-questions 513
3.1.1. Who, whom, whose? = (m) **wà, wằnē nè, wằyê,** (f) **wằcē cè,** (pl) **su-wà, su-wằnē nè, su-wằyê** 513
3.1.2. What? = (m) **mè, mènē nè, mèyê,** (f) **mècē cè** 515
3.1.3. Which/what X(s)? = determiner **wànè** (m), **wàcè** (f), **wàɗànnè** (pl); which one(s)? = pronoun **wànnē** (m), **wàccē** (f), **wàɗànnē** (pl) 516
3.1.4. Where? = **ìnā** 517
3.1.5. When? = **yàushē** or **yàushè** 518
3.1.6. How? = **yằyà** (also **ƙằƙà**) 519
3.1.7. How many/much? = **nawà** 519
3.1.8. Why? = **don mè, sabòdà mè,** or **mè ya sâ** 520
3.2. *Wh*-movement and syntactic function 520
3.3. *Wh*-elements in situ 522
3.4. *Yes-no* questions 523
3.5. Alternative (**kō**) X **kō** Y questions 526
4. Relative Clauses 526
4.1. Restrictive relative clauses 526
4.1.1. Extracted item: deletion or resumptive pronoun in the base position? 533
4.2. Nonrestrictive relative clauses 536
5. Topicalization 538

13. Clausal Complements 545
1. Introduction 545
2. Implicative Verbs 545
2.1. Self-inducement aspectual verbs (= same-subject, nonfinite complement) 546
2.1.1. Aspectual verbs (+ **yîn**) + dynamic action nouns or abstract nouns 550
2.2. Manipulative (different-subject) verbs 552
2.2.1. Causative constructions 552

2.2.2. Permissive and prohibitive constructions 559
3. Non-Implicative Verbs 561
3.1. Verbs of emotion, intention, attempt and command 561
3.1.1. Self-inducive verbs (with nonfinite and/or Subjunctive TAM complements) 561
3.1.2. Self-inducive or manipulative verbs (with nonfinite and/or Subjunctive or Future TAM complements) 564
3.1.3. Manipulative COMMAND verbs (Subjunctive TAM complements only) 566
3.2. Mental verbs (of cognition and perception) 567
3.3. Complement-taking verbs with overt complementizers (**dà** and/or **cêwā**) 569
4. Matrix Phrase = (Modal) Complement-Taking Expression 570
4.1. CTE = intransitive verb 571
4.2. CTE = phrasal verb (**yi/fi** + qualitative noun) 572
4.3. CTE = HAVE ('be with') + qualitative noun 573
4.4. CTE = transitive verb phrase 573
4.5. CTE = identificational 575
4.6. CTE = HAPPEN verb 576
4.7. CTE negation and *yes-no* questions 576
4.8. Extraction from within the complement clause 577
4.9. Extraction from within the matrix clause 579
5. Extraposition and "Tough Movement" 580
6. Direct and Indirect (Reported) Speech 582
6.1. Indirect statements 583
6.2. Indirect questions (**kō** + *wh*-question or *yes-no* question) 584
6.3. Indirect commands, etc. 587
7. Cognate Complements (Verb...(De)verbal Noun) 588
7.1. Cognate complement = adverbial 589
7.2. Cognate complement = direct object 590
7.3. Cognate complement = objective (genitive) phrase 591

14. Clausal Coordination and Subordination 592
1. Introduction 592
2. Clause Coordination 592
2.1. 'And' = Ø or **kuma** 592
2.2. 'Or' = **kō** 598
2.3. 'But' = **àmmā** or **sai** (**dai**) 599
2.4. Ellipsis and substitution within clausal coordination 601
2.5. The pro-form **hakà** 'so, thus, this, etc.' 603
2.6. The combination pro-verb **yi** 'do' + **hakà** 'so, thus' (= 'do so') 604
3. Subordinate Adverbial Clauses and Subordinators 604
3.1. Finite, nonfinite and nonverbal subordinate clauses 605
3.2. Subordinators 606
3.3. Conditional and concessive conditional clauses 608
3.3.1. Open conditionals (**ìdan/in** 'if/when') 608
3.3.2. Counterfactual-hypothetical conditionals ((**in**) **dà̀**...**dà̀** 'if...then') 611
3.3.3. Concessive conditionals (**kō** (**dà̀**) 'even if') 613
3.3.4. Generic conditional-concessives (**kō**-*wh* word = '*wh*...ever', etc.) 615
3.3.5. Concessive clauses 621
3.4. Temporal clauses ('when', 'as soon as', 'while', 'until', 'after', 'before', etc.) 623
3.4.1. Matrix clause time = BEFORE subordinate clause time ('until', 'before') 623
3.4.1.1. 'Until' 623
3.4.1.2. 'Before' 625
3.4.2. Matrix clause time = SIMULTANEOUS with subordinate clause time ('when', 'while/as', 'as long as') 626
3.4.3. Matrix clause time = AFTER subordinate clause time ('after', 'when', 'as soon as', 'since', '(not) until', etc.) 628
3.4.3.1. 'When' (lit. the time that) 628
3.4.3.2. '(Not) until' 630

3.4.3.3. 'After' 631
3.4.3.4. 'Since' (temporal) 632
3.4.3.5. 'As soon as, once, the moment, etc.' 633
3.4.3.5.1. Clauses introduced by **kō dà** 'as soon as' 633
3.4.3.5.2. Clauses with the correlatives **kè̀ nan...sai** 'no sooner/just...when' or **kè̀ dà wùyā...sai** 'hardly...when' 634
3.4.3.5.3. Prepositional nonfinite VP with **dà** 'with' or **dàgà** 'from' ('just as soon as', etc.) 635
3.4.3.5.4. Clauses introduced by **dà (zārař)** 'as soon as, the moment', etc. 636
3.5. Reason ('because, since') and purpose ('in order to') clauses 636
3.5.1. Reason ('because, since') clauses 637
3.5.2. Purpose ('in order to, so that') clauses 640
3.6. Clauses of preference ('rather than') and comparison ('as if, like') 641

15. Adverbial Functions: Adverb Phrases, Prepositional Phrases, Noun Phrases 643
1. Introduction 643
2. Adverb Phrases 643
2.1. Forms and meanings 644
2.1.1. Simple adverbs 644
2.1.1.1. Deictic adverbs **NAN/CAN** (space or time) 645
2.1.2. Compound adverbs 647
2.1.3. Prepositional phrases and other phrasal adverbs 647
2.1.4. Denominal adverbs (space and time) 649
2.1.5. Deverbal adverbial statives (**-e**)^{LH} 651
2.1.6. Fully reduplicated adverbs 656
2.1.6.1. Reduplication = intensification 656

2.1.6.2. Reduplication = detensification 657
2.1.7. NPs as adverbs 657
2.1.7.1. Distributives 658
2.2. Syntactic functions 659
2.2.1. Locative adverbial phrases 659
2.2.2. Postmodifying adverbs 660
2.2.3. Position of adverbs 661
2.2.4. Adverbial intensifiers 663
2.2.4.1. Upscalers 663
2.2.4.2. Downscalers 664
2.2.4.3. Focus adverbs 665
2.2.5. Adverbs functioning as NPs 667
3. Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases (PPs) 667
3.1. Simple prepositions 668
3.2. Complex prepositions (formed with comitative/instrumental **dà** 'with') 673
3.3. Genitive prepositions (= noun or adverb + genitive linker) 674
4. Negation (**bà**...**ba**) of Adverbs and Prepositional Phrases 677
5. Adverbial Conjuncts and Disjuncts 678
6. Modal Particles 679
6.1. Multiple occurrences of modal particles 685
6.2 Position of modal particles 686
7. Ideophones 689
7.1. Structure and phonology 689
7.1.1. Monosyllabic ideophones 690
7.1.2. Disyllabic ideophones 691
7.1.3. Trisyllabic ideophones 691
7.1.4. Fully-reduplicated ideophones (X x 2) 691
7.2. Function 692
7.2.1. Ideophones as adverbs 693
7.2.2. Ideophones as post-head adjectives 695
7.2.3. Ideophones as NPs 696

7.2.3.1. Ideophone = noun in phrasal verb headed by **yi** 'do' 697

16. Selected Texts 698
1. Introduction: Writing Systems 698
2. Texts 704

References 715

Index 740

Tables and Figures

Tables

1. Hausa consonant inventory 6
2. Hausa vowels and diphthongs 9
3. Major plural classes 63
4. Agential nouns 108
5. Past participial adjectives 132
6. Hausa tense, aspect and mood paradigms (affirmative and negative) 153
7. Perfective 155
8. Focus Perfective 161
9. Negative Perfective 165
10. Imperfective 168
11. Focus Imperfective-1 173
12. Focus Imperfective-2 175
13. Negative Imperfective and Negative-HAVE Imperfective 178
14. Habitual and Negative Habitual 181
15. Subjunctive and Negative Subjunctive 184
16. Future and Negative Future 193
17. Allative and Negative Allative 198
18. Potential and Negative Potential 200
19. Rhetorical 205
20. The verb grade system 214
21. Morphosyntactic classification of verbal nouns 291
22. Simple noun phrases 311
23. Demonstratives 324
24. Universal-distributive **kō**...*wh*-forms 370
25. Reflexive pronouns 381
26. Reciprocal pronouns 389
27. Non-specific pronouns ('so-and-so') 390
28. Non-subject personal pronouns 403
29. The **àjàmi** alphabet 700

Figures

1. Statement intonation 17
2. *Wh*-question intonation 18
3. *Yes-no* question intonation (with final L tone) 19
4. *Yes-no* question intonation (with final H tone) 19

Preface

This book is the end product of many years of study. My interest in the Hausa language was initially inspired by David W. Arnott, Jack Carnochan, and especially the late F.W. ('Freddie') Parsons in the mid 1960s, when they were teaching in the Africa Department of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. Other academic institutions which have generously supported my Hausa studies over the years include Bayero University Kano (formerly Abdullahi Bayero College), the University of Hamburg (Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen), the University of California at Los Angeles (Department of Linguistics), and Indiana University (Department of Linguistics and Institute for the Study of Nigerian Languages and Cultures). Colleagues who played key roles in my association with the above universities include the late Muhammad Kabir Mahmud Galadanci, Paul Newman, Russell Schuh, and Ekkehard Wolff.

I first started serious work on this grammar in 1994, with generous financial assistance from the SOAS Research Committee (Grant IRP 257) and the British Academy, whose support is gratefully acknowledged. I had conveniently been granted a year's sabbatical research leave by SOAS and was invited by Paul Newman to work with him in the Department of Linguistics and Institute for the Study of Nigerian Languages and Cultures, Indiana University, Bloomington. At the time Paul was preparing his own recently published grammar of Hausa—*The Hausa Language: An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar* (2000). My own book was originally supposed to be in the 300-page range, but in the course of working closely with Paul, I gradually realized (with apologies to my editors and publishers!) that if I was to do justice to our knowledge and understanding of the language, the final product would be far in excess. Paul generously shared all his Hausa materials, ideas and insights with me, provided me with office space and a computer, and my debt to him is incalculable. Although we were co-workers, I learned more about the inner workings of Hausa from him than he ever did from me. Just as importantly, I

had read through and commented on an earlier draft of his book and so had this foundational study in my sights throughout the later production stages of my own work. This meant that whenever I was struggling to formulate an analysis, or needed to organize or verify some facts, I had the advantage of being able to turn to his superb grammar. If that didn't work (which was rare), then an e-mail message would usually elicit a prompt and full response, even if our views didn't always coincide. Paul subsequently returned the favour, carefully reading, correcting and providing constructive criticism on the entire manuscript. Paul (Malam Sabo), you more than paid me back!

I should also mention three other excellent books which I regularly consulted as models—Randolph Quirk et al.'s *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985), Russell G. Schuh's *A Grammar of Miya* (1998), and H. Ekkehard Wolff's *Referenzgrammatik des Hausa* (1993).

Throughout the project I have also been supported in many different ways by various people. Numerous Hausa-speakers have readily cooperated in a patient and informed manner, often providing acute insights into their language, but I am especially indebted to Mustapha Ahmad, Bello Bada, Malami Buba, Saleh Haliru, Umar Yusuf Karaye, Usman Mohammed, Muhammed Munkaila, Magaji Tsoho, and Lawal Danladi Yalwa. I received expert (and at times almost life-saving!) computer support from Jahan Latif, Scott Lerwill, Michael Mann, Junaid Minar, Rob Wilson (all at SOAS), and Wayne Martin (Indiana University). Teresa Keller and Ann Baker also kindly provided invaluable practical assistance while I was based at Indiana University, which was itself a hospitable and generous host institution. My thanks also go to Catherine Lawrence for producing the map. Isja Conen of John Benjamins Publishing Company supervised the technical preparation of the camera-ready manuscript, and Theodora Bynon was a model editor, both patient and professional, and commented in detail on earlier drafts of the book. Other friends and colleagues who have provided advice, friendship and encouragement throughout include Barbara Bradford, Graham Furniss, Roxana Ma Newman, John Saeed, Muaadh Salih, Russell Schuh, and Ekkehard Wolff.

Cross-Referencing, Abbreviations, Symbols, and Transcription

Cross-Referencing

A number in bold following a section mark (§) indicates a chapter number, e.g. §**14** = Chapter **14**, and a number in plain type following a chapter number and colon refers to a specific section in the chapter, e.g. §**14**:2.1 = Chapter **14**, section 2.1. A reference in plain type, i.e. with no preceding boldface number, indicates a section in the current chapter, e.g. §3.2 = section 3.2 of the current chapter.

Abbreviations and Symbols

adj	adjective	DVN	deverbal noun
adv	adverb	Eng.	English
ALLAT	Allative (TAM)	EXIST	existential
Ar.	Arabic	F	falling tone
AV	aspectual verb	f(em)	feminine
C	consonant	FOC	focus
COMP	complementizer or complement	FOC-IMPF	Focus Imperfective (TAM)
COP	copula	FOC-PF	Focus Perfective (TAM)
CTE	complement-taking expression	Ful.	Fulani
DD	definite determiner	FUT	Future (TAM)
DEM	demonstrative	G	geminate consonant
dial.	dialect variant	gr1, gr2...	grade 1, grade 2 etc. (verb)
d.o.	direct object		

H	high tone
HAB	Habitual (TAM)
HAVE	'have' construction
ICP	Intransitive Copy Pronoun
IMPER	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective (TAM)
intr.	intransitive
i.o.	indirect object
IOM	indirect object marker
IP	infinitive phrase
Kan.	Kanuri
L	low tone
lit.	literally
LTR	low tone raising
m(asc)	masculine
MAI	morpheme indicating 'possessing/doing X'
mat	matrix clause
MP	modal particle
n	noun
NEG	negative
NEG EXIST	negative existential
NEUT	Neutral (TAM)
NP	noun phrase
obj	object
PAC	person-aspect complex
PART	particle
PF	Perfective (TAM)
pl.	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	Potential (TAM)
PP	prepositional phrase
pred	predicate
prep	preposition
PRESENT	presentative
pro	pronoun
q	question morpheme
RC	relative clause
REL	relativizer
RELPRO	relative pronoun
RHET	Rhetorical (TAM)
S	sentence
SAP	subject-agreement pronoun
sg.	singular
SH	Standard (Kano) Hausa
SID	specific indefinite determiner
SJN	Subjunctive (TAM)
soc-verb	sociative verb
s'one	someone
STAT	stative
s'th	something
subj	subject
SVN	strong verbal noun

TAM	tense-aspect-mood	vdat	dative verb
tr.	transitive	vintr.	intransitive verb
Tuar.	Tuareg	VN	verbal noun
UNIV	universal	VP	verb phrase
V	vowel	vtr.	transitive verb
v1, v2...	verb grade 1, verb grade 2, etc.	WH	Western Hausa
		WVN	weak verbal noun
v*	irregular verb	Yor.	Yoruba

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
4	4th person
/.../	phonemic representation
[...]	phonetic representation
*	ungrammatical or reconstructed form
?	marginally acceptable/grammatical
<	comes from
</=	derived from and semantically equivalent to
=	equivalent to
≠	not equivalent to
→	changes to
[T±]	tonal polarity

Morphological Glosses

Interlinear glosses are provided for Hausa examples where clarification of the morphological structure is required. Separate morphemes within a word are indicated either with a period/full stop or with a hyphen in cases where

indicating a specific morpheme boundary is relevant to the analysis (and with a matching hyphen in the Hausa word). Examples:

sunà wucè-wā	'they are passing by'
3pl.IMPF pass by-VN	
nā ga mōtà-ř-sà	'I saw his car'
1sg.PF see car-of-3m	

In some cases, in order to avoid redundancy and reduce space, morphological glosses are provided only for the first few examples in a set, e.g.

nā ci gōřò	'I ate/have eaten a kolanut'
1sg.PF eat kolanut	
sun isō	'they (have) arrived'
3pl.PF arrive	
kin gamà aikìn?	'have you finished/did you finish the work?'
bàƙī sun zō	'the guests came/have come'

Transcription

Hausa examples are all written in standard Hausa orthography (§**16**), with the addition of the following phonological features:

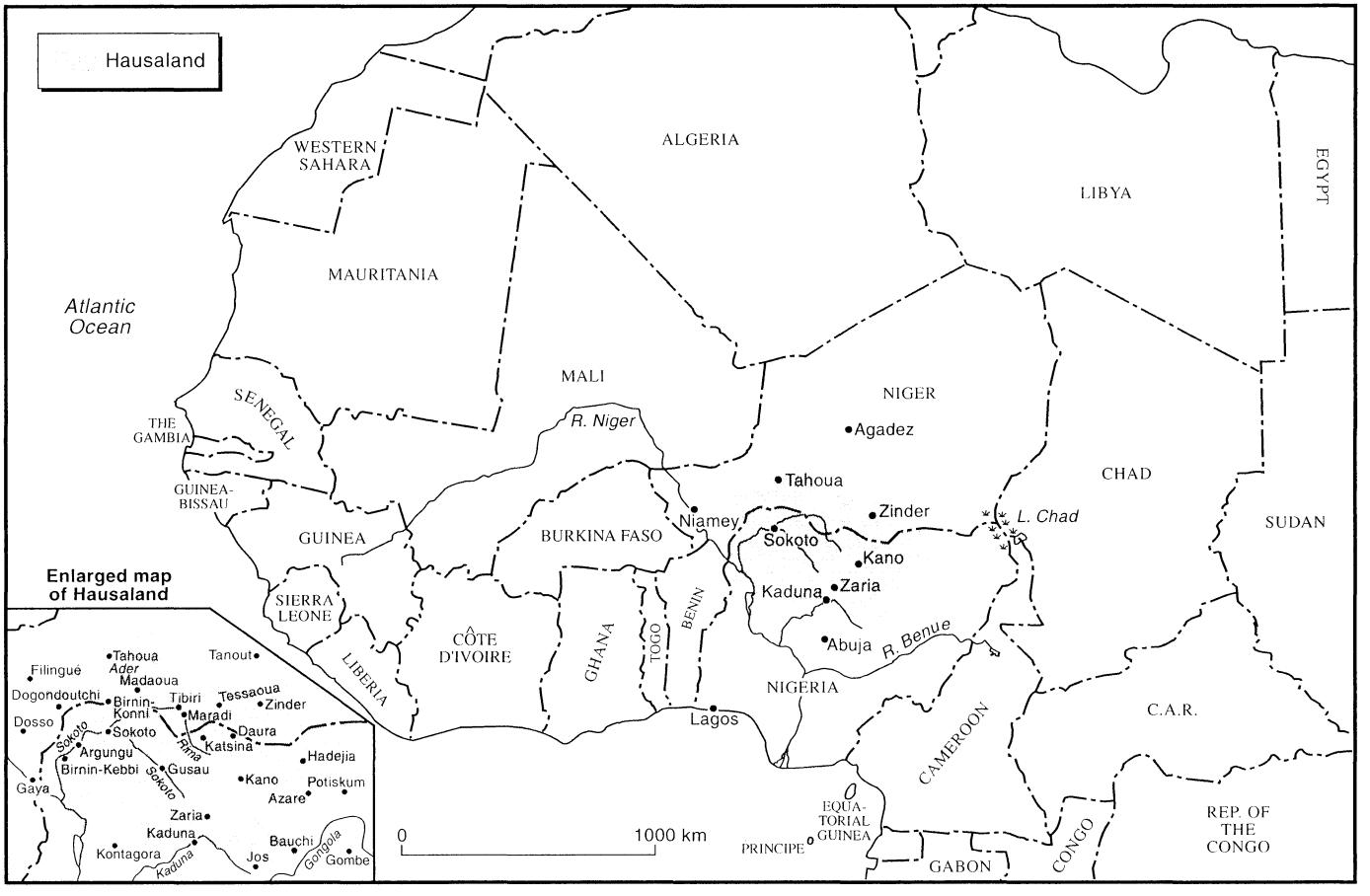
1. Long vowels are marked with a macron, e.g. **gīwā** 'elephant' (with long /**ī**/ and /**ā**/)—cf. **ɗaya** 'one' (with short /**a**/ in both syllables). When needed, double vowels are used to indicate that a vowel can occur either long or short, e.g. negative **bà(a)** = long /**à**/ or short /**à**/. (See §**2**:2.2, including Table 2.)
2. Low tone is marked with a grave accent, e.g. **àbù** 'thing', **dàgà** 'from'; Falling tone (heavy syllables only) is indicated with a circumflex, e.g.

kwântā 'lie down', **yârā** 'boys'; High tone is unmarked, e.g. **kīfī** 'fish' and **ɗaya** 'one' both have High High tones. (See §**2**:3.)

3. The distinction between the two rhotics is marked: **r** = retroflex flap [ɽ], **r̃** = alveolar tap/roll, cf. **rìgā** 'gown' and **tař̃à** 'nine'. (See §**2**:2.1.)

Consonants

ɓ, ɗ = laryngealized (often implosive) bilabial and alveolar stops
ƙ = glottalized velar ejective
ts = ejective alveolar sibilant
'y = laryngealized palatal glide
' = glottal stop [ʔ]
c, j = voiceless and voiced alveopalatal affricates [tʃ] and [ʤ]
sh = voiceless alveopalatal fricative [ʃ]
r̃ = alveolar tap/roll
r = retroflex flap [ɽ]
fy, ky, gy, ƙy = palatalized unit phonemes
kw, gw, ƙw = labialized unit phonemes
(See Table 1 in §**2**:2.1 for a complete inventory of consonants.)


Hausaland
WESTERN SAHARA
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
MAURITANIA
Atlantic Ocean
MALI
NIGER
SENEGAL
THE GAMBIA
R. Niger
Agadez
Tahoua
CHAD
GUINEA-BISSAU
Niamey
Zinder
L. Chad
SUDAN
GUINEA
BURKINA FASO
Sokoto
Kano
Kaduna
Zaria
Enlarged map of Hausaland
SIERRA LEONE
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
GHANA
TOGO
BENIN
Abuja
R. Benue
LIBERIA
NIGERIA
Lagos
CAMEROON
C.A.R.
EQUA-TORIAL GUINEA
PRINCIPE
GABON
CONGO
REP. OF THE CONGO
0
1000 km
Filingué
Tahoua
Ader
Tanout
Madaoua
Dogondoutchi
Birnin-Konni
Tibiri
Tessaoua
Zinder
Maradi
Dosso
Sokoto
Daura
Katsina
Hadejia
Argungu
Birnin-Kebbi
Gusau
Kano
Potiskum
Gaya
Azare
Zaria
Kaduna
Bauchi
Kontagora
Jos
Gongola
Gombe

Chapter 1
Introduction

Hausa is a major world language with more first-language speakers than any other sub-Saharan African language—an estimated 30 million or more—most of whom live in northern Nigeria and in southern areas of the neighbouring Republic of Niger, where Hausa represents the majority language (see map). The Hausa-speaking area encompasses the historical emirates of, inter alia, Kano, Katsina, Daura, Zaria, and Gobir, all of which were incorporated into the Sokoto Caliphate following the Fulani-led *jihad* and conquest in the early 19th century.[1] As a result of this historical contact, mother-tongue speakers of Hausa include many ethnic Fulani. Hausa is also spoken by diaspora communities of traders, Muslim scholars and immigrants in urban areas of West Africa, e.g. southern and central Nigeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, (northern) Ghana and Togo, as well as the Blue Nile Province and western regions of the Sudan. Hausa-speaking colonies are also to be found in large cities in North Africa, e.g. Tripoli (Libya), and Equatorial Africa, e.g. Bangui (Central African Republic), and Brazzaville (Congo). It is the most important and widespread West African language, rivalled only by Swahili as an African lingua franca, and has expanded rapidly as a first or second language, especially in northern Nigeria.

Hausa is used extensively in commercial, governmental and educational spheres, and in the mass media. There are several Hausa language newspapers, including *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* ('Truth is Worth More than a Penny'), published twice a week in Kaduna, northern Nigeria, and book publishing is active. Both the Koran and the Bible are available in Hausa. Many radio stations, both African and international, broadcast in (mainly Kano) Hausa, including the BBC World Service, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, China

[1]For information on ethnographic, historical, political, etc. aspects of the Hausa-speaking area, see, for example, Hill (1972: chap. 1), Isichei (1983), Johnston (1967), Smith (1965), and Furniss (1996: 1-7) and references therein.

Radio International, and (until the early 1990s) Radio Moscow. Hausa is also used extensively for television productions in Nigeria and Niger, and there is a growing Hausa video industry. Together with Igbo and Yoruba, the Nigerian Constitution officially recognizes Hausa as a national language. A number of universities in Nigeria and Niger offer undergraduate and postgraduate degree courses in Hausa, and there are also specialists in Hausa language and/or literature involved in comparable programmes at universities in Europe, the USA, Japan, China, and South Korea. (See **§16** for remarks on Hausa literature.)

Hausa is phylogenetically a member of the (West branch of) the Chadic language family, which contains over 100 distinct languages spoken to the east, west and south of Lake Chad. Chadic is a branch of the Afroasiatic super-family, the other branches being Ancient Egyptian (extinct), Berber (e.g. Tamahaq, Tamazight), Cushitic (e.g. Somali, Oromo), Omotic (e.g. Wolaytta), and Semitic (e.g. Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic). Although the inclusion of Hausa (and Chadic) within Afroasiatic was first proposed almost 150 years ago, it has only recently been generally accepted as fact. See Greenberg (1963), Newman & Ma (1966), and Newman (1977, 1980a).[2]

Regionally-based Hausa dialects display variation in phonology (including tone), lexicon, and grammatical morphemes, and dialectal forms are noted throughout the grammar when relevant to the discussion in hand. Although detailed comprehensive information is lacking, it is possible to differentiate broadly between eastern dialects on the one hand, e.g. Kano and contiguous areas to the south (Zaria), southeast (Bauchi), and north (Daura), and western dialects on the other, e.g. Sokoto, Gobir, and northwards into Niger. Intermediate varieties include Katsina and Maradi Hausa. Descriptions specifically dealing

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[2]The classification of Hausa (and Chadic) as Afroasiatic is based upon the presence of distinctive Afroasiatic features such as: (1) an **n/t/n** masc/fem/pl gender-number marking pattern in the deictic system (Greenberg 1960) (see §**9**:2); (2) a prefix **mV-** used to derive agential, instrumental and locative nouns (§**5**:3); (3) shared pronoun paradigms, cf. the (Hausa) second person feminine Perfective subject-agreement pronoun **kin** (< ***kim**), Berber (**kə**)**m**, and Egyptian **čm** (§**6**:3); (4) the use of the affixes **-n** and **-a-** in the formation of noun plurals (Greenberg 1955) (§**4**:3); (5) demonstrable cognates for core vocabulary, e.g. Hausa **mutù** 'die', cf. Hebrew **met**, Rendille (Cushitic) **mut**; Hausa **mè** 'what?', cf. Arabic **mā**, Berber **mai**; Hausa **sūnā** 'name', cf. Hebrew **šem**, Bedawi/Beja (Cushitic) **sim**. See Newman (1980a).

with Hausa dialects include: Abubakar (1982, 1991), Abu-Manga (1999), Ahmed & Daura (1970), Bagari (1982), Bellama (1970/71), Bello (1992), Caron (1991), Malka (1978), Matsushita (1990), Muhammad (n.d.), Sa'id (1972), Zaria (1982), and Zima (1987/88).

The description in this grammar is based upon the variety spoken in and around Kano State, the capital of which, Kano City, is the largest Hausa-speaking city with a population of several million. Kano Hausa is considered "standard", and is the variety normally used in the print and broadcasting media, as well as in Hausa grammars, dictionaries and teaching manuals (see §1 below).

1. Previous Linguistic and Pedagogical Works on Hausa

Hausa is one of the best documented and most extensively researched of all sub-Saharan African languages, and has been the subject of serious study for 150 years (see Newman 1991a for a history of Hausa linguistic scholarship). In the field of lexicography, it has two of the finest reference dictionaries ever produced for an African language—Bargery (1934) and Abraham (1962). There are also a number of more pedagogically-oriented dictionaries available, e.g. Skinner (1959 [2nd revised edition, 1968], 1965), Olderogge (1963), Newman & Newman (1977), Awde, Ahmad & Barau (1987), Herms (1987), Mijinguini (1987), R. M. Newman (1990), McIntyre, Meyer-Bahlburg & Lawal (1991), Awde (1996), and Caron & Amfani (1997). (See R. M. Newman 1974 for a comprehensive overview.) Important and influential works produced since the Second World War include Abraham's (1959b) grammar, Parsons' (1981) collected papers, Wolff's (1993) reference grammar, and Newman's (2000) monumental work in particular (see also Caron's 1991 grammar of Ader Hausa). See Newman (2000: 2) and Wolff (1993: 13-14) for details of earlier dictionaries and grammars dating back to Schön (1843), and including Mischlich (1906, 1911), and Robinson (1897, 1899/1900). See also Newman (1996) for a bibliography of

linguistic publications on Hausa (and other Chadic languages), and Baldi (1977), and Awde (1988) for earlier Hausa bibliographies.

A number of pedagogical grammars, texts and readers have also been produced for non-native speakers, including: Abraham (1959a), Hodge & Umaru (1963), Kirk-Greene & Aliyu (1967), Kraft (1973), Kraft & Kraft (1973), Kraft & Kirk-Greene (1973), Cowan & Schuh (1976), Galadanci (1976), Jungraithmayr & Möhlig (1976), Skinner (1977), Hunter (1981), Awde (1987), Furniss (1991a), Leben et al. (1991a, b), Schuh & Yalwa (1991), Ahmad & Botne (1992), Jaggar (1992a, 1996), and Randell, Bature & Schuh (1998).

2. Data Sources

The Hausa examples in this grammar have been taken from a variety of sources. The principal works consulted are the reference grammars by Newman (2000) in particular (see also Preface), Wolff (1993), Abraham (1959b), and Parsons' (1981) collected papers, in addition to the dictionaries of Roxana Ma Newman (1990), Abraham (1962), and Bargery (1934). Various published articles by Parsons and Newman—the two pre-eminent Hausa scholars of the last 40 years or so—are also major sources of language data (as well as analyses). I have also consulted a wide range of teaching texts and written Hausa materials, and have used a number of made-up examples constructed with native-speakers (see Preface).

Chapter 2
Phonology

1. Introduction

This chapter examines both segmental and tonal phonology. Some of the more important general studies of Hausa phonology include (more specific works are cited in the relevant §§ below): Abraham (1934: 1-24, 1959a), Gouffé (1965, 1981a), Greenberg (1941), Klingenheben (1927/28), Newman (1972b, 1987, 1990, 1992a, 1997), Parsons (1970), Salim (1981), Sani (1983), Schuh & Yalwa (1993), and Wolff (1993: 29-89). Newman's (2000: chaps. 44, 54 and 71) work is especially important.

2. Phonological Inventory

2.1. Consonants

Table 1 below lists the 32 consonant phonemes of Standard (Kano) Hausa. The elaborate inventory is attributable to the existence of glottalized, palatalized and labialized sets.

The symbols **c** and **j** represent the voiceless and voiced alveopalatal affricates [tʃ] and [ʤ], and the digraph **sh** is the voiceless alveopalatal fricative [ʃ]. The so-called "hooked" letters **ɓ** and **ɗ** are laryngealized (often implosive) bilabial and alveolar stops, hooked **ƙ** is a glottalized velar ejective, the digraph **ts** [s'] is an ejective alveolar sibilant, and the digraph **'y** is a laryngealized palatal glide (derived via reduction of a **/ɗiy/** sequence).[1] The glottal stop /ʔ/ is indicated

[1]Some consonants in Arabic loanwords, including emphatics, are replaced by glottalized consonants, e.g. (/**q**/ → /**ƙ**/) **q̲alam** > **'àlƙalàmī** 'pen', (sporadic /**ṭ**/ → /**ɗ**/ or /**ts**/), e.g. **ṭabī'a** > **ɗ̲àbī'à** 'behaviour, habit', **ṭibb** 'medicine' > **ts̲ubbù** 'magic'. "Ayn" /**ʕ**/ and the glottal stop /**ʔ**/ are both replaced by glottal stop (= orthographic '), e.g. **waʕz** > **wa'àzī** 'sermon', **naʔib** >

word-medially in Hausa orthography with an apostrophe ', e.g. **jami'i** = /jāmìʔī/ 'leader, official', **ɗ'an'uwa** = /ɗ'anʔuwā/ 'brother', **sana'a** = /sànāʔà/ 'profession' (§**16**).[2]

Table 1. Hausa consonant inventory

			Labial	Palatal-ized labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-ized velar	Palatal-ized velar	Laryn-geal
Obst	Stop	Vl			**t**		**k**	**kw**	**ky**	
		Vd	**b**		**d**		**g**	**gw**	**gy**	
		Glott	**ɓ**		**ɗ**	**'y**	**ƙ**	**ƙw**	**ƙy**	**ʔ**
	Affr	Vl				**c**				
		Vd				**j**				
		Glott			**ts**					
	Fric	Vl	**f**	**fy**	**s**	**sh**				**h**
		Vd			**z**					
Son		Nasal	**m**		**n**					
		Lateral			**l**					
		Flap			**r**					
		Tap/roll			**ɾ̃**					
		Glide				**y**		**w**		

Because of the canonical requirement that all syllables have a consonantal onset (§6), words written with an initial vowel in standard orthography actually begin with a phonemic glottal stop, e.g. orthographic **ado** 'decoration' = /**ʔadō**/, **ido** 'eye' = /**ʔidò**/. Note too the "pluractional" verb /**ʔaʔʔàunā**/ 'weigh

nā'ìbī 'deputy'. See also Baldi (1988, 1990, 1995), El-Shazly (1987), Greenberg (1947), and Hiskett (1965).

[2]Key to diacritics (repeated here for convenience): **ā** = long vowel, **a** = short vowel, and double vowels indicate that a vowel can be either long or short, e.g. **a(a)** = long **ā** or short **a**; **à** or **à** = Low tone, **â** = Falling tone, with High tone unmarked. See §2.2 and §3 below for details.

repeatedly', where the double glottal stop appears as part of the reduplicated ʔVC syllable. Word-initial glottal stop is indicated throughout this chapter only. See Carnochan (1952), Haruna (1990, 1995), and Lindau (1983) on glottalized consonants.

The voiceless labial fricative /**f**/ phoneme surfaces as [ɸ] (most commonly), [f], [p] (e.g. word-finally in ideophones), or [h]. Hausa has no phoneme /**p**/ contrasting with /**f**/. English loans with /**p**/ usually appear with /**f**/, e.g. 'paint' = **fentì**, 'plaster' = **filastà**. Before the back round vowels /**u**(**u**)/ and /**o**(**o**)/ it is usually pronounced (and written) as a glottal fricative [h], cf. **hàifā** 'give birth to' and **haihù** 'give birth', **tàfi** 'go' and **tahō** 'come', **tsōhō** sg. and **tsòfàffī** pl. 'old (person)', **hōdà** 'powder' (< Eng.). Derived forms like **dàfaffē** → **dàfà<u>ff</u>ū** 'cooked', **ƙafà/ƙafà<u>f</u>ū** 'leg/s', **nùfā** 'head for' → **nu<u>f</u>ō** 'head this way' are lexical exceptions to the /**f**/ → /**h**/ allophonic rule. See Newman (1976) on the historical phonemicization of originally sub-phonemic /**h**/ and glottal stop /**ʔ**/ as a result of the introduction of Arabic loanwords.

The phonemic nasals /**n**/ and (usually) /**m**/ appear as velar [ŋ] in word-final position, where the contrast is neutralized except with ideophones, e.g. (etymological spellings normally used) **kàɗan** [kàɗaŋ] 'a little', **nân** [nâŋ] 'here', **fâm** [fâŋ] 'pound (currency)'. Nasals undergo homorganic assimilation with a following abutting consonant, including across word boundaries, e.g.

yārònkà [yāròŋkà] 'your boy', **yārònmù** [yāròmmù] 'our boy', **'àbōkin-'aikì** [ʔàbōkiŋʔaikì] 'work-mate, colleague' (where glottal stop induces velar [ŋ]), **sun** [suŋ] **gudù** 'they ran away', **sun** [sum] **mutù** 'they died', **sun** [sun] **tàfi** 'they went', **kin** [kir] **rāmè** 'you've lost weight' (with total assimilation/gemination of coda /**n**/ with following /**r**/), **nā fàhintà** [fàhintà] 'I understand' (= WH [fàhi<u>m</u>tà] without place assimilation)

The four palatalized /**fy, ky, gy, ƙy**/ and three labialized /**kw, gw, ƙw**/ unit phonemes all contrast with the corresponding plain segments before /**a**(**a**)/ e.g. **fyàɗē** 'rape' (/**fy**/ is a marginal phoneme), **kyânwā** 'cat', **gyārà** 'repair', **ƙyālè** 'ignore', **kwântā** 'lie down', **gwànī** 'expert', **ƙwallō** 'ball'. Velars also

redundantly palatalize and labialize before front and back rounded vowels respectively (not indicated in the orthography), e.g. **jàkī** [jàkyī] 'donkey' (cf. **jàkā** [jàkā] 'she donkey'), **kē** [kyē] 'you (f.)', **bùge-bùge** [bùgye-bùgye] 'beatings', **'angò** [ʔaŋgwò] 'bridegroom', **ƙofà** [ƙwōfà] 'door(way)'. Labialization and palatalization can be preserved in derivative forms in environments where the rules would not otherwise apply, e.g. **dōgō** [dōgw̲ō] 'tall' → pl. **dōgw̲àyē**, **gōřò** [gw̲ōřò] 'kolanut' → pl. **gw̲âřřā**, **'angò** [ʔaŋgw̲ò] 'bridegroom' → **'angw̲ancì** 'being a bridegroom', **gēmù** [gy̲ēmù] 'beard' → pl. **gy̲âmmā**, **kēsò** [ky̲ēsò] 'grass mat' → pl. **ky̲âssā**.

The glides /**y**/ and /**w**/ are restricted to syllable-onset position, e.g. (syllable breaks indicated with a period/full stop), **yā.rin.yà** 'girl', **wā.wā** 'fool(ish)', except when occurring as the first (coda) element of a medial geminate glide, e.g. **bì.ya̲y.yà** 'obedience', **da̲w.wà.mā** 'make permanent' (see §7.3). Otherwise, if they end up in coda position, they change to vocalic /**i**/ or /**u**/ respectively, e.g. **mayař dà** vs. **mai dà** 'restore', **rāyukà** 'lives' vs. **râi** 'life', **hawā** 'riding' vs. **hau** 'ride', **wāwā** 'fool(ish)' vs. **wâutā** 'stupidity'.

The symbol **ř** (with the tilde diacritic) differentiates the alveolar tap/roll from the retroflex native flap **r** [ɽ], a phonemic contrast which is not marked in Hausa orthography (**§16**). Loanwords are a major historical source of phonemic /**ř**/ in all positions. Word-finally, and before the coronals /**n, d**/, and /**ɗ**/, only /**ř**/ occurs, e.g.

'àdìře 'tie-dyed cloth' (< Yor.), **'àzahàř** 'mid-afternoon', **řībà** 'profit', **sūřà** 'chapter in the Koran' (all < Ar.), **kāřùwà** 'prostitute' (< Kan.), **bātìř** 'battery', **gìřîs** 'grease', **řēzà** 'razor' (all < Eng.), **shařò** 'test of manhood' (< Ful.), **tàttabàřā** 'pigeon' (< Tuar.), **bař** = pre-object form of **barì** 'leave, let', **jinjiřnìyā** 'baby girl' (cf. m. **jinjìrī** 'baby boy'), **muřnà** 'pleasure', **kařnukà** 'dogs' (cf. sg. **kàrē**), **bařdē** 'mounted warrior, attendant', **gařɗī** 'roasted flavour'

Elsewhere, both rhotics occur, e.g. **rìgā** 'gown', **tārà** 'collect', **tařà** 'nine', **fařkà** 'wake up', **gàrkuwā** 'shield', **nàgàřtā** 'good character', **kuturtà** 'leprosy'. Another source of /**ř**/ is the rhotacization of coda-position coronal obstruents

(§7.2), e.g. **faɽ̲kē** 'long-distance trader' (< ***faṭ̲kē**), **bìyaɽ̲** 'five' (< ***bìyaṭ̲**), **mùɽ̲mushī** 'smile, smiling' (< ***mùs̲mushī**). For some speakers, the distinction between the two R's appears to be breaking down. See Newman (1980b) for more details.

2.2. *Vowels and diphthongs*

Hausa has a 10 vowel system, comprising five basic vowels **/i, e, a, o, u/** with phonemic vowel length, in addition to two diphthongs **/ai/** and **/au/**. Long vowels are marked with a macron, e.g. **gīwā** 'elephant' (with long **/ī/** and **/ā/**)—cf. **ɗaya** 'one' (with short **/a/** in both syllables). When needed, double vowels are used to indicate that a vowel can be either long or short, e.g. negative **bà(a)** = long **bà̀** or short **bà**. Contrastive vowel length is not marked in Hausa orthography (**§16**).

Table 2. Hausa vowels and diphthongs

Short	Long	Diphthongs
i **u**	**ī** **ū**	
e **o**	**ē** **ō**	
a	**ā**	**ai** **au**

The five long vowels approximate canonical IPA positions, as do their short counterparts in pre-pausal position. When not occurring pre-pausally, whether in word-medial or word-final position, the phonetic realization of short vowels varies according to the surrounding consonantal and vocalic context, e.g. short **/u/** is realized as [i] or [ɪ] before a **/y/** glide, e.g. **wuyà̀** = [wiyà̀] 'neck', and often in the vicinity of a coronal, e.g. **dà̀munā** [dà̀mɪnā] 'wet season', **nutsè** [nɪtsè] 'to sink'. Only short **/i/** and **/u/** occur before the corresponding **/y/** and **/w/** glides respectively. Short **/u/** can also undergo anticipatory assimilation to **/i/** if the following syllable contains **/i/** as its nucleus, e.g. **/bùkī/** → **/bìkī/** 'party' (cf. pl. **bukūkuwà̀**).

Short vowels are generally more lax and centralized than their long counterparts. In medial position in native words, only long /ē/ and /ō/ occur. If the syllable becomes closed by a coda as a result of a morphophonological rule, /ē/ and /ō/ automatically shorten to /**e**/ and /**o**/ and merge with centralized /**a**/ (only short vowels occur in closed CVC syllables), e.g. **rēshè** 'branch', pl. **râssā**, **gōrò** 'kolanut', pl. **gwâřřā**. The [a] pronunciation is not always reproduced in the spelling, e.g. [kàransà] 'his dog' = orthographic **karensa**. In open syllable pre-pausal position, short vowels are characterized by phonetic glottal closure and release, e.g. **bùgu** [bùgu?] 'be drunk' (cf. **bugù** [bugù] 'beating'), **ciki** [ciki?] 'inside' (cf. **cikì** [cikì] 'stomach'), **fìta** [fìta?] 'go out' (cf. **fìtā** [fìtā] 'going out').

There are also some specifiable lexical categories with underlying long final vowels, including diphthongs, which are similarly checked by pre-pausal glottal closure (Carnochan 1952, Newman & van Heuven 1981). Word classes with so-called "indeterminate" (half-long) pre-pausal final vowels and glottal closure are all H tone and include ([a·] etc. = half-long vowel):

1. Grade 0 CVV monoverbs and "pseudo-monoverbs" other than final **-i**, e.g. **shā** [sha·?] 'drink', **jē** [je·?] 'go', **sō** [so·?] 'love', **hau** [hau·?] 'ride', and including HH **CiCā** verbs, e.g. **biyā** [biya·?] 'pay', **jirā** [jira·?] 'wait for'.
2. Grade 6 final **-ō** verbs, e.g. **dāwō** [dāwo·?] 'return', **ɗaukō** [ɗauko·?] 'bring', **řubūtō** [řubūto·?] 'write (to)'.
3. The 1st person genitive pronoun suffix **-nā/-tā** (m./f. possessee), e.g. **yārònā** [yāròna·?] 'my boy', **yārinyàtā** [yārinyàta·?] 'my girl'.
4. Final **-ō** expressions of contempt, e.g. **'Audō** [?audo·?] 'the hell with Audu!', **rīgō** [rīgo·?] 'forget the gown!'.
5. The locative adverb **kā** [ka·?] 'on the head'.

The long vs. short vowel contrast is only available in open syllables, and it carries a heavy lexical and syntactic load (see Newman 1979b for the historical background). In medial position, vowel length is lexically contrastive, e.g.

dāfà 'lean on' vs. **dafà** 'cook', **fītò** 'whistling' vs. **fitò** 'ferrying', **bùrā** 'penis' vs. **bùra** 'ripen'

In word-final position, however, its discriminatory role is largely morphosyntactic, e.g.

dāmā n. 'chance, opportunity' vs. **'à dāma** adv. 'to the right', **nā** 'I (PF)' vs. **na** 'I (FOC-PF)', **gamà** 'finish' vs. **gamà** (= pre-noun direct object allomorph), **bāyā** n. 'back' vs. **bāya** adv. 'at the back', **ɓatà** v. 'get lost' vs. **ɓatà** vn. 'getting lost', **yàɓē** vn. 'plastering' vs. **yàɓe** stat. 'plastered'

There are two phonemic diphthongs **/ai/** and **/au/**, orthographically indicated **ai** and **au** (§**16**). These have been phonemically analyzed as VC **/ay/** and **/aw/** sequences by some Hausaists, e.g. Greenberg (1941), Parsons (1970), i.e. with consonantal codas. Newman & Salim (1981) and Newman (2000: chap. 54), however, prefer to treat them structurally as single vocalic units with complex nuclei, so patterning with long monophthongs. The front diphthong **/ai/** usually appears as [ai] when occurring in a Falling tone syllable (especially labial-initial), e.g. **bâi** [bâi] **ɗaya** 'level, smooth', **mâi** [mâi] 'oil', **kâi** [kâi] 'head', or when following the gutturals **/'/** or **/h/**, e.g. **'aikì** [ʔaikì] 'work', **hàifā** [hàifā] 'give birth to'. In other environments, e.g. following coronal consonants or in a labial-initial H or L tone syllable, one normally gets [ei], e.g. **daidai** [deidei] 'exactly', **sai** [sei] 'until', **bàibâi** [bèibâi] 'inside out', **maimàitā** [meimèitā] 'repeat'. Under poorly-understood conditions, it can also be pronounced [ɛi], [ɔi], [ə i] or even [ē], in which case it merges with the long monophthong **/ē/**, e.g. **rànàikū** [rànèkū] 'days'. The back diphthong **/au/** varies in pronunciation between [au], [ao], [ou], e.g. **kaurī** [kaurī] 'thickness', **zaunà** [zaonà] 'sit down', and even [ō], e.g. **sàu** [sò] 'time(s)', **wàtàu** [wàtàu] = **wàtò** [wàtò] 'that is, in other words'.

Newman & Salim (1981) also propose three nasal diphthongs **/an, in, un/**, i.e. where the nasal segment constitutes part of the nucleus. Disyllabic HH tone singular nouns and adjectives with initial CVN(asal) syllables group with initial CVV singulars in taking the Class 1b plural suffix **-ànyē**, e.g. **kūrā/kūrànyē** 'cart',

zōmō/zōmầyē 'hare', **ɓaurē/ɓaurầyē** 'fig tree', **huntū/huntầyē** 'naked', **kamfai/kamfầyē** 'underpants', **shingē/shingầyē** 'fence'.

3. Tone

Hausa has two basic discrete-level tones, a distinction not indicated in the standard orthography (**§16**)—a High (H) tone (unmarked), and a Low (L) tone, indicated throughout with a grave accent over the vowel of the syllable carrying the tone, e.g. (disyllabic) **yārǒ** 'boy' (= H-L), **rìgā** 'gown' (= L-H), **kīfī** 'fish' (= H-H), **fìta** 'go out' (= L-H), **'àbù** 'thing' (= L-L), **dàgà** 'from' (= L-L), (trisyllabic) **faɗtanyầ** 'hoe' (= H-H-L), **ƙǒƙarī** 'effort' (= L-H-H), **māgànī** 'medicine' (= H-L-H), **mầmākì** 'surprise' (= L-H-L). There is also a contour Falling (F) toneme, indicated with a circumflex, analyzable as a compound sequence of H-L on a single syllable, and occurring only on bimoraic heavy (CVV, CVC) host syllables, e.g. (F-H) **kwân.tā** 'lie down', (F-H) **yâ.rā** 'boys', (F) **wâ** 'older brother', (F) **yâu** 'today'. With open CVV syllables, the circumflex represents phonemic F tone *and* length, e.g. **yâ.rā** (where the **â** is long). For various treatments of tone in Hausa, see: Hodge & Hause (1944), Leben (1971, 1978), Newman (1986b, 1995), Schuh (1978), Wängler (1963a, 1963b), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 71).

In some cases, the surface Falling tone results from phonological reduction and segmental loss (e.g. final vowel apocope), whereby a vestigial L tone backs up and coalesces with a preceding H on a single syllable. The integrity of the underlying H-L sequence is thus preserved. Examples (the </= notation means derived from and semantically equivalent to):

> **bân** </= **bā nầ** 'I (NEG-IMPF)', **mâ** </= **makà** 'to you (m.)', **lìmân** </= **lìmāmì** 'imam', **mùtûm** </= **mùtumì** 'man, person', **sânnan** </= **sā'àn nan** 'then', **zân** </= **zā nì** 'I (FUT)', **sun bùgân** </= **sun bùgē-nì** 'they beat me'

A Falling tone can also result from the docking of a floating L tone on a word-final H tone following attachment of a suffix, e.g. **rìgâr̃** 'the gown' < **rìgā** +`**r̃**,

kōmôwā 'returning' < **kōmō** + ˆ **wā**. Before the relativizer **dà** 'who(m), that' some speakers now simplify a F tone on a word-final syllable with the definite determiner suffix to H tone, e.g. **rìgâr̃ dà na sàyā** → **rìgar̃ dà na sàyā** 'the gown that I bought'. The same simplification can occur word-internally within compound relative pronouns, e.g. **wân̲dà** → **wan̲dà** 'the one who (m.)', **în̲dà** → **in̲dà** 'where'.

Like phonemic vowel length (§2.2), tone is extremely important in distinguishing grammatical categories, e.g. TAM-marking (§**6**), derivations (§**5**), as well as segregating lexical items, and sometimes interacts with vowel length. Examples:

Grammatical: **cikì** 'stomach' vs. **ciki** 'inside', **nân** 'here (near speaker)' vs. **nan** 'there (near hearer)', **wannàn** 'this one (near speaker)' vs. **wànnan** 'that one (near hearer)', **nèmā** 'to look for' vs. **nēmā** 'looking for', **yi** 'to do' vs. **yî** 'doing', **maƙērā** 'forge, smithy' vs. **maƙèrā** 'blacksmiths', **màtā** 'wife, woman' vs. **mātā** 'wives, women', **ya** 'he (Focus-Perfective)' vs. **yà** 'he (Subjunctive)', **kāwō** 'to bring' vs. **kằwō**! (Imperative) 'bring (it)!'

Lexical: **dà** 'with' vs. **dâ** 'formerly', **ɗ'âukī** 'powerful act' vs. **ɗ'àukī** 'shared out food', **hūhǔ** 'bag (for kolanuts)' vs. **hǔhū** 'lung(s)', **fādà** 'palace' vs. **fằdā** 'priest', **rainà̀** 'despise' vs. **ràinā** 'take care of', **sāƙǒ** 'corner' vs. **sằƙō** 'message'

English loanwords with initial stress are usually reanalyzed as disyllabic HL or trisyllabic HHL tone sequences, i.e. a stressed syllable correlates with H tone, e.g. **fensìr̃** 'pencil', **kar̃às** 'carrots', **mācì** 'marching', **mōtà̀** 'car', **kwalar̃à̀** 'cholera', **māsinjà** 'messenger', **miliyàn** 'million'. Loans with second syllable stress often appear as LHL, e.g. **fàr̃fēlà̀** 'propeller, blade', **fàr̃fēsà̀** 'professor', **sùfētǒ** 'inspector (police)'. Source words with final stress are borrowed with a final Falling tone (this includes monosyllabic words), and the non-stressed syllables appear as L tones, e.g. **'àdìbâs** 'advance (money)', **bâm** 'bomb', **bêl** 'belt', **dìgìr̃î** 'degree (university)', **gìr̃îs** 'grease', **kǒkên** 'cocaine', **nâs** 'nurse', **tî**

'tea', **wànwê** 'one-way (street)'. See also Newman (2000: chap. 44) for details and exceptions.

Hausa does not allow rising tones, and a L-H sequence on a reduced single syllable simplifies to H, e.g. **garwā** (?< **gā-ruwā** 'here's water') '4-gallon tin', H **kau** (</= L-H **kàwa**) 'move away', H **sai** (</= L-H **sàyi**) 'buy' (pre-noun d.o. form), L-H **kwàɗai** (</= L-L-H **kwàɗàyī**) 'greed'. If, however, the L-H sequence follows a word-internal H tone, the L-H contour simplifies to L, e.g. H-L **gawài** (</= H-L-H **gawàyī**) 'charcoal', **sukài** </= **sukà yi** 'they did' (following fast-speech coalescence of the monoverb **yi** 'do' with the final vowel of the preceding person-aspect marker).[3]

3.1. Fixed tone patterns

Many derivational and inflectional formations involving suffixation are "tone-integrating" in the sense that the affixal tones spread leftwards over the entire word, thereby replacing the tones of the underlying base (Newman 1986b). Examples:

1. Noun plurals ending in **-ōC$_f$ī** (where C$_f$ is a copy of the base-final consonant) have all H tones, e.g. H-H-H **tāgōgī** 'windows' (< **tāgà**), H-H-H **hanyōyī** 'roads' (< **hanyà**) (see §4:3.5).
2. Feminine nouns with the suffix **-anyà** have H-H-L tones, e.g. H-H-L **bōkanyà** f. 'traditional doctor' (< m. **bōkā**), H-H-L **jīkanyà** f. 'grandchild' (< m. **jīkà**), H-H-L **zākanyà** f. 'lioness' (< m. **zākì** 'lion') (see §4:2.6.1).
3. Grade 6 ventive-centripetal final **-ō** verbs superimpose all H left-spreading tones on the base verb, e.g. H-H **kōmō** gr6 'come (back)' (< **kōmà** gr1 'go (back)'), H-H **fītō** gr6 'come out' (< **fìta** gr3 'go out') (see §7:3.3).
4. Nouns expressing mutuality or reciprocity with the suffix **-ayyà** have the set tonal melody (L-)L-H-L, e.g. L-H-L **'àurayyà** 'intermarriage' (< **'àurā**

[3]Contracted forms like **dōlè 'ài** (</= **'à yi**) **hakà** 'one must do this', where the tonal integrity of the L tone Subjunctive TAM-marker /'à/ is preserved, are apparent exceptions to the L-H → H (single syllable) simplification rule.

'marry'), L-H-L **tàrayyà** 'federation, association' (< **tārà** 'collect') (see §**5**:2.2).

5. Nouns denoting games are all H with final **-e**, e.g. H-H **fashe** 'egg-breaking game' (< **fasà** 'break'), H-H-H **tsallake** 'jumping game' (< **tsallàkā** 'jump over') (see §**5**:2.5).
6. Past participial adjectives use a (L-)L-H-H tone-integrating suffix **-a**CC**ē**, e.g. (m.) L-H-H **cìkakkē** 'full, complete, sufficient' (< **cikà** 'fill'), L-L-H-H **řùbùtaccē** 'written' (< **řubùtā** 'write') (see §**5**:6.1).

3.2. Tonal polarity

Some grammatical morphemes are assigned a tone opposite to the tone on an adjacent syllable, either to the left or right, represented here with the [T±] notation, where T = T(one) and ± = opposite value. The most transparent example of this tonal polarity rule is the inherently toneless (nonverbal) copula **nē** [T±] (m./pl.) and **cē** [T±] (f.). The copula is used, inter alia, in equational/identificational constructions, where its tone is always opposite to the tone on the immediately preceding syllable, e.g. (HL H) **yārō nē** 'it's a boy', (LH L) **rìgā cè** 'it's a gown', (LF H) **Kàbîř nē** 'it's Kabir' (notice that words with a final F = HL tone behave as if they are final L tone). Examples of tonal polarity can also be seen in a number of bimorphemic syntactic formatives. In free possessive pronouns, for example, the tone on the **nā-** (m./pl. possessee) and **tā-** (f. possessee) linker is polar to the tone of the following fused pronoun, and so is H in all persons except the 1st person singular, e.g. (H-L) **nātà** (< **nā** [T±] + **tà**) 'hers (m./pl.)', **tāmù** (< **tā** [T±] + **mù**) 'ours (f.)', cf. (L-H) **nàwa** (< **nā** [T±] + **wa**) 'mine (m./pl.)'. Within the TAM-marking system (§**6**), the subject-agreement pronouns have tones polar to the following TAM-marker, e.g. **sunà** (< **su** [T±] + **nà**) 'they (IMPF)', **sukàn** (< **su** [T±] + **kàn**) 'they (HAB)'.

4. Intonation

Hausa uses pitch variation for intonational purposes, and resulting intonational patterns have an impact on lexical and grammatical tones.[4] Although still a poorly-understood area of the language, some of the more salient and widespread intonational properties of statements and questions are discussed in: Hunter (1979, 1980), Inkelas, Leben, & Cobler (1987), Inkelas & Leben (1990), Leben (1989), Leben, Inkelas, & Cobler (1989), Lindau (1986), Lindsey (1985), Meyers (1976), Miller & Tench (1980, 1982), Muhammad (1968), Newman & Newman (1981), Newman (2000: chap. 71), Silverstein (1976), and Wängler (1963a, 1963b).

4.1. Statements

Normal declarative intonation is characterized by progressive downward sloping of the pitch register, such that a lexical H tone following a L tone is lower in pitch than a preceding H (with one exception, see below). Fig. 1 below presents a rough approximation of the lexical H-L-H-H-H-L-H sequence **yā tàfi sābon gàrī** 'he went to the new town', based on Kraft & Kirk-Greene (1973: 14ff.), Meyers (1976), and Newman (2000: chap. 71), where 5 represents the highest and 1 the lowest pitch.

A final L tone usually edges towards the lowest pitch level (1), and there is also a gradual flattening out of pitch differences within the descending intonational phrase (see Inkelas & Leben 1990). Sequences of identical tones are also subject to minor downdrift (= "like-tone lowering"), such that in an all H sequence, e.g. **wasu mōtōcī sun zō** 'some cars have arrived', each H tone is a slightly lower than the preceding H, and there is similar downtrend on successive L tones, e.g. **gā̀ 'àkwā̀tìn** 'here's the box'.

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[4]The existence of stress and its possible overlap with tone in Hausa remains a controversial and under-researched phenomenon. For various treatments, see Hunter (1980), Möhlig (1983), and Wolff (1993: 65-66).

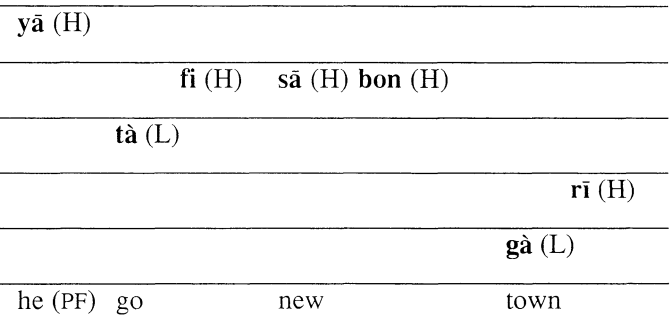

Figure 1. Statement intonation

In verbal sentences a H tone subject-agreement pronoun is raised to a higher level than a preceding H (about 20 Hz in Inkelas & Leben's 1990 data), e.g. (H-H-H-L-H) **'Īsā yā tàfi** 'Isa left' (= approx. 4-4-5-1-2), and the initial H tone syllable of a verb can be at a higher pitch than a preceding H (including the agreement pronoun), e.g. (H-H-H-H-L-H-L) **'Īsā yā hanà 'Audù** 'Isa prevented Audu' (= approx. 3-3-4-5-2-3-1). Following major syntactic boundaries, e.g. sentence-level junctures, or with new intonational phrases, the intonation level is reset, and the progressive lowering of the overall tone ceiling resumes.[5]

Vocatives, functioning as calls, entail a higher overall pitch, and phrase-final short vowels are lengthened, e.g. (personal names and appellatives)

sànnu Mūsā (3-5-5-5)	'hello Musa' (cf. **Mūsā**)
'Audù! (5-3)	'Audu!' (cf. **'Audù**)
'an gaishē kà namijì! (5-5-5-3-4-4-2)	
'congratulations man!' (cf. **namijì** 'male')	
yā Kàbīřù (5-3-5-2)	'hey Kabiru!' (cf. **Kàbīřù**)

[5]Inkelas & Leben (1990), Leben (1989), Leben, Inkelas & Cobler (1989), and Meyers (1976) report several more (sometimes optional) intonational rules, including: (1) "High Raising", which raises a H tone immediately before a L tone, e.g. the H before the L in H-H-L **littāfī** 'book' is assigned a higher pitch (when the NP constitutes an intonational phrase); and (2) "Low Raising", whereby a L tone between two H tones (again within a phrase), e.g. in H-L-H **kujèrā** 'chair', is higher than it would be if no H followed.

For some speakers a final H tone surfaces as a Fall, e.g. **sànnu Kàndê** (3-5-3-5) 'hello Kande'.

4.2. Interrogative constructions

Interrogative formations containing *wh*-words attach a floating L tone with vowel lengthening to the phrase-final constituent—the so-called "q-morpheme" (Newman & Newman 1981)—and are pronounced with a marginally higher overall register (see **§12**:3 for more details). The obligatory presence of the question marker with the L tone produces a F(alling) tone on a final H tone, e.g.

yàushē ya dāwō? [dāwô] 'when did he come back?'
don mẽ bà kà zō ba? [bâ] 'why didn't you come?'

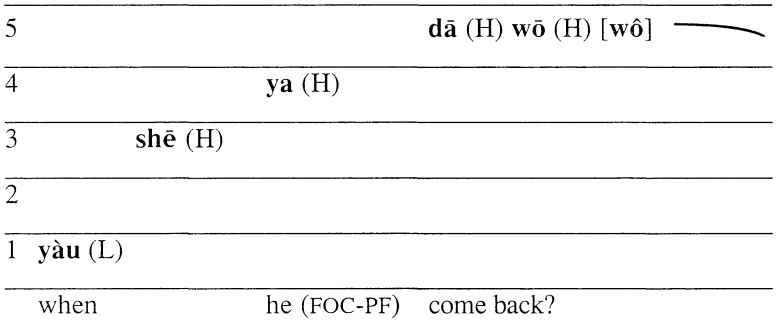

Figure 2. Wh-question intonation

Yes-no questions suspend downdrift and raise to a higher overall register than corresponding statements (= "Global Raising")—an average upward shift of about 20 Hz on each syllable in Leben's (1989: 202) data. The rightmost lexical H tone in the intonational phrase, and any subsequent L tones, takes an extra high pitch (= final H "Key Raising", indicated ↑), and the terminating q-morpheme again acts to lengthen a final short vowel. Examples:

kin būɗè ↑tāgàř? 'did you open the window?'
sun tàfi gi↑dā? 'did they go home?'

kā ga ↑'Audù? 'did you see Audu?' (cf. **'Audù**)
bà tà gamǎ ↑bā? 'hasn't she finished?' (= **ba** + lengthening)
(Key Raising is also a feature of phrase-final H tone ideophones, see §**15**:7.)

Figure 3 illustrates *yes-no* question intonation (the scale has been raised to 7 = highest pitch and 3 = lowest):

7		↑**tā** (H)	
6	**bū** (H)		**gàr̃** (L)
5	**kin** (H)		
4		**ɗè** (L)	
3			
	you (PF)	open	window?

Figure 3. Yes-no question intonation (with final L tone)

If the q-morpheme is added to the end of a *yes-no* question together with the floating L tone (depending upon speaker/dialect), a final lexical H tone surfaces as a Fall, e.g. **sun tàfi gi↑dā**? [gidâ] 'did they go home?':

7			↑**dā** (H) [dâ]	⁀
6				
5	**sun** (H)	**fi** (H)	**gi** (H)	
4				
3	**tà** (L)			
	they (PF)	go	home?	

Figure 4. Yes-no question intonation (with final H tone)

5. Word Structure and Phonotactics

Simplex Hausa words are typically disyllabic, but trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words do occur, many of them morphological derivatives or loanwords (nouns) from Arabic and English. Monosyllabic words are much less common than polysyllabic words, but the category does include some basic, high-frequency content and function words. Examples:

1. Grade 0 monoverbs, e.g. **yi** 'do, make', **shā** 'drink', and "pseudo-monoverbs", e.g. **cê** 'say', **kai** 'take, reach', **sō** 'like, want'.
2. Pronouns, e.g. (independent) **nī** 'I', **shī** 'he', (strong direct object) **ta** 'her', (Subjunctive TAM) **tà**, **mài** 'the one doing/with', **wǎ̀** 'who?'; connectors and subordinators, e.g. **dà** 'and, with', **ta** 'via', **mā** 'also', **kō** 'or', **dǎ̀** 'if', **'in** 'if, when'; and negative functors, e.g. (negative equational) **bǎ̀**...**ba** 'is not', (negative existential) **bâ** 'there is/are not'.
3. Some ideophones, e.g. **tik** emphasizes nakedness, **wùl** emphasizes passing by quickly.

Native monosyllabic nouns also constitute a restricted class and are typically CVV (monophthong or diphthong) with F or H (occasionally L) tone, e.g. **ɗ'ā** 'son', **fā** 'rocky outcrop', **kâi** 'head', **mâi** 'oil', **sâ** 'bull', **sau** 'foot(print)', **sàu** 'times', **yâ** 'elder sister'. The influx of monosyllabic words from English, e.g. **bâs** 'bus', **bêl** 'belt', has significantly increased the inventory.

Most words from the indigenous lexicon end in a vowel, e.g. **rānā** 'sun', **zōmō** 'hare' (see below for exceptions). While verb-final vowel length is syntactically conditioned (see §7:1), common nouns and adjectives usually have a long final vowel, e.g. **'àkuyǎ̀** 'goat', **baƙī** 'black', **dūtsȅ̀** 'stone, hill', **hannū** 'hand, arm', **kīfī** 'fish', **rȉgā** 'gown', **yārò̀** 'boy', as do Arabic loanwords, e.g. **hàr̃ābǎ̀** 'campus', **jāmì'ī** 'official, leader', **shàr̃i'ǎ̀** 'law'.

Common nouns borrowed from other languages often have a short final vowel, e.g. **cōcì** 'church', **hēlùmà** 'headman', **kìlākì** 'prostitute (modern type)' (cf. 'clerk'), **kōtù** 'court' (all < Eng.), **dattījò** 'gentleman', **shar̃ò** 'ritual test of

manhood' (< Ful.), **kāřùwà** 'prostitute', **yàřīmà** 'prince' (< Kan.), **'àdìře** 'tie-dyed cloth', **'àdùdù** 'large wicker basket' (< Yor.).

Word classes which typically end in a short vowel include:

1. Personal names, both Islamic and everyday, e.g. (male) **Ɗanlādì**, **Gàmbo**, **Hùsainì**, **Mùhammadù**, **Nūřà**, (female) **Dèlu**, **Hàwwa**, **Kànde**, **Zàinabù** (final H tone /ā/ is often long in names, however, e.g. **'Ā'ìshā**, **'Īsā** 'Jesus').
2. Place names, e.g. **'Afìřkà** 'Africa', **'Amìřkà** 'America', **'Argungù** 'Argungu', **'Azàře** 'Azare', **Bauci** 'Bauchi', **Kàdūna** 'Kaduna', **Sakkwato** 'Sokoto', **Zàmfàrà** 'Zamfara' (cf. though **Kanò** 'Kano' with long final /ō/).
3. Some compound nouns, e.g. **bì-bango** 'leak down wall', **cì-rāni** 'dry-season migrant work', **gàshìn-bàki** 'moustache'.
4. Most adverbs, e.g. **gàba** 'in front', **gòbe** 'tomorrow', **hakà** 'thus', **sànnu** 'slowly'.
5. All lower numerals, e.g. **ɗaya** 'one', **tařà** 'nine'.
6. Some ideophones, e.g. **kwata-kwata** 'completely', **tsalala** 'very thin'.

If one looks at the final two syllables of nouns with two or more syllables, there is a phonotactic hole in the system—lexical final L-L only occurs with a few native nouns which end in a *short* (not long) vowel, e.g. **'àbù** 'thing', **màcè** 'woman', cf. too loanwords such as **'àdùdù** 'large wicker basket' (< Yor.), **ciřòmà** (traditional title < Kan.), and **fuřsùnà** 'prisoner' (< Eng.). The historical reason for this phonotactic gap relates to a rule known as "Low Tone Raising" (LTR), discovered and formulated by Leben (1971), whereby word-final L-L raised to L-H if the final vowel was long (see also Newman 2000: chap. 34). Hausa nouns are generally reconstructable with short final vowels, most of which subsequently underwent lengthening (see Greenberg 1978, Newman 1979a, 1979b, and Schuh 1984 for details).[6] Prior to this morphologically-determined change, nouns with two or more syllables would have ended in four

[6]Originally short final vowels are typically preserved in proper names, cf. **Dūtsè** 'Dutse (town/district)' and the related common noun **dūtsè** 'hill', **Bǎƙo** (male name) and **bǎƙō** 'guest, stranger'. Short final vowels remain the norm throughout the Chadic family.

possible tonal sequences—H-H, H-L, L-H, and L-L—but the final-vowel lengthening process triggered the LTR tone change *L-L[+ long vowel] → L-H/__ #, leaving the current final *L-L[+ long vowel] gap.[7] Exceptions to this general constraint, i.e. words with phonologically aberrant final L-L tones and a long final vowel, include a small number of function words, e.g. **bìsà** 'according to', **yàyà** 'how?', expressive items like reduplicative ideophones, e.g. **butsū-bùtsù** 'dishevelled', **tsòlòlò** 'long-necked', and exclamations, e.g. **hoɓɓàsà**! 'up with it (the load)!', as well as some polysyllabic English loanwords, e.g. (all final /è/) **fiřāmàřè** 'primary school', **lōtàřè** 'lottery', **řēlùwè** 'railway'. (See also Leben 1996, Newman & Jaggar 1989a, 1989b, and Schuh 1989.)

Consonant-final words include (word-final obstruents are voiceless):

1. Ideophones and expressive augmentative adjectives, e.g. **fànkànkàm** 'wide, extensive', **fat** emphasizes whiteness, **firgigit** 'in a startled manner', **tak** 'exactly', **ɓulɓul** 'excessively fat'.
2. Loanwords (mainly nouns from English and Arabic), e.g. (< Eng.) **bāwùl** 'valve' (Eng. /v/ → /b/), **tēbùř** 'table', **tōtùř** 'throttle' (Eng. /th/ usually → /t/ and final /l/ usually → /ř/), **kwâs** 'course (school)', **bâm** 'bomb', **sàlâk** 'salad', **kwât** 'coat', **kwâf** 'cup', **kwâl** 'coal', (< Ar.) **Lìtìnîn** 'Monday', **'Àlhàmîs** 'Thursday', **'àlfijìř** 'dawn', **tàmat** 'it's finished (e.g. letter)'.[8]
3. Apocopated forms, e.g. **kâř </= kadà** 'don't!', **maràs** (< ***maràshī**) '(one) without', **wànzâm </= wànzāmì** 'barber', **sai wata ran </= rānā** 'day' 'till we meet again' (lit. until another day).
4. Subordinators, e.g. **dà zārař** 'as soon as', **don </= dòmin** 'in order to', **hař** 'until', **'in </= 'ìdan** 'when, if', **tun** 'since'.

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[7]In WH (especially Katsina), nouns which are final L-L[+ short vowel] in SH often raise to L-H in sentence-final position, e.g. SH **kāřùwà** = WH **kāřùwa** 'prostitute', SH **màcè** = WH **màce** 'woman', SH **mōtàřsà** = WH **mōtàssa** 'his car' (with a genitive pronoun suffix). In addition, final L-L loan-nouns with a long final /è/ or /an/ appear as L-F, e.g. SH **fiřāmàřē** = WH **fiřāmàřê** 'primary school', SH **lōtàřè** = WH **lōtàřê** 'lottery', SH **'ambùlàn** = WH **'ambùlân** 'ambulance'. See Newman (2000: chap. 34) for details and other tonal variants.

[8]Historically, Hausa had noun-final nasals /m/ and /n/ which were subsequently lost (Schuh 1976).

5. Grade 5 verbs, e.g. **hōrař** </= **hōras** 'train, coach', **mayař** </= **mayas** 'restore, put back'.
6. Interjections, e.g. **kash**! 'oh dear!'.

There is also a phonotactic constraint which outlaws the co-occurrence of a glottalized segment and its non-glottalized counterpart within the same word. The exceptions to this restriction are non-glottal...glottal /**d**...**ɗ**/ and /**s**...**ts**/ sequences, e.g. **daɗà** 'increase', **sàmmātsī** 'being more unlucky than others'. (The noun **ƙarkō** 'durability' is also an apparent exception but actually contains a fused **-kō** derivational suffix.) Similarly, different glottalized consonants do not co-occur within the same non-derived word (**ɗàřīƙà** 'sect' < Ar. excepted), though identical segments are common, i.e. one gets **ɗāɗà** 'sharpen' but not ***ɗāƙà**, **ɓatà** 'get lost' but not ***ɓaɗà**, **tsūkè** 'tighten' and **tsòtsā** 'suck' but not ***tsūƙè**.

6. Syllable Structure

There are three permissible syllable types in Hausa, and all syllables—and therefore all words—are consonant-initial CV, e.g. **mà.cè** 'woman', or CVV (monophthong or diphthong), e.g. **yā.rò̂** 'boy', **'ai.kì** 'work' (glottal stop /'/ counts as a consonant), or CVC, e.g. **rùm.fâř** 'the stall', **wây.yō**! 'oh dear!'. Nasals can occasionally function as syllabic nuclei, e.g. **'ǹ.guwā = 'ùn.guwā** 'ward/quarter (of city)', or as entire syllables, e.g. **'ǹ gayà̀ mâ** 'let me tell you'. Intermediate illicit *CVVC structures generated by morphological operations, e.g. reduplication, suffixation, are automatically pared down to CVC via reduction of the long vocalic nucleus (whether monophthong or diphthong). Examples:

***kāw-kāwō** → **kakkāwō** 'bring (many things)', ***gō-yō-n bā-yā-n-sà** → **gōyon bāyansà** 'his support', ***màlàmai-n-mù** → **màlàmanmù** 'our teachers', ***kibau-n-sà** → **kibansà** 'his arrows', **'à *kâi-n-tà** → **'à kântà** 'on top of it', **yā *sām**

minì 'aikì → **yā sam minì 'aikì** 'he got a job for me', **sai wata *rān** → **sai wata ran** 'till we meet again' (lit. until another day)

Consonant clusters do not occur syllable-internally, i.e. as onsets or codas, only across syllable boundaries, where abutting obstruents usually share the same feature for voicing, e.g. **bàř.gō** 'blanket', **càz.bī** 'rosary', **kal.mà** 'word', **kas.kō** 'small bowl'. With the exception of geminate segments (§7.3), the consonant types which can serve as word-internal codas are restricted in modern Hausa. All sonorants may occur in coda position, e.g. **/m/ gwam.nà** 'governor', **/n/ han.cì** 'nose', **/r/ kar.yà** 'break', **/ř/ dàř.nī** 'cornstalk fence', **/l/ gul.mā** 'mischief-making'. Among the obstruents, the fricatives **/s/** and **/z/** can also function as codas, e.g. **kas.kō** 'small bowl', **fiz.gè** 'grab', as can the labials **/b/** and **/f/**, e.g. **tab.kà** 'do a lot of', **caf.kè** 'snatch'. Most labial (and velar) codas changed to sonorants by Klingenheben's Law (see §7.2).

Syllable onset consonant clusters in English loanwords are resolved by insertion of a short epenthetic vowel, e.g. 'brake' = **bu̲řkì**, 'plank' = **fi̲lankì**, 'professor' = **fù̲řòfēsà**, 'English' = **'Ingi̲līshì**, 'clinic' = **kì̲līnìk**, 'cricket (game)' = **ku̲řkèt**, 'traffic policeman' = **ta̲řāfìs**, 'scout' = **sì̲kāwùt**, 'scholarship' = **sù̲kōlàshîf**. Word-final abutting consonants in the source word either add a postthetic vowel, e.g. 'bench' = **bencì̲**, 'pump (water)' = **famfṑ̲**, 'warrant' = **wařantì̲**, or simplify to a single consonant, e.g. 'advance (money)' = **'àdìbâs̲**, 'valve' = **bāwùl̲**, 'draft (money)' = **dìřâf̲**. A postthetic L tone, and usually short vowel **ì** is also added to some loanwords ending in an obstruent, e.g. 'bread' = **buřōdì̲**, 'peg' = **fēgì̲**, 'fridge' = **fiřjì̲**, 'plot (of land)' = **fulōtì̲**, 'modern prostitute' = **kìlākì̲** (< 'clerk'), 'ticket' = **tikitì̲**, 'court' = **kōtù̲** (with final **-ù**). Cf. recent loanwords such as **kìlīnìk** 'clinic', **kuřkèt** 'cricket (game)', **tařāfìs** 'traffic policeman' noted above, where the source-final obstruents have been retained. See Newman (2000: chap. 44) for more details.

The distinction between light (monomoraic CV) and heavy (bimoraic CVV, CVC) syllables is a critical variable, and syllable weight interacts with a variety of morphophonological processes and metrical requirements (see Newman

1972b, 1981). In one noun plural class, for example, the choice of suffix is determined by the weight of the initial syllable. If it is (CV) light, the suffix is **-ǎC$_f$ē** (where C$_f$ = copy of the stem-final consonant), e.g. **wurī** 'place' → **wurǎrē**. If it is (CVV) heavy, the suffix is **-ǎyē**, e.g. **gīwā** 'elephant' → **gīwǎyē**. With reduplicative verbs derived from abstract nouns, a rhythmic rule of weight polarity operates whereby an initial light syllable alternates with a heavy second syllable with a long **-ā-** infix, e.g. **ɗ̱umǎ̱mā** 'warm up' (< **ɗ̱ùmī** 'warmth'), but a heavy first syllable induces a light second syllable with a short **-a-**, e.g. **sa̱u̱ƙǎ̱ƙā** 'make easy' (< **sauƙī** 'easiness').

Syllable weight also interacts with tone. The canonical form of disyllabic Grade 3 final **-a** verbs is L-H tone with a monomoraic first syllable, e.g. **fìta** 'go out', **nùka** 'ripen', but most Grade 3a verbs with a heavy (CVV) initial syllable have H-H tones, e.g. **kwāna** 'spend the night', **ƙaura** 'migrate', **sūma** 'faint'. With "ethnonyms" (§**5**:3.2), LLH plurals with the **-ǎwā** suffix are normally trisyllabic with an initial heavy syllable, e.g. **fǎdǎwā** 'courtiers', **Hàusǎwā** 'Hausa people', **dàttǎwā** 'gentlemen'. Ethnonyms with an initial light syllable, on the other hand, typically select the all H tone **-āwā** plural allomorph, e.g. **Kanāwā** 'Kano persons', **Katsināwā** 'Katsina persons'.

7. Phonological Rules and Processes

7.1. Palatalization

The coronal fricatives /**s**, **z**/ and stops /**t**, **d**/ palatalize to /**sh**, **j**, **c**/ and /**j**/ respectively before the front vowels /**i**(**i**)/ and /**e**(**e**)/ (glottalized /**ɗ**/ is immune to the rule). The allophonic palatalization process is especially evident in morphophonological alternations, e.g.

fànsh̲i = pre-noun form of **fànsā** 'redeem', **kǎ̱jī** = pl. of **kǎ̱zā** 'hen', **mōtōc̲ī** = pl. of **mōt̲ǎ̱** 'car', **gùje** = stative form of **gud̲ù** 'run away'

This local assimilation applies to geminates as well as singletons, e.g. **fàsa<u>ssh</u>ē** (**fà<u>s</u>-a<u>ssh</u>-ē**) 'broken' (< **fasà** 'break'), **sàta<u>cc</u>ē** (**sà<u>t</u>-a<u>cc</u>-ē**) 'stolen' (< **sàtā**) 'steal'.[9] The palatalization rule is only semi-productive synchronically and admits some lexical exceptions, i.e. coronal obstruents which do not palatalize before front vowels, including loanwords (especially from Arabic and English). Examples:

> **bàntē** 'loincloth' (< Ful.), **sìttin** 'sixty', **wàswāsī** 'doubt', **zìnā** 'fornication, adultery' (all < Ar.), **sātī** 'Saturday, week', **tītì** 'street' (cf. pl. **tītō<u>c</u>ī** with palatalization), **digà** 'pick-axe' (< Eng.), and extra-systemic phonaesthetic categories like diminutive adjectives, e.g. **fìtītì** 'skimpy'.

The /**d**/ → /**j**/ palatalization is less uniform compared with the other coronals, and palatalization of /**d**/, even in native Hausa words, is given to lexical exceptions in both derived and non-derived environments. Examples:

> **gìndī** 'base', **dilā** 'jackal', **bařdē** 'mounted warrior/attendant' (pl. **bařàdē**), **gōdè** 'thank', **jìdi/jìdē** and **tànàdi/tànàdē** = pre-noun/pronoun forms of **jìdā** 'transport' and **tànadà** 'stock up' (cf. **gàji/gàjē** = pre-noun/pronoun forms of **gàdā** 'inherit'), **kadōdī** = **kadōjī** (pl. of **kadà** 'crocodile'), **tādōdī** = **tādōjī** (pl. of **tādà** 'custom')

The semivowel /**w**/ typically palatalizes to /**y**/, e.g. **kāsuwō<u>y</u>ī** (< ***kāsuwō<u>w</u>ī**) = pl. of **kà<u>w</u>ā** 'market', **bā<u>y</u>ī** = pl. of **bā<u>w</u>à** 'slave', **'unguwō<u>y</u>ī** = pl. of **'ùngu<u>w</u>ā** 'ward (of town)', **rà<u>y</u>e-rà<u>y</u>e** = pl. of **ra<u>w</u>ā** 'dance, dancing'. Cf. though non-palatalization in **wan<u>w</u>ê** 'one-way street' and **<u>w</u>î-<u>w</u>î** 'marijuana' (both < Eng.).

7.2. Syllable-final sonorization

A series of related phonological changes, collectively known as "Klingenheben's Laws" (Klingenheben 1927/28) have operated historically to sonorize syllable-

[9] In the case of doubled digraphs, only the initial letter is repeated, e.g. orthographic **ssh** = geminate /**shsh**/, **tts** = /**tsts**/.

final obstruents, both word-internally before abutting consonants and word-finally (see also Schuh 1974b). Coda velar stops /**k**, **ƙ**, **g**/ all weakened to /**u**/, e.g.

ɓaunā 'bush-cow' < ***ɓaknā** (cf. pl. **ɓakàànē**), **haurè** 'tooth' < ***haƙrè** (cf. **haƙōrī** 'tooth/teeth'), (with long /**ū**/ < /**uw**/) **būzū** 'Tuareg' < ***bugzū** (cf. pl. **bugàjē**), **dū** 'all' (dial.) </= **duk**

In Standard and Eastern Hausa only, coda labial obstruents /**p**, **b**, **f**/ also weakened to /**u**/, e.g.

sàuka 'get down' (= WH **sàpka**), **jūjī** 'rubbish-heap' (= WH **jibjī**), **taushī** 'drum' (= WH **tafshī**)

The nasal /**m**/ also changes to /**u**/, but only before a coronal sonorant, e.g. **ɗaurè** 'tie up' (= WH **ɗamrè**), **zaunà** 'sit' (= WH **zamnà**).

Comparable velar and labial geminates in both basic and derived forms are immune to Klingenheben's Laws (see also §7.3), e.g. /**mm**/ **hammà** 'yawning', /**bb**/ **dabbà** 'animal', **bubbùgā** 'beat repeatedly', /**gg**/ **gwaggò** 'aunt', /**kk**/ **bukkà** 'grass hut', **kakkařàntā** 'read repeatedly', as are recent English loanwords, e.g. **dàřaktà** 'director', **sàlâk** 'salad'. There are also some lexical exceptions in native Hausa words, e.g. /**b**/ **'àzabtà** 'to torture', /**f**/ **cafkè** 'to snatch', i.e. coda labial and velar obstruents which fail to sonorize even though they appear in the appropriate syllable-final environment.

The coronal stops /**t**, **d**, **ɗ**/ rhotacized to rolled /**ř**/ in coda position (a still active process),[10] e.g.

fařkē 'long-distance trader' < ***fatkē** (cf. pl. **fatàkē**), **kâř** 'do not!' (</= **kadà**), **fařkà** 'wake up' (< ***faɗkà**), **mayař** 'restore' (= WH **mayas**)

Rhotacization of the sibilants /**s**, **z**/ → /**ř**/ also takes place but is sporadic—cf. **fuskà** 'face' and **fizgè** 'grab' where the sibilants are retained—and so is handled,

[10]In some Western Hausa dialects, syllable-final /**ř**/ changed to /**l**/, e.g. ***bìyat** > ***bìyař** > **bìyal** 'five' (with **bìyat** still attested).

together with the /**ts**/ → /**r̃**/ change, as a separate phonological process in reduplicative forms by Newman (2000: chap. 34).

7.3. Gemination

All consonants can occur medially as geminates (indicated with double letters), e.g. **bàbba** 'large' (cf. **bàba** 'father'), **ɓallè** 'unfasten' (cf. **bàlagà** 'reach puberty'), **mussà** 'cat' (cf. **musà** 'deny'), **gàyyā** 'communal work' (cf. **gayà** 'tell'), **bukkà** 'grass hut' (cf. **bùkātà** 'need'), **hannū** 'hand, arm' (cf. **hanà** 'prevent'), **kuwwà** 'shout(ing)' (cf. **kùwa** 'and, also'). See also Carnochan (1957). Geminates are especially widespread in derived polymorphemic words, e.g. involving morphological reduplication, and coda-position consonants and glides regularly assimilate and geminate with a following consonant (either word-internally across syllable boundaries, or across word boundaries). Examples:

> **gwâr̃r̃ā** 'kolanuts' (pl. of **gōr̃ò**), **sūnànnakī** 'names' (pl. of **sūnā**), **kakkāwō** 'bring (a lot of things)' (pluractional form of **kāwō** 'bring'), **rarràbā** 'divide up (amongst many people)' (pluractional of **rabà** 'divide'), **dàfaffē** 'cooked' (past participle of **dafà** 'cook'), **bùgaggēnìyā** 'trading blows' (mutuality noun from **bugà** 'hit'), **zàzzāfā** 'very hot' (intensive sensory adjective from **zāfī** 'heat'), **dud dà = duk dà** 'in spite of', **mōtàssà = mōtàr̃sà** 'his car', **fìtad dà = fìtar̃ dà** 'take out', **jinjinnìyā = jinjir̃nìyā** 'baby girl', **rȉgar-ruwa** (< **rȉgar̃-ruwa**) 'raincoat', **kâk kà = kâr̃ kà yi hakà!** 'don't do that!'

7.4. Metathesis

Lexical metathesis entails transposing either consonants in contiguous syllables or word-internal abutting consonants, and it occurs, sometimes dialectally, in a number of nouns and verbs. Examples: (adjacent syllables) **hàwainìyā =**

wàhainìyā 'chameleon', **nauyī = yaunī** 'heaviness', **tàƙamā = tàmaƙā** 'boasting', **tàwadà = tàdawà** 'ink', (abutting consonants) **kwàsfā = kwàfsā** 'shell', **gauràyā = garwàyā** 'mix'. Note too /**m.r**/ → /**r.m**/ metathesis in WH, e.g. **'amrē** → **'armē** (cf. SH **'aurē** 'marriage' with /**m**/ → /**u**/ weakening), and /**a**C**i**/ → /**i**C**a**/ vocalic metathesis in **sanì = shinà** 'know'.

Chapter 3
Classification of Nouns

1. Introduction

Hausa nouns fall into two basic classes: (1) common nouns, e.g. **mōtà** 'car', **cî** 'goal (sport)', **dōkì** 'horse', **ɗ'ācī** 'bitterness', **ginì** 'building', **makařantā** 'school', **shìnkāfā** 'rice', **barcī** 'sleep(ing)', **řùbùtū** 'writing', **dàbāřà** 'plan', **tsawō** 'height'; and (2) proper nouns, e.g. (personal names) **Audù** 'Audu', **Hàlīmà** 'Halima', **Mūsā** 'Musa', (place names) **Afìřkà** 'Africa', **Ingìlà** 'England', **Kanò** 'Kano'. Common nouns further divide into dynamic/non-dynamic, count/noncount and concrete/abstract. (See §4 for the morphological properties of nouns and adjectives, §5 for derived nouns and adjectives, and §9 for the structure and syntax of simple noun phrases.) On the classification of Hausa nouns, see also: Furniss (1991a), Galadanci (1969, 1976: 4ff.), Newman (2000: chaps 48, 52), and Wolff (1993: chap. 4).

2. Common Nouns

Common nouns, both simple and derived, subdivide into two semantic/syntactic subclasses: so-called "dynamic" and "non-dynamic" nouns.

2.1. Dynamic nouns

Dynamic nouns express actions, activities and events, and often correspond to '-ing' gerunds in English. Examples:

aikì 'work(ing)', **cìnikī** 'bargaining', **dambe** 'boxing', **īhù** 'yelling', **iyò** 'swimming', **kàřàtū** 'study(ing)', **màganà** 'talk(ing)', **rētò** 'hanging, dangling',

sǔr̃ūtǔ 'chatter(ing)', **wȁƙe-wȁƙe** 'singing', **wȁsā** 'play(ing)', **yāƙì** 'fight(ing), war'

A key syntactic property of eventive dynamic nouns is their ability to follow the general **yi** 'do' to form phrasal verbs with actor subjects, e.g. **kā yi aikì yâu**? 'did you work today?' (lit...do work(ing)...), **zân yi kàr̃ātū** 'I'm going to study' (...do study(ing)). They can also, like nonfinite forms, occur with an Imperfective TAM, e.g. **yanȁ màganȁ** 'he is talking', **sunȁ wȁƙe-wȁƙe** 'they are singing' (with the verbal noun **yîn** omitted). Another diagnostic feature is their ability to function as complements of aspectual verbs, e.g. **sun fārà sǔr̃ūtǔ** 'they started chattering', **kà dingà ƙȍ̀ƙarī** 'keep on trying'. Some dynamic activity nouns are derived from verbs (= deverbal nouns), e.g. **kwànciyā** 'lying down' (< **kwântā** 'lie down'), **ƙīrȁ** 'smithing' (< **ƙērȁ** 'smith, forge'), **nōmā** 'farming' (< **nōmȅ̀** 'clear weeds'), **rakiyȁ** 'seeing s'one off' (< **rakȁ** 'escort'), **sātȁ** 'stealing' (< **sȁtā** 'steal'), **kàɗe-kàɗe** 'drumming' (< **kaɗȁ = kiɗȁ** 'beat (drum)'). Although typically noncount, a few dynamic nouns do have distinct plurals, e.g. **màganȁ** 'talk(ing)' (pl. **màgàngànū**), **sǔr̃ūtǔ** 'chatter(ing)' (pl. **sǔr̃ùtai**).

2.2. Non-dynamic nouns

Non-dynamic common nouns denote persons, objects, locations, attributes, etc., e.g. **mùtûm** 'man, person', **ìyālȉ** 'family', **mōtȁ** 'car', **ɗākȉ** 'room, hut', **ɗācī** 'bitterness', **dàbārȁ** 'plan', and are semantically classifiable as count, collective or noncount. The count/noncount distinction correlates with different syntactic and morphological patterns.

2.2.1. Count nouns

Count nouns denote countable, individuable entities, usually concrete but occasionally abstract, e.g.

(concrete) **mùtûm** 'man, person' (pl. **mutȁnē**), **bishiyȁ** 'tree' (pl. **bishiyōyī**), **manȍ̀mī** 'farmer' (pl. **manȍ̀mā**), **mōtȁ** 'car' (pl. **mōtōcī**), **yārȍ̀** 'boy' (pl. **yârā**),

(abstract) **tùnằnī** 'thought, thinking' (pl. **tùnằne-tùnằne**), **dàbāřằ** 'idea, plan' (pl. **dàbằřū**), **wàhalằ** 'difficulty' (pl. **wahalōlī**)

Some personal count nouns can also function as adjectives, e.g. **bēbē** = 'deaf-mute person' or 'deaf-mute', **mahàukàcī** = 'madman' or 'mad', **tsōhō** = 'old man' or 'old'.

Count nouns are discrete units in syntactic and semantic terms. They freely accept core determiners like the specific indefinite determiner and definite determiner, e.g. **wani mùtûm** 'a (certain) man', **wata dàbāřằ** 'a (certain) plan', **mùtumìn** 'the man', **dàbāřàř̲** 'the plan', in addition to distributive universal quantifiers, e.g. **kōwàcè shḕkarằ** 'every/each year'. Count nouns can operate morphologically distinct plurals, with plural agreement on targets, and can be postmodified by numerals and other quantifiers, e.g. **waɗànnân mutằnē ukù** 'these three men', **wasu yârā** [**sun**]$_{pl}$ **shigō** 'some children have come in', **dàbằřū dà yawằ** 'many plans'. Non-dynamic count nouns can be verb-derived, e.g. **bùƙātằ** 'need' (pl. **bùƙằtū**, < **bùƙātằ** 'need'), **ɓangarè** 'fragment' (pl. **ɓangarōrī**, < **ɓangàrē** 'chip piece off'), **hàlittằ** 'creature' (pl. **hàlìttū**, < **hàlittằ** 'create'), **tàmbayằ** 'question' (pl. **tambayōyī**, < **tàmbayằ** 'ask, question'). Some count nouns have zero plurals, e.g. (singular or plural) **àyàbà** f. 'banana(s)', **gàdā** f. 'duiker(s)', **gizò-gizò** m. 'spider(s)', **jàllō** m. 'gourd water-bottle(s)'.

2.2.2. Collective nouns

Common collective nouns, including organizational bodies, are:

dangì m./pl. 'family, kin', **ìyālì** m./pl. 'family', **jàma'ằ** f./pl. 'the public, people', **kāyā** m./pl. 'load(s)', **sōjà** = **sōjì** m./pl. 'the army, the military', **tằrō** m./pl. 'meeting, crowd', **zùřiyằ** f./pl. 'offspring'

When used in the singular—most have distinct plurals—collectives can control either singular concord if denoting the group as a whole, or plural concord if denoting the individual members. Examples:

jàma'à tā yàřda 'the public agrees' (lit. public 3f.PF agree)
wasu jàma'à sun cê... 'some people say...' (some people 3pl.PF say)
sōjà yanà mulkì yànzu 'the army is ruling now'
(army 3m.IMPF rule now)
sōjà sun yi jūyìn mulkì 'the military have taken over'
(military 3pl.PF do change.of rule)
zùřiyàtā tā/sun yi yawà 'my offspring are many'
(offspring.of.1sg 3f./3pl.PF do many)

2.2.3. Noncount nouns

Noncount mass nouns represent undifferentiated entities, both concrete and abstract, including masses and liquids. Examples:

àbinci 'food', **àlbâshī** 'salary', **audùgā** 'cotton', **azùmī** 'fasting', **baƙin ƙarfè** 'iron', **cukū** 'cheese', **gērō** 'millet', **giyà** 'beer', **gyàɗā** 'peanuts', **hàƙurī** 'patience', **kāsuwancì** 'trading', **lāfiyà** 'health', **madařā** 'milk', **mâi** 'oil', **muřnà** 'happiness', **shìnkāfā** 'rice', **tàwadà** 'ink', **zāfī** 'heat'

Noncounts are morphologically invariant singular nouns with singular concord, though **kuɗī** 'money' and **ruwā** 'water' can take plural agreement, and the plural form **kuɗàɗē** can be used to designate 'monies'. Noncounts readily take the definite determiner, e.g. **mân/wārîn** 'the oil/stench', or a demonstrative, e.g. **wannàn àbinci** 'this food', but do not naturally accept the specific indefinite determiner except with an incremental 'another' reading, e.g. **inà sôn wani mâi, wata audùgā/shìnkāfā** 'I want another (different type of) oil, cotton/rice'. They are also incompatible with distributive universal quantifiers, e.g. ***kōwàcè lāfiyà** 'every health', but can be determined by some form of the collective universal quantifier **DUK**, e.g. **nā cînyē dukkàn àbincīnā** 'I've eaten up all my food', and can also take multal and paucal quantifiers (but not numerals), e.g. **nā ci shìnkāfā dà dāmā/kàɗan** 'I've eaten much/a little rice'. To denote exact quantities of noncount entities, unit measure expressions are used, e.g. **hatsī**

damì biyu 'two bundles of corn' (lit. corn bundle two), **fētùř galàn gōmà** 'ten gallons of petrol' (petrol gallon ten). Some nouns can be either count or noncount, e.g. **buřōdì** = count 'loaf' or noncount 'bread'—cf. **nā sayō buřōdì biyu** 'I bought two loaves' and **nā sayō buřōdì** 'I bought (some) bread'.

Some noncount nouns are verb-based, e.g. **wankì** 'washing, laundry' (< **wankè** 'wash'), **cî** 'goal (sport)' (< **ci** 'eat, conquer'), **zamā** 'existence, becoming' (< **zama** '(be)come'), **dâmuwā** 'problem, trouble' (< **dâmu** 'be troubled'), **iyâwā** 'ability' (< **iyâ** 'be able (to)'), **jařřàbâwā** 'examination' (< **jařřàbā** 'examine'), **ƙwarèwā** 'expertise' (< **ƙwarè** 'be expert'), **sanâřwā** 'announcement' (< **sanař** 'inform'). Some adverbs can function as noncount (non-dynamic) head nouns, e.g. **gôbe ta Allàh cē** 'tomorrow belongs to God' (lit. tomorrow is of God), **nân yā fi** 'here is better', **sànnu bā tâ hanà zuwâ** 'slow but sure' (slowly doesn't prevent coming).

2.3. Concrete vs. abstract nouns

Transcending the formal/semantic count~noncount dichotomy is the semantic distinction between common non-dynamic nouns which denote concrete, physically observable/measurable/material objects, and abstract, usually non-observable, etc., entities. Both categories contain both simple and derived forms. Examples:

> (concrete) **ɓangarè** 'fragment', **dōkì** 'horse', **dutsè** 'stone', **yārò** 'boy', **gidā** 'house', **ginì** 'building', (abstract) **dàbāřà** 'idea, plan', **fātā** 'hope', **hankàlī** 'intelligence, sense', **hàsāřà** 'loss', **iyâwā** 'ability', **sauƙī** 'easiness', **sòyayyà** 'mutual love'

Many concrete nouns are count, though some are non-count (§2.2.3); abstract nouns are typically noncount, with a few exceptions (§2.2.1).

Abstract nouns denote an abstract, often inherent property of some kind, e.g.

(simple) **àddīnì** 'religion', **ilmì** 'education', **kōřè** 'greenness', **kyâu** 'beauty', **rākì** 'cowardice', (derived) **dȁmuwā** 'problem, trouble', **dàngàntakȁ** 'relationship', **gurguncì** 'lameness', **sȁbùntā** 'newness', **sanì** 'knowledge', **wâutā** 'stupidity'

They also include the morphologically uniform subclass of so-called "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality", e.g. **ɗ'ācī** 'bitterness', **fāɗ'ī** 'width', **ƙanshī** 'fragrance', **sanyī** 'cold' (§5:2.6).

2.4. Nouns with dual (dynamic/non-dynamic) class membership

Some verb-derived nouns have both properties, i.e. they can operate either as dynamic or non-dynamic (often concrete) nouns. Examples:

aurē = (dynamic) 'marrying' or (non-dynamic) 'marriage' (< **àurā** 'marry'), **bugù** = 'beating' or 'punch' (< **bùgā** 'beat'), **ginì** = '(activity of) building' or 'a building' (< **ginȁ** 'build'), **haihùwā** = 'giving birth' or 'offspring, progeny' (< **haihù** 'give birth'), **kallō** = 'looking at' or 'a stare' (< **kàllā** 'look at'), **sāmù** = 'getting' or 'possession' (< **sāmù** 'get')

3. Proper Nouns

Proper nouns include names of specific persons, places, times, etc. Many proper nouns differ phonologically, and sometimes minimally, from common nouns in having a short final vowel. See also: Abraham (1959b: 189ff.), Daba (1987), Gouffé (1967), Kirk-Greene (1964a), R. M. Newman (1990: 320-21), Yahaya & Sani (1979?), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 48), from where much of the following description is taken.

3.1. Personal names

Personal names divide into two subclasses: (1) Islamic birth names (**sūnan yankā**); and (2) everyday names (**sūnan rānā**).[1]

*3.1.1. Islamic birth names (**sūnan yankā**)*

Personal names for Muslim Hausa, e.g. **Mùhammadù = Mùhammàd** 'Muhammad', **Hàwwa** 'Eve', are known as **sūnan yankā** (lit. name.of slaughtering), after the practice of giving the child his/her name seven days after the birth at a special naming ceremony (**bìkin sūnā**), when a ram is slaughtered and prayers are said. Other common, Arabic-based birth names with variants include (short forms and English equivalents provided if available):

> Male: **Àbdùllāhì, Àbdùlhàmîd, Àbdùlƙādìř, Àbdùlmālìk, Àbdùlsàlāmù** = (shortened) **Àbdùlsàlâm, Àbdùřřàhàmân** (all based on **Àbdùl** 'servant of' followed by one of the names of God), **Abdù = Audù** (= short variants of names beginning with **Àbdùl**), **Àbūbakàř = Hàbū, Ādamù = Àdàmu = Àdō** 'Adam', **Ahmàd, Àli** (son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad), **Daudà** 'David', **Fàřuƙù = Fàřûƙ, Hàlīlù, Hamīdù, Hařūnà = Hařū** 'Aaron', **Ìbřāhìm** 'Abraham', **Īsā** 'Jesus', **Isiyākù** 'Isaac', **Ìsmā'īlà** 'Ishmael', **Jìbìřîn** 'Gabriel', **Kàbīřù = Kàbîř** ('the Great'), **Mǎmūdù = Mūdī, Mūsā** 'Moses', **Nuhù** 'Noah', **Řābi'ù, Sālihù, Sālisù, Shēhù, Sulèmānù = Sulè** 'Solomon', **Tìjjāni, Ùsùmānù = Ùsùmân, Yàhàyā** 'John', **Yǎƙubù** 'Jacob', **Yūsufù = Yūsùf** 'Joseph'. Note too **Mùhammadù Sāni** Muhammad the Second, **Mùhammadù Sālisù** Muhammad the Third, etc., a system used for distinguishing same-name family members, and conventional spellings such as **Allàh** 'God' = /'allà/, and **Mustàphā** = /mustàfā/.

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[1]Name-avoidance (**àlkunyà**, cf. **kunyà** 'shame, embarrassment') between certain categories of kin is prevalent throughout Hausa society, and circumlocutions are often used. Thus, a son will refer to someone with the same name as his father or mother as **mài sūnan bàba** 'the one with the name of (my) father' or **mài sūnan innà** 'the one with the name of (my) mother' respectively; a wife might refer to her husband as **d'an wānè** 'son of so-and-so' or **Malàm** (roughly 'Mister'); and a parent, especially a mother, might use **yāròn nan** 'that boy' or **yārinyàř nan** 'that girl' for the oldest son or daughter, etc.

Female (some containing the Arabic suffix **-atù**): **Ā'ìshatù** = (shortened) **Ā'ìshā** and **Aishà** (one of the Prophet's wives), **Amīnà**, **Bintà**, **Fātimà**, **Hàdīzatù** = **Hàdīzà** (one of the Prophet's wives), **Hàlīmà**, **Mařyamù** = **Mařyamà** = **Mařyāmà** = **Mařyàm** = **Màiřo** 'Mary', **Ɽàhīlā** 'Rachel', **Sāřatù** = **Sāřai** 'Sarah', **Zàinabù** = **Ābù** (one of the Prophet's daughters).

(Notice that final H tone /**ā**/ is long in names, e.g. **Īsā** 'Jesus', **Ɽàhīlā** 'Rachel', etc.)

*3.1.2. Everyday names (**sūnan rānā**)*

In addition to the primary names (**sūnan yankā**), there is also a class of everyday personal names known as **sūnan rānā** (lit. name.of day) or **laƙàbī** 'nickname'. These everyday names typically relate to the circumstances or timing (e.g. day) of a child's birth, its physical characteristics, or some eponymous connection with a particular Islamic name. Others correspond to occupations, official positions or kin-terms. Some are male only, e.g. **Jàtau** m. = fair-skinned boy, or female only names, e.g. **Ta-Sallà** f. (of.Muslim festival/prayer), and a few can be either male or female, e.g. **Cindò** m./f. = child with six fingers. Most preserve the historically original short final vowels and often correspond to common nouns with long (lengthened) final vowels. Examples:

Angò m. (cf. **angò** 'bridegroom')
Bâiwa f. (cf. **bâiwā** 'female slave')
Dōgo m. (cf. **dōgō** 'tall')
Gàjēre m. (cf. **gàjērē** 'short')
Gīwa m./f. (cf. **gīwā** 'elephant')
Kàka f. (cf. **kàkā** 'harvest season')
Maƙèrī m. (cf. **maƙèrī** 'blacksmith')
Sābo/Sābuwa m./f. (cf. **sābō/sābuwā** m./f. 'new')
Ta-Sallà f. (cf. **sallà** 'Muslim festival', formed with the independent possessive **ta**)

Sarki m. (cf. **sarkī** 'emir, chief')
Tēlà m. (cf. **tēlà** 'tailor')
Tsōho m. (cf. **tsōhō** 'old (man)')
Uwa f. (cf. **uwā** 'mother')
Wāli m. (cf. **wālī** 'chief judge')
Yàlwa m./f. (cf. **yàlwā** 'abundance')
Yārò m. (cf. **yārò** 'boy')
'Yař Filàni f. (cf. **Filànī** 'Fulani' (ethnic group), name compounded with **'Yař** 'daughter of')

There are also some male/female pairs (both **sūnan yankā** and **sūnan rānā**), e.g. **Àdamù/Adamà**, **Àlhajì/Hajìyā**, **Bàtūřè/Bàtūřìyā** = wealthy (lit. European male/female), **Hàbībù/Hàbībà**, **Hasàn/Hasànā** = first born twin, **Hùsainì/ Husàinā** = second born twin. Some everyday names are formed with the derivational suffix **-au**)^{LH} which denotes human traits or activities associated with the source word, e.g. **Jàtau** m. = fair-skinned person (< **jā** 'red'), **Jìmrau** m./f. = patient, stoic person (< **jimrè** = **jūrè** 'endure'), **Màkàrau** m./f. = person who is habitually late (< **màkarà** 'be late'), **Màƙàlau** m./f. = child who clings to mother (< **maƙàlā** 'attach to'), **Màntau** m./f. = forgetful person (< **mântā** 'forget'), **Nòmau** m. = successful farmer (< **nōmè** 'farm, hoe'). The same suffix can denote the temporal circumstances of the birth, e.g. **Sàllau** m. = child born during a Muslim festival (< **sallà** 'Muslim festival').

Many everyday names are phrasal, e.g. **Mijìnyawà** m. (lit. husband of many, i.e. child whose four grandparents are all alive). Some are formed with **mài** 'possessor of' plus a common (often concrete) noun, e.g. (final vowel length variable) **Màikuɗī** m. (cf. **kuɗī** 'money'), **Màirìga** m./f. (cf. **rìgā** 'gown'), **Màisàngo** m. (cf. **sàngō** 'elephant harpoon'), **Màitamā** m. (cf. **tamā** 'iron ore'). With some compound temporal names, especially day names, the masculine counterpart places **Ɗan** (son.of) before the feminine name, e.g. **Àsàbe/Ɗan Àsàbe** (cf. **Àsabàř** 'Saturday'), **Azùmi/Ɗan Azùmi** (cf. **azùmī** '(Ramadan) fasting month'), **Jummai/ Ɗanjūmà** (cf. **Jumma'à** 'Friday'), **Kàka/Ɗan Kàka**

(cf. **kȁkā** 'harvest time'), **Lādì/Ɗan Lādì** (cf. **Lahàdì** 'Sunday'), **Lȁmî/Ɗanlȁmî** (cf. **Àlhàmîs** 'Thursday'). **Ɗan** and **'Yař** also function as ('little', etc.) diminutives in everyday names, e.g. **Ɗan Àutā/'Yař Àutā** (cf. **àutā** 'youngest child'), **Ɗanyārò** (cf. **yārò** 'boy'). Some names are compounds made up of a monoverb (L tone, long vowel) + noun, e.g. **Bȁgàri** m. (give town), **Cȉgàri** m. (conquer town), **Cȉtumù** m./f. (eat newly ripened millet head) = child born at end of rainy season, **Cȉwāke** m./f. (eat beans) = child born during the bean harvest, **Shȁgàri** m. (drink porridge), **Shȁnōnò** m./f. (drink milk) = child born at the same time as a cow. Some are compounded with a 4pl Subjunctive TAM subject pronoun **à** + VP, e.g. **Àbařtà** f. (one should leave her), **Àjēfas** m. (one should throw (him) away, implying that the boy is of little use to parents who have already lost children in infancy, and given in the hope that death will be less likely to take him away).

Some everyday male names are closely connected with, and used as epithets for, particular Islamic names, including famous individuals, e.g. **Cȉgàri** m. (conquer town) = epithet of anyone called **Ìbřāhìm**, **Ɗan Azùmi** m. (son.of fasting period) = **Làbàřan**, **Gȁgàrau** m. (invincible) = **Àbūbakàř**, **Màisàngo** m. (one with elephant harpoon) = **Àli**, **Màitamā** m. (one with iron ore) = **Yūsufù**, **Mài Kanò** m. (one possessing/ruling Kano) = **Àbdùllāhì**. Some epithets (nicknames) derive from modern, often western personalities, e.g. **Audù Fēlȅ** (cf. Pele, the soccer star); note too **Àlhajì Mūdī Sipīkìn** = a well-known Hausa poet (< Eng. 'spic and span'). Everyday names can combine with birth names, e.g. **Àmīnù Ɗantàta**, **Ìbřāhìm Yārò**, **Lawàn Ɗanlādì**, and the birth name can be followed by a person's place-of-origin, e.g. **Àbūbakàř [Tafāwà Balēwà]**, **Omàř [Kārȁye]**, **Mòhammèd [Munkailà]**, **Mùhammàd Kàbîř [Galādancȉ]**. In some cases a proper name can occur in partial apposition with the designation of an occupation or custom, e.g. **Àbdùllāhì Maƙêrī** 'Abdullahi the Blacksmith', **Àdō Giyà** 'Ado Beer', **Shēhù Mài Ɽēdiyȍ** 'Shehu the Radio Man', **Lawàn Mài Macȉjī** 'Lawan the Snake Man'. Note too **Tēlà Bellò** 'Tailor Bello', where the first premodifying appositive denotes the occupation and resembles a title (cf. Eng. 'Farmer Brown').

A number of common everyday names relate circumstantially to other family births, e.g. **Gàmbo** (**Lēkò**) = boy born after twins, **Kyàuta** = child born after a childless period (cf. **kyàutā** 'gift'), **Sambò** = second son, **Tankò** (**Igudà**) = son born after a series of girls.

3.2. Personal names as common nouns

Personal names, both Islamic and everyday, can, in special circumstances, behave syntactically like common count nouns. They can be pluralized, for example, usually with the **-ōCī** suffix, e.g. **Àsàbe**, pl. **Asabōbī**, **Mù'āzù**, pl. **Mu'āzōjī**, **Shèkàrau**, pl. **Shēkarōrī**, (**-ai** or **-ōCī** plural) **Bàlāřabè**, pl. **Bàlàřàbai** or **Balāřabōbī**, **Hàbībà**, pl. **Hàbìbai** or **Habībōbī**. A plural such as **Hàbìbai** or **Habībōbī** 'Habibas', therefore, as in 'how many Habibas (i.e. females with the name Habiba) have you interviewed?', no longer has a unique denotation. Personal names can also take determiners in restricted contexts. For example, the name **Mūsā** 'Musa' can occur with the specific indefinite determiner though only with an incremental 'another' reading, e.g. **gà wani Mūsā** 'here's another Musa' (but *not 'a certain Musa'). Personal names can also take the definite determiner, e.g. **Mūsân** 'the Musa (in question)', **Hàlīmàř** 'the Halima (we were talking about)', as well as possessives, e.g. **ìnā Audùnkà**? 'where's your Audu?'. Names can also be postmodified by a relative clause, e.g. **wàtò Sābôn dà ya řubùtà bàbban littāfìn nan**? 'you mean the Sabo who wrote that major book?'.

3.3. Hypocoristics

Hypocoristics are terms of endearment or familiarity formed by morphological modification (usually suffixation) of a personal name (cf. Eng. 'Tommykins', etc.). See Newman & Ahmad (1992), and Newman (2000: chap. 48) for details. Some of the main hypocoristic formations include:

1. -**:**CV)^{LHH} or -**:tī**)^{LHH}, where the stem-final CV syllable is either copied or a suffix **-:tī** is attached, the penultimate vowel on the output is long /**:**/, and a

LHH tone pattern is superimposed. Examples: (reduplicated CV suffix) **Àmadù/Àmàdūdu** m., **Lādì/Làdīdi** f., **Sālè/Sàlēle** m.; (**-:tī** suffix with final /**a**/ name), **Abbà/Àbbātī** m., **Ummà/Ùmmātī** f.

2. **-alō/-alā**)^{H}, e.g. **Bintà/Bintalō** f., **Kànde/Kandalā** f., **Mammàn/Mammalō** m.
3. **-lle** or **-le/lè**, e.g. **Bàba/Bàballe** m., **Hajìyā/Hajìyalle** f., **Bāwà/Bāwale** m., **Kàka/Kàkalè** m./f., **Uwa/Uwàle** f., **Iyà/Ìyàle** f.
4. **-ùwā** (mainly final **-u** female names), e.g. **Dūdù/Dūdùwā** f., **Shatù/Shatùwā** f. Note too **Bintù/Bìntūtu/Bìntūtùwā** f. where the final **-ùwā** output is built on an already extended hypocoristic.

4. Titles

Titles typically denote political, religious and social positions, military ranks and academic or professional status, and many are loanwords from English and Arabic (also Kanuri). Status titles precede the personal name. Examples:

Ànnabì Īsā the Prophet Jesus, **Àlƙālī Mūsā** Judge Musa, **Cîf Ernest Shonekan** Chief Ernest Shonekan, **Fřāyìm Ministà Tony Blair** Prime Minister Tony Blair, **Jàkādà Walter C. Carrington** Ambassador Walter C. Carrington, **Sakatařè Madeleine Albright** Secretary Madeleine Albright, **Shùgàbā Obasanjo** President Obasanjo, **Yàřīmà Charles** Prince Charles, **Gimbìyā Diana** Princess Diana, **Mâdākī Shēhù** Madaki (traditional title) Shehu, **Janàř Ìbřāhìm Bàbangida** General Ibrahim Babangida, **Manjò-Janàř Audù** Major-General Audu, **Sùfētò Sandà** Inspector Sanda, **Wàzīřì Giďāďò** Vizier Giďaďo, **Dàřaktà-Janàř Altine Zwandor** Director-General Altine Zwandor, **Doktà Nnamdi Azikiwe** Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, **Fùřòfēsà/Fàřfēsà Kàbīřù** Professor Kabiru, **Gwaggò Jummai** Aunt Jummai

Institutional titles such as **Sarkī** 'King, Emir, Chief' and **Sàraunìyā** 'Queen', in addition to **Gàlàdīmà** = emir's senior son or brother, **Cirřòmà** = emir's senior

son, **Yàrīmà** 'Prince' (< Kan.), and **Kàntōmà** 'Administrator', normally occur in a postmodifying genitive construction with a location. Examples:

Sarkin Kanò 'the Emir of Kano', **Sarkin Maƙèrā** 'Chief of the Blacksmiths' (craft title), **Kàntōmàn Jihàř Kàdūna** 'the Administrator of Kaduna State', **Sàraunìyař Ingìlà** 'the Queen of England'. Note too **Marìgàyī Janàř Muřtàlà Mùhammàd** 'the Late General Murtala Muhammad'.

The general term of respect is **Mālàm** (roughly = Mr.), f. **Mālàmā** (Mrs.), e.g. **Mālàm Àmīnù Kanò** Mr. Aminu Kano, **Mālàm Sābo** Mr. Sabo, **Mālàmā Lādì** Mrs. Ladi, and **Mistà** is also used as a courtesy title, e.g. **Mistà Adams** Mr. Adams. The status title **Àlhajì** (f. **Hajìyā**) is adopted by someone who has performed the pilgimage (*Hajj*) to Mecca and precedes any other titles, e.g. **Àlhajì Sir Àbūbakàř Tafāwà Balēwà** Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, **Hajìyā Yàlwa Àliyù** Hajiya Yalwa Aliyu. Honorifics can also be used with composite names, e.g. **Mài Girmā Gwamnàn Jihàř Kanò** His Excellency the Governor of Kano State, **Mài Mařtabà Sarkin Mùsùlmī** His Highness the Sultan of Sokoto.

Some titles can be pronounced with all L tones depending upon the speaker, e.g.

Dòktà Bājìři Dr. Bargery (author of the famous Hausa dictionary) (cf. the corresponding common noun **doktà** 'doctor', which also has a long final vowel), **Gwàmnà Audù Bàƙo** Governor Audu Bako (cf. **gwamnà** 'governor'), **Kànàř Lawàl Jàfařù Īsā** Colonel Lawal Jafaru Isa (cf. **kanàř** 'colonel'), **Kyàftìn Johnny Uku** Captain Johnny Uku (cf. **kyaftìn** 'captain'), **Nàs Mary** Nurse Mary (cf. **nâs** 'nurse').

5. Geographical Names

Geographical names, e.g. continents, countries, states, emirates, cities and towns, quarters/neighbourhoods, oceans, rivers, mountains, etc., are usually feminine

gender, whether native or foreign, and whatever their phonological shape. In terms of morphological make-up, geographical names are either simple or complex.

5.1. Simple (non-derived) geographical names

Names for long-established places within the Hausa-speaking area are often non-analyzable. Most native geographical names end in a short vowel—**Kanò** and **Dàurā** are conspicuous exceptions—and some end in a consonant. Examples (cities, towns, emirates, rivers, hills):

Argungù(n), **Azàře**, **Bicì**, **Bìřòm**, **Dàmagàřam**, **Dàurā**, **Dūtsè**, **Ɗambattà**, **Gaya**, **Gòbiř**, **Gumàl**, **Gùsau**, **Gwandu**, **Haɗējà**, **Jāhùn**, **Jèga**, **Kàtsinà**, **Kàzaure**, **Marāɗi**, **Mātāmâi**, **Rano**, **Ringìm**, **Sakkwato**, **Tàwa**, **Wùdil**, **Zàmfàrà**, **Zāriyà** = **Zazzàu**, **Zūřu**, **Dàla** 'Dala' (hill in Kano City), **Kùfēna** 'Kufena' (hill in Zaria City), **Màgwan** 'Magwan' (hill outside Kano City), **Galmà** 'Galma' (river in Zaria), **Wàtàri** 'Watari' (river in Kano)[2]

5.2. Complex (derived) geographical names

Complex geographical place names—also feminine gender—often correspond to cognate personal names or common nouns, and group into the following morphological categories:

Common nouns

Some place names—towns, villages, town-quarters, etc.—are related to common nouns designating a concrete object of some kind, but differ minimally in having a short final vowel, e.g. **Dūtsè** (cf. **dūtsè** 'stone, mountain'), **Fage** = Fage area

[2]Places can be expressed as [descriptor-'of' proper noun] constructions, e.g. **Biřnin Kanò** 'Kano City/the City of Kano' (lit. city.of Kano), **Jihàř Sakkwato** 'Sokoto State/the State of Sokoto', **Nāhiyàř Afiřkà** 'the African Continent/the Continent of Africa', **Kògin Kwāřà** 'the Niger River/the River Niger'.

of Kano City (cf. **fagē** 'open space'), **Kūra** (cf. **kūrā** 'hyena'), **Lāfiyà** (cf. **lāfiyà** 'health'), **Rīmi** (cf. **rīmī** 'silk cotton tree'), **Yàlwa** = Yalwa (town-quarter) (cf. **yàlwā** 'abundance'), **Yằshi** (cf. **yằshī** 'sand').

Plural suffix **-āwā**

This plural "ethnonymic" suffix is used with place names (toponyms), personal names, and common nouns to create names of areas, towns, town-quarters, etc., e.g.

> **Adamāwā** (< **Àdàmu** 'Adam'), **Agadasāwā** = quarter in Kano City (< **Agadàs** = Agades), **Gabasāwā** (< **gabàs** 'east'), **Gōbiřāwā** = quarter in Kano City (< **Gồbiř** = Gobir area), **Kududdufāwā** = quarter in Kano City (< **kùduddufī** 'borrow-pit'), **Mūsāwā** (< **Mūsā** 'Musa'), **Nasařāwā** (< **nasařà** 'victory'), **Tamburāwā** (< **tamburà** pl. 'royal drums'). Note too the plural-based names **Dawāki** (cf. **dawākī**, pl. of **dōkì** 'horse'), and **Shàřìfai** = quarter in Kano City (pl. of **shàřīfì** 'person who claims descent from the Prophet Muhammad').

Locative **ma-** prefix

The deverbal locative formation **ma-...-ā/ī** with all H tones occurs with a number of place names, and the suffix can also surface as short **-a** or **-i**, e.g. **Mahūta** (< **hūtà** 'rest'), **Majēma** (< **jēmà** 'tan'), **Malaßā** (< **laßè** 'crouch behind'), **Malumfāshi** (< **lumfàsā** 'take a breath'), **Mararrabā** (< **rarràbā** 'divide up').

X + noun compounds

Some place names are phrasal compounds made up of X + noun (length of final vowel variable). X can be **Ɗan/'Yař/'Yan** (lit. 'son/daughter/children.of'), e.g. **Ɗan Àgundi** = Kano City gate(way), **Ɗangǔguwà** (cf. **gǔguwà** 'whirlwind'), **'Yařkàsuwā** (cf. **kàsuwā** 'market'), **'Yan Awāki** (cf. **awākī** 'goats'), **'Yandōyà** (cf. **dōyà** 'yam(s)'). X can also consist of an adjective (with the linker), e.g. **Dōgon Dūtsì** (tall.of mountain), **Dōgon Nāmà** (long.of meat), **Sābon Gàri** (new.of town), or a noun (with the linker), e.g. **Dawākin Kudù** (horses.of south), **Dūtsèn Mā** (mountain.of Ma), **Gidan Makằmā** (house.of

Makama = museum), **Kwarìn Mabùgā** (valley.of cloth beaters), **Rījìyař Giginyà** (well.of deleb-palm), **Ruwan Dāďī** (water.of pleasantness), **Tudùn Maƙèrā** (hill.of blacksmiths), **Tudùn Wàdā** (hill.of wealth), **Zangòn Barèbarī** (camp.of Kanuri). Some place names consist of a noun plus numeral, e.g. **Rījìyā Huďu** (well four).

5.3. Foreign geographical names

Names for cities, countries, continents, seas, oceans, etc. outside the Hausa-speaking area are loanwords from Arabic or (more recently) English. Arabic loans denoting places and seas within the Islamic world include:

Àlƙāhiřà = Kaiřò Cairo, **Bàgàdāzà** Baghdad, **Bàhàř Māliyà** Red Sea, **Bàhàř Rûm** Mediterranean Sea (lit. sea.of Rome), **Biřnin Kudùs** (City of) Jerusalem, **Habashà** Ethiopia, **Ìsƙandàřiyà** Alexandria, **Ìsřā'ilà** Israel, **Mak(k)à** Mecca, **Masàř = Misiřà** Egypt, **Pàlàsďīnù** Palestine, **Sàudiyyà** (= **Kasā Mài Tsarkī**, lit. land possessing holiness) Saudi Arabia, **Shâm = Sīřiyà** Syria, **Tařābulùs** Tripoli

Geographical names borrowed from English, some spelled with the letter 'p', include:

Afìřkà = Afiřkà Africa, **Amìřkà = Amùřkà** America, **Āsiyà** Asia, **Àtàlantikà** Atlantic (Ocean), **Bàdùn** Ibadan, **Bàřno** Borno, **Binuwài** Benue (River, Town, State), **Bìřtāniyà** Britain, **Cādì** Chad, **Cainà = Sin** China, **Fàřansà** France, **Fàtàkwâl** Port Harcourt, **Fìlàtô** Plateau State, **Gānà** Ghana, **Indìyà** India, **Ingìlà** England, **Ìřâƙ = Ìřāƙì** Iraq, **Jāmùs** Germany, **Jàpân** Japan, **Kàmàřu** Cameroon, **Kògin Nîl = Kògin Nīlù** River Nile, **Kyanadà** Canada, **Landàn** London, **Lēgàs = Ìkko** Lagos, **Màidugùři** Maiduguri, **Màli** Mali, **Màřōkò** Morocco, **Nìjēřiyà = Nàjēřiyà = Nàijēřiyà** Nigeria, **Nìjâř** Niger, **Pākistàn** Pakistan, **Pāřìs** Paris, **Pāshà** Persia (Iran), **Rāshà** Russia, **Sahāřà** Sahara (Desert), **Sùdân** Sudan, **Tafkìn Cādì** Lake Chad, **Tânzāniyà**

Tanzania, **Tèkun Pāshà** Persian Gulf, **Wàgàdugù** Ouagadougou, **Yàmài** Niamey, **Zambìyà** Zambia, (**Zīřin**) **Gāzà** Gaza (Strip). See also **Tūřai** Europe (< ?).

6. Temporal Names

Week days—feminine gender by analogy with **rānā** f. 'day'—and names of Islamic calendar months—masculine, cf. **watà** m. 'month'—are borrowed from Arabic as follows:

Sunday	**Lahàdì**	Thursday	**Àlhàmîs**
Monday	**Lìttìnîn/Lìtìnîn**	Friday	**Jumma'à**
Tuesday	**Tàlātà**	Saturday	**Àsabàř** (= **Sātī** < Eng.)
Wednesday	**Làřàbā**		

Example: (**rānař/ran**) **Lahàdì/Tàlātà cē** 'it's Sunday/Tuesday'.

1st month	**Mùhařřàm**	7th month	**Řajàb**
2nd month	**Safàř**	8th month	**Shà'àbân**
3rd month	**Řàbī'ù Lawwàl**	9th month	**Řàmàlân/Řàmàdân**
4th month	**Řàbī'ù Lāhìř**	10th month	**Shàwwâl**
5th month	**Jìmādā Lawwàl**	11th month	**Zùlƙīdà**
6th month	**Jìmādā Lāhìř**	12th month	**Zulhajjì**

Example: **Zùlƙīdà shī nề watà na gōmà shâ ɗaya** 'Zulƙida is the 11th month'.

English-based western calendar months (all masculine) are:

January	**Jànairù**	July	**Yūlì**
February	**Fàbřairù**	August	**Àgustà**
March	**Māřìs**	September	**Sàtumbà**
April	**Àfřīlù**	October	**Òktōbà**
May	**Māyù**	November	**Nùwambà**
June	**Yūnì**	December	**Dìsambà**

The two major Muslim festivals (religious holidays) are 'the Greater Festival' **Bàbbař Sallà = Sallàř Layya** (*Id-al-Kabir*, at the time of the pilgrimage to Mecca), and 'the Lesser Festival' **Kàramař Sallà = Sallàř Azùmī** (*Id-al-Fitr*, following Ramadan). Note too **Kiřsìmatì** Christmas, and **Istà** Easter.

7. Books, Newspapers

Important (religious) books include **Àlƙùř'ānì Mài Girmā** the Holy Koran and **Littāfì Mài Tsarkī** the Holy Bible, and the main Hausa newspaper is **Gaskiyā Tā Fi Kwabò** Truth Is Worth More Than A Penny (lit. truth 3f.PF exceed penny).

Chapter 4
Simple Nouns and Adjectives: Gender and Number

1. Introduction

This chapter describes the phonological and morphological properties of simple, non-derived nouns and adjectives. Simple adjectives have essentially the same formal properties as nouns, and they vary for number and gender in accordance with the same morphological rules. (See §**3** for the classification of nouns, §**5** for derived nouns and adjectives, and §**9** for the structure of simple noun phrases and the syntactic properties of nouns and adjectives.) The two key dimensions of nominal and adjectival morphophonological behaviour are gender (§2) and number (§3).

2. Gender

Hausa, in keeping with a number of Chadic languages, has retained the Afroasiatic distinction between nouns which are lexically masculine and those which are feminine, and Hausa nouns exhibit overt morphophonological correlations with gender (see Newman 1979a, Parsons 1960a, 1961, 1963, and especially Newman 2000: chap. 31 for detailed descriptions). The two-term masculine/feminine gender opposition is distinguished in the singular only, where there is a general correlation between grammatical gender and phonological shape—most nouns ending in **-i**(**i**), **-e**(**e**), **-o**(**o**), **-u**(**u**) or in a consonant are masculine, and feminine nouns almost all end in **-a**(**a**). For human and higher animal referents (see below), grammatical gender correlates with natural gender. In most cases, however, overt grammatical gender on simple nouns is lexically determined. The intrinsic grammatical gender of head nouns shows up on various agreement-displaying targets, including gender-sensitive

adjectives (§2.6), in a range of syntactic constructions. Examples (head nouns underlined):

aikì-n maƙèrī nè	'it's the blacksmith's work'
work(m)-of(m) blacksmith COP(m)	
màta-ř maƙèrī cè	'it's the blacksmith's wife'
wife(f)-of(f) blacksmith COP(f)	
ƙwallō nè	'it's a stone (in fruit)'
stone(m) COP(m)	
cf. **ƙwallō cè**	'it's a ball'
ball(f) COP(f)	
wata mōtà farā	'a white car'
SID(f) car(f) white(f)	

Examples of masculine gender nouns ending in **-i**(**i**), **-e**(**e**), **-o**(**o**), **-u**(**u**) or a consonant, including (de)verbal nouns, are:

hancì m. 'nose', **rāmì** m. 'hole', **ginì** m. 'building', **ƙāge** m. 'false accusation', **zōbè** m. 'ring', **gōřò** m. 'kolanut', **idò** m. 'eye', **ƙwàřō** m. 'insect', **rōƙō** m. 'begging', **àbù** m. 'thing', **bugù** m. 'beating', **gandū** m. 'large farm', **mùtûm** m. 'man', **tēbùř** m. 'table'

Most loanwords ending in these same vowels are also masculine gender, unless the gender is determined by semantics or analogy (see below), e.g. (< Eng.) **fentì** m. 'paint', **řēlùwè** m. 'railway', **bùlô** m. 'cement block', **ūlù** m. 'wool', (< Ar.) **lìnzāmì** m. 'bridle', **sulhù** m. 'peace'. Native Hausa nouns ending in the diphthongs **-ai** or **-au** are also normally masculine, e.g. **faifai** m. 'circular mat, record', **kâi** m. 'head', **mâi** m. 'oil', **râi** m. 'life', **dàkau** m. 'pounding corn for payment', **sau** m. 'footprint', **sàu** m. 'times (multiplication)', **tautàu** m. 'sore, carbuncle' (cf. though **masai** 'cesspit' which is usually feminine).

Due to various historical changes, however, the system is not maximally overt, and there are a number of masculine gender native Hausa nouns which end in **-a(a)**, the usual feminine gender-identifying final vowel.[1] Examples:

ɓēřā m. 'mouse, rat', **dilā** m. 'jackal', **fā** m. 'rocky outcrop', **gàbā** m. 'front of body', **kadà** m. 'crocodile', **sūnā** m. 'name', **watà** m. 'moon, month' (note too the (de)verbal nouns **dakà** m. 'pounding', **gyārā** m. 'repair(ing)', and **shâ** m. 'drinking').

In some cases natural gender overrides surface phonology (see also below), e.g. **bāwà** m. '(male) slave', **bàba** = **ùbā** m. 'father', **wâ** m. 'elder brother', **zàkarà** m. 'cock'. A number of HH tone nouns like **gidā** m. 'house, compound' and **ruwā** m. 'water' are erstwhile (Class 11) plurals which have been reanalyzed as masculine singular stems. Some final **-a(a)** masculine nouns are loans, mainly from English, where natural sex-gender again determines grammatical gender, e.g. **fàdā** m. '(Catholic) father, priest', **hafsà** m. 'officer', **hēlùmà** m. 'headman, foreman' (note too **bappà** m. 'paternal uncle' < Ful.). The loanword **nāmà** 'meat, flesh' (< Niger-Congo) is also masculine.

A typologically interesting feature of the system involves assignment of gender to a noun by semantic analogy with the intrinsic gender of an established generic referent in the language. Thus, some final **-ā** loan nouns get their masculine gender from a pre-existing masculine referent (see also below for feminines). Examples:

basfà m. 'motor scooter (Vespa)' (cf. **kèkè** m. 'bicycle'), **silīfà** m. 'slipper(s), sandal(s)' (cf. **tàkàlmī** m. 'shoe'), **sūfà** m. 'super grade petroleum' (cf. **mâ n fētùř** m. 'petroleum')

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[1]Historically, both masculine *and* feminine nouns are reconstructable with all five final vowels plus consonants, i.e. gender was not phonologically marked on nouns, although adjectives would have carried feminine inflection (§2.6.2). The present-day correlation between canonical shape—final **-a(a)**—and feminine gender is, therefore, an innovation. See Newman (1979a) and Schuh (1984) for the historical backdrop to the evolution of the inflectional **-a(a)** suffix as an overt indicator of feminine gender in Hausa. Final vowels of nouns and adjectives were also historically short but many subsequently underwent morphologically determined lengthening (Greenberg 1978).

Some verb + (f.) noun compounds get their (m.) gender in the same way (Ahmad 1994: 106ff.), e.g. **gàidà-yàya** m. 'type of dish' (lit. greet-elder sister, cf. **kwānò** m. 'dish, bowl'), **gằgàrà-gằsa** m. 'type of fabric' (defy-competition, cf. **yādì** m. 'fabric').

Feminine gender nouns almost all end in **-a**(**a**). Examples:

> **fuskằ** f. 'face', **hanyằ** f. 'road', **hùlā** f. 'cap', **ƙasā** f. 'land, country', **gāɗa** f. 'girls' game', **gōnā** f. 'farm', **kāsā** f. 'puff-adder', **kujèrā** f. 'chair', **rānā** f. 'sun' (note too the (de)verbal nouns **ƙīrằ** f. 'smithing' and **shìgā** f. 'going in, outfit').

Loanwords in final **-a**(**a**) are also usually feminine, e.g. **bīzằ** f. 'visa', **hamằ** f. 'hammer', **mōtằ** f. 'car', **tābằ** f. 'tobacco' (< Eng.), and **gahawằ** f. 'coffee', **sūřà** f. 'chapter in the Koran', **zìnā** f. 'adultery' (< Ar.). There are, however, a number of feminine gender words that end either in a vowel other than **-ā**—the native Hausa word **màcè** f. 'woman' is a conspicuous example—or a consonant. Most are loanwords, e.g. **hedìgêl** f. 'head girl (in school)', **kìlākì** f. 'prostitute (modern type)' (< Eng. 'clerk'), **gwaggò** f. 'aunt (paternal)' (< Ful.), where intrinsic sex-gender again neutralizes gender assignment on the basis of final vowel. In some cases, as with some final **-ā** masculine nouns, feminine gender has been assigned to a non-final **-ā** (loan) noun by analogy with a pre-existing feminine referent. Examples:

> (all < Eng.) **fiřāmàřè** f. 'primary school', **kwalējì** f. 'college' and **sakandàřè** f. 'secondary school' (cf. **makařantā** f. 'school'), **singìlētì** f. 'vest, singlet' (cf. **tagùwā** f. 'shirt, short gown'), **tằsî** f. 'taxi' (cf. **mōtằ** f. 'car'), **tōcìlàn** f. 'torch, flashlight' (cf. **fìtilằ** f. 'lamp, light'); and **en'è** f. 'native authority (N.A.)', **gwamnatì** f. 'government' and **kōtù** f. 'court' are feminine by analogy with pre-existing **hùkūmằ** f. 'authority' and **shàři'ằ** f. 'law, court' (< Ar.).

The loanwords **bīdiyò** f. 'video recorder', **řēdiyò** f. 'radio', and **talàbijìn** f. 'television' (all can be masc. for some speakers) possibly get their gender from **nā'ūřā** f. 'machine' (< Ar.). Note too the compound nouns **à-ci-bàlbàl** f. 'oil

lamp' (cf. **fìtilà** f. 'lamp'), **dàfà-dukà** f. 'jollof rice' (cf. **shìnkāfā** f. 'rice'), and the modern feminine acronyms NATO f. 'North Atlantic Treaty Organization' (cf. **ƙungìyā** f. 'organization'), BUK f. 'Bayero University Kano' (cf. **jāmi'à** f. 'university'), TTC f. 'Teacher Training College' (cf. **kwalējì** f. 'college').

A few inanimate nouns operate either masculine or feminine gender depending upon idiolect, e.g. **kàmā** m./f. 'likeness, similarity', **sàndā** m./f. 'stick', **tèku** m./f. 'ocean, sea', **yātsà** m./f. 'finger', and in some cases a noun is masculine in one dialect and feminine in another, e.g. **takòbī** 'sword' = masc. in Kano but fem. in Katsina Hausa. In a very few cases, a given noun occurs with either masculine or feminine gender but this correlates with a meaning difference, e.g. **ƙwallō** m. 'stone in fruit' vs. **ƙwallō** f. 'ball', **kūrā** m. 'hand-cart' (also f.) vs. **kūrā** f. 'hyena'.

Personal nouns denoting males and some higher (often domestic) animal male nouns have inherent masculine gender, and nouns denoting female persons and some higher female animals are intrinsically feminine gender, regardless of their overt phonology. With some paired items two different lexemes are used, whereas in other cases the feminine form is the inflected or derived counterpart of the masculine stem (§2.6). Examples:

Masculine: **bàba** 'father', **ɗā** 'son', **ɗan-daudù** 'homosexual', **ƙanè** 'younger brother', **mijì** 'husband', **mùtûm** 'man', **sarkī** 'emir, king', **sauràyī** 'young man', **tùzūrū** 'batchelor', **ùbā** 'father', **yārò** 'boy', **yàřīmà** 'prince'; **bùnsurū** 'billy goat', **ìngařmà** 'stallion', **kàrē** 'dog', **rāgō** 'ram', **sâ** 'bull', **zàkarà** 'cock', **zākì** 'lion'. (Personal (proper) names for specific males also have intrinsic masculine gender, e.g. **Bàlā**, **Gàmbo**, **Mammàn**, **Talle**, **Wāli**, **Yàƙubù**.)

Feminine: **bàzawàrā** 'divorced woman', **bùdurwā** 'young girl', **gimbìyā** 'princess', **gwaggò** 'aunt', **kāřùwà** 'prostitute', **ƙanwà** 'younger sister', **màcè** 'woman', **màtā** 'woman, wife', **mùtūnìyā** 'woman', **sàraunìyā** 'queen', **uwā** 'mother', **yārinyà** 'girl', **'yā** 'daughter'; **àkwiyà** 'nanny goat', **gōɗìyā** 'mare', **kàryā** 'bitch', **sānìyā** 'cow', **tunkìyā** 'sheep, ewe', **zākanyà** 'lioness'. (Personal female names have feminine gender, e.g. **Amīnà**, **Bìlki**, **Kànde**, **Màiřo**, **Zàinabù**.)

Other animals have lexical gender, e.g. (masculine) **bìkā** m. 'baboon', **dilā** m. 'jackal', **kùnkurū** m. 'tortoise', **zōmō** m. 'hare', (feminine) **àgwàgwā** f. 'duck', **ɓaunā** f. 'buffalo', **dàmisà** f. 'leopard', **dòrinā** f. 'hippopotamus', **gaggāfā** f. 'eagle (bateleur)', **gīwā** f. 'elephant', **ùngùlu** f. 'vulture'. The word **tòřō** m. can be used as a gender marker (with the **-n** linker) to indicate the male counterpart, e.g. **tòřon àgwàgwā** m. 'drake', **tòřon ɓaunā** m. 'bull buffalo', **tòřon gīwā** m. 'bull elephant'.

There is also a subset of epicene nouns, including some loanwords, whose grammatical gender is determined via the sex of their real-world, often human, referents. Examples (mainly final **-a**(**a**)):

> **àfàřētà** m./f. 'operator (telephone)', **àku** m./f. 'parrot', **bùtùlu** m./f. 'ungrateful person', **dàřaktà** m./f. 'director', **doktà** m./f. 'doctor (Ph.D.)', **fāsinjà** m./f. 'passenger', **jīkà** m./f. 'grandchild', **kàkā** m./f. 'grandparent', **Kiřistà** m./f. 'Christian', **kurmā** m./f. 'deaf person', **ministà** m./f. 'minister (political)', **nâs** m./f. 'nurse', **sa'à** m./f. 'contemporary, peer', **shùgàbā** m./f. 'leader, head', **wāwā** m./f. 'fool'

Some sex-neutral epicine nouns are compounds, e.g. **barbarař-yânyāwà** m./f. 'mixed race person', **ɓàtà-gàri** m./f. 'criminal, undesirable element', **tàttàɓà-kunne** m./f. 'great grandchild'. The gender of epicene nouns shows up syntactically on coreferential concordial elements, e.g. [**kàkā-nā**]$_{m}$ [**nè**]$_{m}$ 'it's my grandfather' vs. [**kàkā-tā**]$_{f}$ [**cè**]$_{f}$ 'it's my grandmother'.

There are also several lexico-semantic subclasses of nouns which share the same specified gender regardless of their termination. Some, but not all, take their gender from a superordinate generic term.

2.1. Geographical locations

Names of geographical locations are usually feminine gender, whatever their morphophonological shape, and even if they correspond to masculine or plural common nouns. Countries (cf. **ƙasā** f. 'country'), continents (cf. **nāhiyà** f.

'continent'), states (cf. **jihǎ** f. 'state') and town quarters (cf. **ùnguwā** f. 'town quarter, ward') are feminine. Examples:

Afîřkà f. 'Africa', **Amùřkà** f. 'America', **Bauci** f. 'Bauchi (State)', **Cainà** f. 'China', **Fìlàtô** f. 'Plateau (State)', **Galādancì** f. 'Galadanci (Quarter)', **Jāmùs** f. 'Germany', **Jâpân** f. 'Japan', **Kùrmâwā** f. 'Kurmawa (Quarter)' (= morphological plural, see below), **Nìjâř** f. 'Niger', **Nìjēřiyà** f. 'Nigeria', **Tūřai** f. 'Europe', **'Yandōyà** f. ''Yandoya (Quarter)' (= pl.), **Zangòn Barèbarī** 'Zangon Barebari (Quarter)'

Example: **Jāmùs/Jàpân/Nìjēřiyà bàbba** [**cè**]$_f$ 'Germany/Japan/Nigeria is big'

Names of towns, cities, villages, and rivers are also feminine, e.g.

Argungù(n) f. 'Argungu', **Azàře** f. 'Azare', **Bàbban Mùtûm** f. 'Babban Mutum' (lit. important man), **Binuwài** f. 'Benue (River)', **Biřnin Kabì** f. 'Birnin Kebbi', **Fàtǎkwâl** f. 'Port Harcourt', **Fataskùm** f. 'Potiskum', **Ìkko/Lēgàs** f. 'Lagos', **Inugù** f. 'Enugu', **Jǎkara** f. 'Jakara (stream in Kano City)', **Kàdūna** f. 'Kaduna', **Kanỏ** f. 'Kano', **Kwārà** f. 'Niger (River)', **Kārǎye** f. 'Karaye' (= pl.), **Landàn** f. 'London', **Sābon Biřni** f. 'Sabon Birni', **Sakkwato** f. 'Sokoto', **Wàtàri** f. 'Watari (River)', **Wùdil** f. 'Wudil (Town/River)', **Zàmfàrà** f. 'Zamfara', **Nasařāwā** f. 'Nasarawa (Town)', **Tamburāwā** f. 'Tamburawa (Town)' (both with **-āwā** pl. suffix)

Examples:

Wàtàri [**tā**]$_f$ **cikō** 'the Watari (River) has flooded'
Argungù(n)/Ìkko/Kanỏ [**tā**]$_f$ **cìka** 'Argungu/Lagos/Kano is full (of people)'

For mountains and hills gender assignment is phonologically determined, e.g. **Dǎla** f. 'Dala', **Gwauron Dūtsè** m. 'Goron Dutse' (lit. single man.of mountain, cf. **gwaurō** m. 'single man' and **dutsè** m. 'mountain, hill'). If, however, a

common generic descriptor noun with masculine gender precedes the name of a city, town, river or mountain, e.g. **birnī** m. 'city', **gàrī** m. 'town', **kògī** m. 'river', **dūtsè** m. 'mountain, hill', it controls masculine agreement as the head. Thus, the city **Kanò** is feminine, but **Birnin Kanò** 'Kano City' (city.of Kano) is masculine, the river **Wàtàri** is feminine, but **Kògin Wàtàri** 'the River Watari' (river.of Watari) is masculine, the hill **Dàla** is feminine, but **Dūtsèn Dàla** 'Dala Hill' (hill.of Dala) is masculine.

2.2. *O'clock hours, days of the week, and prayer-times*

Also feminine gender are o'clock hours, e.g. **ƙarfè biyu** f. 'two o'clock', days of the week (**Sātī** m. 'Saturday' excepted), e.g. **Jumma'à** f. 'Friday', **Lìtìnîn** f. 'Monday' (cf. **rānā** f. 'day'), and prayer-times, e.g. **àzahàr** f. 'second prayer (early afternoon)', **màgàribà** f. 'fourth prayer (sunset)' (cf. **sallà** f. 'prayer'). Examples:

ƙarfè ukù [tā]$_{f}$ **yi**	'it's three o'clock'
Lìtìnîn/Tàlātà [cē]$_{f}$	'it's Monday/Tuesday'
àzahàr/màgàribà [tā]$_{f}$ **yi**	'it's early/late afternoon'

2.3. *Months*

Names of Islamic and western calendar months are masculine (cf. **watà** m. 'month'), e.g. **Safàr** m. '2nd Islamic month', **Zùlƙīdà** m. '11th Islamic month', **Jànairù** m. 'January', **Màrìs** m. 'March', **Yūnì** m. 'June', though some speakers treat final **-ā** months as feminine, e.g. **Dìsambà** m./f. 'December'. Examples:

Jànairù [yā]$_{m}$ **fi Màrìs sanyī**	'January is colder than March'
Zùlƙīdà [shī nè]$_{m}$ **watà na gōmà shâ ɗaya**	'Zulƙida is the 11th month'

2.4. Numerals

Numerals take feminine gender when functioning as autonomous heads, e.g.

biyu/takwàs/hàmsin/ɗàrī/mètan/dubū [tā]$_f$ fi ɗaya
'two/eight/50/100/200/1,000 is more than one'
biyu/tàlàtin/ɗàrī [cè]$_f$ 'it's two/30/100'
gōmà [ta]$_f$ wùyā 'the difficult ten'
(lit. ten of difficulty, used to describe the middle ten-day period of fasting during the holy month of Ramadan)
dubū [tā]$_f$ cikà masà 'his number was up'
(lit. thousand 3f.PF fill for him, referring to the period of time before someone's fate is sealed)

2.5. Time and place adverbs used as nouns

Members of this word-class are feminine gender when used as heads, e.g. (time) **gòbe** f. 'tomorrow', **yâu** f. 'today', **bàɗi** f. 'next year', **bàra** f. 'last year', (place) **gàba** f. 'in front', including compass-points, e.g. **arèwa** f. 'north', **gabàs** f. 'east'. Examples (as clause subjects):

gòbe [ta]$_f$ Allàh cē 'tomorrow belongs to God'
jībi [tā]$_f$ yi nīsā 'the day after tomorrow is a long way off'
bàra [tā]$_f$ kāwō àlbaŕkà 'last year brought prosperity'
shēkaranjiyà [tā]$_f$ fi kyâu 'the day before yesterday is best'
(i.e. the good old days)
bàɗi [wàccan]$_f$ 'the year after next' (lit. next year that (distant))
gàba [tā]$_f$ fi bāya kyâu
'the future (in front) is better than the past (behind)'
kusa-kusa [tā]$_f$ fi 'closer is better'
arèwa/kudù/gabàs/yâmma [tā]$_f$ yi hakà
'north/south/east/west is that direction'

The modal pro-form **hakà** 'thus, that, this, so, etc.' takes variable gender, e.g. **hakà** [**yā**]$_{M}$ **fi = hakà** [**tā**]$_{F}$ **fi** 'that's best'.

2.6. *Feminine gender forms of nouns and/or adjectives*

The key treatments of feminine gender formation are in Leben (1971), Newman (1979a, 1986b), Parsons (1960a, 1961, 1963), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 31). Two basic morphological processes can be distinguished: derivation (nouns only, §2.6.1) and inflection (nouns and/or adjectives, §2.6.2).

2.6.1. *Derivation with* ***-nìyā*** *or* ***-anyà*** *suffix*

A small, closed set of nouns, mainly denoting male persons and higher animals, have corresponding feminine forms which use a derivational suffix with two allomorphs, **-nìyā** and **-anyà**. This derivational process converts semantically male forms into semantically female forms. If the masculine stem contains three syllables, the corresponding feminine replaces the final vowel of the masculine noun with LH **-nìyā**. Examples of gender pairs (all human) are:

ɓàrāwò/ɓàraunìyā m./f. 'thief', **jinjìrī/jinjiřnìyā** m./f. 'infant', **màkāhò/màkaunìyā** (< ***màkamnìyā**) m./f. 'blind person', **màrāyà/màrainìyā** m./f. 'orphan', **mùtûm/mùtūnìyā** (< ***mùtumnìyā**) m./f. 'man/woman', **sarkī/sàraunìyā** (< ***sàraknìyā**) m./f. 'king/queen'

If the masculine has two syllables, the derivative feminine counterpart is formed by attaching what Newman (1986b) terms a "tone-integrating" suffix **-anyà**)^{HL}, where the initial H tone of the suffix is copied in a right-to-left direction. Examples (humans and higher animals):

bōkā/bōkanyà m./f. 'traditional doctor', **jīkà/jīkanyà** m./f. 'grandchild', **kīfī/kīfanyà** m./f. 'fish/large fish' (the f. form can denote the larger of the pair), **zākì/zākanyà** m./f. 'lion/lioness'. Note too irregular **birì/birinyà** m./f. 'monkey', **yārò/yārinyà** m./f. 'boy/girl' (both with an **-inyà** suffix).

The same tone-integrating analysis is required for dialectal pairs like **màzō/māzanyà** m./f. 'bushbuck (antelope)', where the initial L tone of the masculine stem is overridden by the initial left-spreading H of the suffix. The **-anyà** derivational suffix is also attested with a few inanimates, e.g. **zōbè** m. = **zōbanyà** f. 'ring', **ƙawanyà** f. 'small metal ring' (?< **ƙawā** 'adornment').

*2.6.2. Inflection with **-ā** suffix*

Some adjectives and/or nouns, including derived adjectives, utilize an inflectional **-ā** feminine suffix, the same ending used with intrinsically feminine gender nouns that historically underwent overt characterization (see fn. 1). With adjectives, suffixation of **-ā** produces the syntactically required feminine form of masculine stems, e.g. **[ƙàramin]**$_{m}$ **[yārò]**$_{m}$ 'a small boy', cf. **[ƙàramaɽ̃]**$_{f}$ **[yārinyà]**$_{f}$ 'a small girl', where **ƙàramī** m. + **-ā** → **ƙàramā** f. 'small'. In the case of nouns, it denotes the grammatically female counterpart of masculine words describing male persons or higher animals, e.g. **mālàmī** m. + **-ā** → **mālàmā** f. 'teacher (m./f.)'.[2] Further examples (with transitional phonetic glides where required between the stem and suffix) are:

jàkī m. + **-ā**	→	**jàkā** f. 'donkey/she-donkey'
àlfadàɽ̃ī m. + **-ā**	→	**àlfadàɽ̃ā** f. 'mule'
baƙī m. + **-ā**	→	**baƙā** f. 'black'
shūɗì m. + **-ā**	→	**shūɗìyā** f. 'blue'
tsōhō m. + **-ā**	→	**tsōhuwā** f. 'old (person)'

Inflectional marking for gender in Hausa is thus phonologically "echoic", as well as being overt, in the sense that feminine gender **-ā** marking is often identical on controller heads and their target adjectives, e.g. **rìgā baƙā** 'a black gown' (lit. gown(f) black(f)). The feminine **-ā** suffixation rules are as follows:

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[2]Because of the functional overlap between nouns and adjectives (§9:3), the distinction between derivation and inflection as word-formation processes is not clearcut in the case of feminine gender marking with **-ā** (see also Newman 2000: 209ff.).

Rule 1: Stem-final H tone **-ī** + **-ā** → **-ā**

If the masculine stem ends in H tone **-ī**, the feminine suffix **-ā** simply replaces the final vowel, e.g.

Bàgǒbiřī m. + -ā	→	**Bàgǒbiřā** f. 'Gobir man/woman'
baƙī m. + -ā	→	**baƙā** f. 'black'
cǎkuřkùřī m. + -ā	→	**cǎkuřkùřā** f. 'short and slight'
ɗālìbī m. + -ā	→	**ɗālìbā** f. 'student'
farī m. + -ā	→	**farā** f. 'white'
jǎkī m. + -ā	→	**jǎkā** f. 'donkey/she-donkey'
jāřùmī m. + -ā	→	**jāřùmā** f. 'brave (person)'
ƙàramī m. + -ā	→	**ƙàramā** f. 'small'
mālàmī m. + -ā	→	**mālàmā** f. 'teacher'
ƙàzāmī m. + -ā	→	**ƙàzāmā** f. 'filthy'

Rule 2: Stem-final H tone **-ē** + **-ā** → **-(i)yā**, L tone **-ì** or **-è** + **-ā** → **-ìyā**

With all other feminine formations, the **-ā** suffix is attached to the entire stem, i.e. with final vowel, and if the masculine ends in L tone **-ì** or **è**, the suffix appears as LH **-ìyā**.[3] The stem-final vowels neutralize to short /**i**/ before the epenthetic /**y**/ glide. Examples of the **-ìyā** suffix are:

shūɗì m. + -ā	→	**shūɗìyā** f. 'blue'
sìřīřì m. + -ā	→	**sìřīřìyā** f. 'tall and thin'
mùhimmì m. + -ā	→	**mùhimmìyā** f. 'important'
shàƙiyyì m. + -ā	→	**shàƙiyyìyā** f. 'shameless'
wàkīlì m. + -ā	→	**wàkīlìyā** f. '(news) correspondent'

[3]At an earlier stage, the now occurring LH tone suffixes **-ìyā** and **-ùwā** were probably LL tone final long vowel sequences—the **-ā** suffix having copied the stem-final L tone—which were subsequently raised to LH by the so-called rule of "Low Tone Raising" (§**2**), i.e. **shūɗì** m. + **-ā** > HLL ***shūɗìyà*** > (occurring) HLH **shūɗìyā** f. 'blue', **ƙātò** m. + **-ā** > HLL ***ƙātùwà*** > HLH **ƙātùwā** f. 'huge'. Newman (2000: chap. 31:§3.1) treats the **-ā** suffix as inherently toneless, but because the suffix always surfaces as H tone, at least at a shallow synchronic level, I am describing it as such.

Bàhaushè m. + **-ā**	→	**Bàhaushìyā** f. 'Hausa man/woman'
kōrè m. + **-ā**	→	**kōrìyā** f. 'green'
santalēlè m. + **ā**	→	**santalēlìyā** f. 'thin, svelte, curvaceous'
shēgè m. + **-ā**	→	**shēgìyā** f. 'bastard'

With final H tone **-ē** stems, the resulting suffix is HH **-iyā**, e.g. **bēbē** m. + **-ā** → **bēbiyā** f. 'deaf-mute', **dàfaffē** m. + **-ā** → **dàfaffiyā** f. 'cooked', unless the penultimate syllable is light, in which case the **/iy/** reduces to **/y/**, e.g. **kàrē** m. 'dog' + **-ā** → **kàryā** f. 'bitch'. Note too irregular **ɗanyē** m. → **ɗanyā** f. 'raw, unripe', and **ƙànƙanè** m. → **ƙànƙanùwā** f. 'small'.

The LH **-ìyā** feminine suffix has been upgraded into a fully morphologized autonomous formative which can be freely used with masculine stems ending in vowels other than L tone **-ì** or **-è**, e.g. **àbōkī/àbōkìyā** m./f. 'friend', **gàjērē/gàjērìyā** m./f. 'short', **jàkādà/jàkādìyā** m./f. 'ambassador'. In a number of cases, the suffix has become frozen to the stem, e.g. **tunkìyā** f. 'sheep, ewe', **gōɗìyā** f. 'mare'.

Rule 3: Stem-final H tone **-ō** or **-ū** + **-ā** → **-(u)wā**, L tone **-ò** or **-ù** + **-ā** → **-ùwā**
If the masculine singular ends in H tone **-ō** or **-ū**, attachment of **-ā** produces a HH suffix **-uwā**, and with final L tone **-ò** and **-ù** stems the suffix appears as LH **-ùwā**. Stem-final vowels neutralize to short **/u/** before the transitional **/w/** glide, and if the penultimate syllable of the final H tone stem is light, the **/uw/** reduces to **/w/**, e.g. **kuturū** m. + **-ā** → **kuturwā** f. 'leper' (see also Rule 2). Examples:

dōgō m. + **-ā**	→	**dōguwā** f. 'long, tall'
sābō m. + **-ā**	→	**sābuwā** f. 'new'
tsōhō m. + **-ā**	→	**tsōhuwā** f. 'old man/woman'
zàbō m. + **-ā**	→	**zàbuwā** f. 'guineafowl'
huntū m. + **-ā**	→	**huntuwā** f. 'naked'
Bàkanò m. + **-ā**	→	**Bàkanùwā** f. 'Kano man/woman'
jòlōlò m. + **-ā**	→	**jòlōlùwā** f. 'tall and lanky (person)'

ƙātò m. + **-ā** → **ƙātùwā** f. 'huge'
gurgù m. + **-ā** → **gurgùwā** f. 'lame'
mūgù m. + **-ā** → **mūgùwā** f. 'ugly, evil'

Epicene nouns and adjectives with final **-ā** or **-à** do not normally inflect for gender, e.g.

bàbba m./f. 'large', **jā** m./f. 'red', **jīkà** m./f. 'grandchild', **kùmāmā** m./f. 'feeble (person)', **kurmā** m./f. 'deaf (person)', **kyàkkyāwā** m./f. 'beautiful', **rà̀wayà̀** m./f. 'yellow', **sa'à̀** m./f. 'peer, contemporary', **wà̀dā** m./f. 'dwarf', **wāwā** m./f. 'fool(ish)', **zàzzāfā** m./f. 'very hot' (note too invariant **bùtùlu** m./f. 'ungrateful person').

In some cases, the related masculine and feminine forms coexist as near synonymous alternatives, e.g. **tsuntsū** m. = **tsuntuwā** f. 'bird', **zīnāřì** m. = **zīnāřìyā** f. 'gold'. In other cases, the coexisting nouns have different but cognate meanings, e.g. **cībì** m. 'protruding navel' vs. **cībìyā** f. 'navel, centre', **kīshì** m. 'jealousy' vs. **kīshìyā** f. 'co-wife'.

3. Plurals of Nouns and Adjectives

Nominal and adjectival plurality in Hausa is one of the most rich and complex areas of morphological behaviour, and there is a great deal of idiolectal and dialectal variation. Various treatments are to be found in Abraham (1959b), Gouffé (1975b), Hellwig & McIntyre (2000), Leben (1977a, b), Newman (1972b, 1986b, 1990, 2000: chap. 56), Parsons (1970, 1975, 1981: 78ff.), Pilszczikowa-Chodak (1979), and Wolff (1992, 1993: 143ff.). (Newman's and Parsons' descriptions in particular underpin this section.)

At the surface level, about forty distinct plural formations are attested, and between them they exploit a variety of affixal mechanisms, including suffixation,

infixation (with suffixation), reduplication, and tonal alternations. The plural suffixes are all vowel initial, commonly -(VVC)VV, and replace the final vowel (monophthong or diphthong) of the base, e.g. **kīfī** 'fish', pl. **kīf-ằyē**, **tāgằ** 'window', pl. **tāg-ōgī**, **mālàmī** 'teacher', pl. **mằlàm-ai**. Final consonants, with the marginal exception of /**n**/, are preserved in the plural, e.g. **bâm** 'bomb', pl. **bàm-ằ-bàm-ai**, **bātìř** 'battery', pl. **bātiř-ōřī**. Simple adjectives use basically the same rules for pluralization as nouns of similar shape, but do not use the same range of plural formations as nouns. (See §**5** for plurals of more specialized categories of derived adjectives.)

Nominal and adjectival plural affixes are all "tone-integrating", extending their tonal melodies from right to left over the whole singular base, i.e. minus tone and final nucleus, and overriding its lexical tones. Examples (with singular English glosses, see relevant §§ below for details):

LH **hǔlā** + Class 5a **-unā**)^{HL} pl. suffix	→	HHL **hūl-unằ** 'cap'
LH **cǔtā** + Class 5b **-ukā**)^{HL} pl. suffix	→	HHHL **cū-tut-tukằ** 'disease'
LHL **wàhalằ** + Class 4 **-ōCī**)^{H} pl. suffix	→	HHHH **wahal-ōlī** 'trouble'
HLH **mālàmī** + Class 10 **-ai**)^{LH} pl. suffix	→	LLH **mằlàm-ai** 'teacher'
LHL **mùhimmì** + Class 10 **-ai**)^{LH} pl. suffix	→	LLH **mùhìmm-ai** 'important'

Although the plural of a given singular form is not always rule-governed, there are some important class-specific correlations. Plural formation can be sensitive to a variety of (co)factors, including the tone, syllable weight, number of syllables, and final vowel (gender) of the singular. For example, singulars operating Class 1 plurals with the **-āCē**)^{HLH} suffix (where C = Consonant) are almost all disyllabic with all H tones, and the quantity-sensitive suffix is realized as **-ằyē** if the initial syllable has a long CVV nucleus, e.g. HH **gīwā** → HLH **gīw-ằyē** 'elephant'. Disyllabic nouns with Class 5 **-uCā**)^{HL} plurals are typically masculine (final vowel other than /**ā**/) with LH or HL tones, e.g. LH **wàndō** → HHL **wand-unằ** 'trousers', HL **ƙauyề** → HHL **ƙauy-ukằ** 'village'. (See various (sub)classes below for interpredictability details.)

If one takes the key co-variables of plural tone pattern and affixation into account, the various surface forms are reducible to the basic 14 or so major classes outlined in Table 3 (based on SH). Following a brief description of the core rules of copying and reduplication, the plural classes are then discussed individually.

Table 3. Major plural classes

Classes (affixes and tones)	Plural	Singular	Gloss
(1) **-āCē**)^{HLH}	**baƙàƙē**	**baƙī**	black
	gīwàyē	**gīwā**	elephant
	biřànē	**biřnī**	city
(2) **-āC$_f$ā**)^{HLH}	**haràsā**	**harshè**	tongue
	tsauràrā	**tsàttsaurā**	tight, strict
-C$_f$C$_f$ā)^{HLH}	**zôbbā**	**zōbè**	ring
(3) **-āC$_f$ū**)^{HLH}	**guràgū**	**gurgù**	cripple(d)
	kuràmū	**kurmì**	wooded area
(4) **-ōC$_f$ī**)^{H}	**tāgōgī**	**tāgà**	window
	wāƙōƙī	**wāƙà**	song, poem
	tātsūniyōyī	**tàtsūnìyā**	fable, riddle
-āC$_f$ī)^{H}	**dawākī**	**dōkì**	horse
(5) **-uCā**)^{HL}	**wandunà**	**wàndō**	trousers
(where C = **n**, **k**, **w** or final C of the base)	**ƙauyukà**	**ƙauyè**	village
with internal C copying or -CVC- reduplication	**cūtuttukà**	**cùtā**	illness
	zannuwà	**zanè**	body-wrapper
	garūruwà	**gàrī**	town
-uC$_f$ā)^{HL}	**gāturà**	**gàtarī**	axe
(6) **-akī/-a(i)kū**)^{LH}	**gònàkī**	**gōnā**	farm
	rànà(i)kū	**rānā**	day
with internal -CVC- reduplication + **-akī**)^{HLHH}	**kāyàyyakī**	**kāyā**	load

Classes (affixes and tones)	Plural	Singular	Gloss
(7) -annī)^{LH}	wàtànnī	watà	month
	shûgàbànnī	shûgàbā	leader
-ēC$_f$anī)^{HLHH}	gařèmanī	gàřmā	large hoe
	jařèkanī	jařkà	jerry-can
-ēC$_3$aC$_f$ī)^{HLHH}	tařèwaɗī	tařwaɗā	mudfish
(8) -ī)^{LH}	bàƙī	bàƙō	stranger
	ɓàràyī	ɓàrāwô	thief
with gemination	sàbàbbī/sàbbī	sābō	new
(9) -ū)^{LH}	shègū	shēgè	bastard
	kùjèrū	kujèrā	chair
	gàjèrū	gàjērē	short
	màràyū	màrāyà	orphan
	màkàřàntū	makařantā	school
-ū)^{H}	yātsū	yātsà	finger
	māsū	māshì	spear
(10) -ai)^{LH}	àbôkai	àbōkī	friend
	mùhìmmai	mùhimmì	important
	màbûɗai	mabūɗī	opener
	màsàllàtai	masallācī	mosque
with C$_2$ gemination	dùbbai	dubū	thousand
with -ā- infixation and	fìkàfìkai	fiffikè	wing
-CVC- reduplication	bàmàbàmai	bâm	bomb
(11) -ā)^{H}	mazā	mijì	husband, male
	mātā	màtā	woman, wife
(12) -āwā)$^{LH/H}$	Hàusàwā	Bàhaushè	Hausa person
(ethnonyms)	Katsināwā	Bàkatsinè	Katsina person
	dōgarāwā	dôgarì	bodyguard
(13) Full reduplication	cōcì-cōcì	cōcì	church
(sg. stem x 2)	fiřjì	fiřjì-fiřjì	fridge
(14) -e)^{LH} x 2	gìne-gìne	ginì	building
(repetitive-frequentatives)	tàfiye-tàfiye	tàfiyà	journey

3.1. Copying and reduplication

Copying, especially of the base-final consonant, and reduplication of a syllable or entire word play an important role in plural formation. In plural Classes 1a

-āC_f**ē**)^{HLH} and 4 **-ō**C_f**ī**)^{H}, for example, the onset consonant of the final syllable (C_f) is copied. Examples (sg./pl.):

/g/ fagē m./**fagà̄gē** (Subclass 1a) 'open space', **/m/ damō** m./**damà̄mē** (1a) 'monitor lizard', **/k/ bukkà̄** f./**bukkō<u>k</u>ī** (4) 'grass hut', **/f/ ƙōfà̄** f./**ƙōfō<u>f</u>ī** (4) 'door(way)'

Class 13 plurals entail full reduplication of the singular stem, e.g. **àkà̄wu** m./**àkà̄wu-àkà̄wu** 'clerk', **jōjì** m./**jōjì-jōjì** 'judge'.

Some Class 5 and 6 plurals reduplicate (to the left) and infix into antepenultimate position the -CVC- part of the final two syllables of the full suffixed plural form itself, where the initial C of the infix is the final C of the base. Examples:

(Class 5) **jìkī** m./**ji<u>kun</u>kunà̄** 'body' (= ***jik+unà̄** → **ji<u>kun</u>à̄** → **ji<u>kun</u>kunà̄**), **gàrī** m./**ga<u>rū</u>ruwà̄** 'town', **cùta** f./**cū<u>tut</u>tukà̄** 'illness', **sulè** m./**su<u>lul</u>lukà̄** 'shilling', **kwàrī** m./**kwa<u>rur</u>rukà̄** 'quiver', (Class 6) **gāwā** f./**gā<u>wà̄w</u>wakī** 'corpse', **sūnā** m./**sū<u>nàn</u>nakī** 'name'

Gemination in the above double affixation plurals is the historically shallow result of assimilation of contiguous consonants following internal reduplication.

Another source of gemination in plurals results from copying of the base-final consonant. A number of disyllabic nouns with initial light syllables copy the final consonant as well as adding the Class 5 plural **-uCà̄** suffix, e.g. **zanè/za<u>nn</u>uwà̄** 'body-wrapper', **cikì/ci<u>kk</u>unà̄** 'stomach, foetus', **damì/da<u>mm</u>unà̄** 'bundle of corn'. Here, gemination functions to satisfy metrical requirements by creating syllable weight polarity between the antepenultimate heavy and penultimate light syllables (Newman 1990: 48).

3.2. Class 1: -āCē)HLH

Singulars operating Class 1 plurals with the **-ā**C**ē**)^{HLH} suffix (where C = Consonant) are almost all disyllabic with all H tones, and the plural output is nearly always HLH trisyllabic. There are three quantity-sensitive subclasses, each of which correlates with the syllable weight of the initial syllable of the singular. Coronal consonants and **/w/** automatically palatalize before the final **-ē**.

3.2.1. Subclass 1a: -āCfē)HLH

If the all H singular has a light initial CV syllable, it selects a plural suffix **-ā**C$_{f}$**ē**)^{HLH} where C$_{f(inal)}$ is a copy of the final consonant of the base, e.g.

> **damō** m./**damàmē** 'monitor lizard' (= **dam** + **àmē**), **farī** m./**faràrē** 'white', **gidā** m./**gidàjē** 'house', **ƙasā** f./**ƙasàshē** 'land, country', **wurī** m./**wuràrē** 'place'

See also irregular **icè** m./**itàcē** 'tree, (fire)wood' (with **itàcē** now a singular), **wāgā** f./ **wāgàgē** 'hide-pannier', **iyàyē** pl. 'parents' (the SH plural of either **uwā** f. or **iyà** f. 'mother'), and archaic **àbù** m./**abàbē** 'thing'.

3.2.2. Subclass 1b: -āyē)HLH

If the initial syllable of the HH singular is heavy and open (with a long vowel or diphthong as nucleus), has a nasal coda or nasal diphthong, or is closed by the first component of a geminate consonant, the plural suffix has an intervocalic **-y-** glide. Examples:

> **bēbē** m./**bēbàyē** (= **bēb** + **àyē**) 'deaf-mute', **gīwā** f./**gīwàyē** 'elephant', **kūrā** m./**kūràyē** 'hand-cart', **zōmō** m./**zōmàyē** 'hare', **ɓaurē** m./**ɓauràyē** 'fig tree', **huntū** m./**huntàyē** 'naked', **kamfai** m./**kamfàyē** 'underpants', **shingē** m./ **shingàyē** 'fence', **hannū** m./**hannàyē** 'hand, arm', **ƙwallō** m./**ƙwallàyē** 'stone (in fruit)'

Some speakers have extended the use of this **-ȁyē** 1b plural suffix to singulars containing initial heavy CVC syllables with an /**r̃**/ or /**r**/ coda, e.g. **gwař̃zō** m./**gwař̃zȁyē** (= 1c **gwař̃ȁjē**) 'brave person', **turmī** m./**turmȁyē** (more commonly 1c **turȁmē**) 'mortar, roll of cloth'. Note too **jā** m./f./**jājȁyē** 'red', **ƙwai** m./**ƙwāyȁyē** 'egg', **sau** m./**sāwȁyē** 'footprint' (all < originally disyllabic HH stems).

Some singulars which take 1b **-āyē**)^{HLH} plurals do not have the usual HH disyllabic shape, e.g. **angȍ** m./**angwȁyē** 'bridegroom', **gwangwanī** m./**gwangwanȁyē** 'tin can', **gwànī** m./**gwanȁyē** 'expert', **mūgȕ** m./**mūgȁyē** 'evil', **ùngùlu** f./**ungulȁyē** 'vulture'.

3.2.3. Subclass 1c: -āC3ē)^{HLH}

If the initial syllable of the singular is closed CVC, i.e. with a consonantal coda (Subclass 2b bases excepted), the plural is formed by infixing **-ȁ-** between the second (coda) and third (C3) consonants, and adding final **-ē**. Examples:

'askā f./**'asȁkē** 'razor', **biř̃nī** m./**biř̃ȁnē** 'city', **kaskō** m./**kasȁkē** 'bowl', **kurmā** m./f./**kurȁmē** 'deaf (person)'

Some trisyllabic singulars with epenthetic copy vowels in the second syllable take 1c plurals, e.g.

kuturū m. (< ***kutrū**), pl. **kutȁrē** 'leper', **kwal(a)bā** f./**kwalȁ̀bē** 'bottle'. Note also **amaryā** f. (< ***amr-** + **-yā** feminine suffix), pl. **amȁrē** 'bride', **tukunyā** f. (< ***tukn-** + **-yā**), pl. **tukwȁnē** 'cooking pot', where the feminine suffixes are dropped in the plural, and the irregular 1c pairing **mùtûm** m./**mutȁnē** 'person, man'.

A number of 1c plurals preserve historically original coda C2 consonants which have undergone syllable-final weakening in the singular via "Klingenheben's Law", making some of them eligible for 1b pluralization. Examples:

ɓaunā (< ***ɓaknā**), pl. **ɓak(w)ànē** (= 1b **ɓaunàyē**) 'water buffalo', **fařkē** (< ***fatkē**), pl. **faṭàkē** 'long-distance trader', **jūjī** (< ***jibjī**), pl. **jibàjē** (= 1b **jūjàyē** and dial. **jibjàyē**) 'rubbish dump', **ƙyaurē** (< ***ƙyamrē**), pl. **ƙyamàrē** (= 1b **ƙyauràyē**) 'door'

3.3. Class 2: -(ā)Cfā)HLH

All Class 2 plurals have suffixes consisting of final **-ā** which can be preceded either by **ā**C_f (2a, 2c) or C_fC_f (2b), where $C_{f(inal)}$ is again a copy of the final consonant of the base, plus an overall HLH tone pattern. Singulars operating Class 2 plurals are typically disyllabic HL and masculine (Subclass 2d is H(L)LH), and end in a vowel other than **-ā** (2c adjectives excepted). Palatalized consonants depalatalize before the final **-ā**.

3.3.1. Subclass 2a: -āC3ā)HLH

Subclass 2a plurals are formed by infixing **-à-** between the second and third consonants of the CVC_2C_3VV base (cf. Class 1c) and attaching **-ā**, with the overall HLH tone melody, e.g.

farcè m./**faràtā** 'fingernail', **gurbì** m./**guràbā** 'depression in ground' (also 3a), **harshè** m./**haràsā** 'tongue, language', **kuřtù** m./**kuřàtā** 'recruit', **siřdì** m./**siřàdā** 'saddle', **turkè** m./**turàkā** 'tethering post'

Note too **zūcìyā** f. (< ***zukt-** + feminine suffix **-yā** with syllable-final weakening of C_2), pl. **zukàtā** 'heart', **gunkì** (< ***gumk-**), pl. **gumàkā** 'idol, statue' (with /**m**/ → /**n**/ ([ŋ]) homorganic assimilation before /**k**/ in the singular).

3.3.2. Subclass 2b: -CfCfā)HLH

Subclass 2b plurals copy the base-final C_f consonant and suffix **ā**. (Historically this -C_fC_f**ā** variant derives from a contracted **-àCā** formation similar to 2a and 2c.) The HL of the HLH tone template is realized as a Fall on the initial syllable,

and the singular typically has a long vowel in the initial syllable. Long /ē/ and /ō/ reduce and centralize to [a] in the initial CVC syllable of the plural. Examples:

kōřè m./**kwâřřā** 'green', **ƙātò** m./**ƙâttā** 'huge' (also Class 8 **ƙàttī**), **shūɗì** m./**shûɗɗā** 'blue', **zōbè** m./**zôbbā** (= **zâbbā**) 'ring', **gōřò** m./**gwâřřā** 'kolanut', **rēshè** m./**râssā** 'branch', **sāshè** m./**sâssā** 'section, part, department'

Note also irregular **yārò** m./**yârā** 'boy' with no C_2 gemination, and suppletive **bàbba** m./f./**mânyā** 'big, important, adult'.

3.3.3. Subclass 2c: -āC$_f$ā)^{HLH}

This plural formation applies to derived "intensive sensory adjectives" (§**5**) and suffixes **-ā**C$_f$**ā**)^{HLH}, where C$_f$ is the final consonant of the base, e.g. **dàddāɗā** m./f. → pl. **dāɗằɗā** 'very pleasant' (< base ***dāɗ-** + **-ằɗā**, cf. abstract sensory quality noun **dāɗī** m. 'pleasantness'). Other examples are:

ƙàƙƙarfā/ƙarfằfā 'very strong' (cf. **ƙarfī** m. 'strength'), **tsàttsaurā/tsaurằrā** 'very strict, very tough' (cf. **tsaurī** m. 'toughness'), **zùzzurfā/zurfằfā** 'very deep' (cf. **zurfī** m. 'depth')

Note too the diminutive adjective **sìřīřì/sīřằřā** (also reduplicated **siřī-siřī**) 'tall and skinny', and the noun **àbù** m./**abằbā** (more commonly 5c **abūbuwằ**) 'thing'.

3.3.4. Subclass 2d: -ā)^{HLH}

Subclass 2d consists of final **-ā** only with set H(L)LH tones, and applies to derivative agential formations (§**5**:3.1.1), e.g.

mahàifī m./**mahàifā** 'father/parents', **mahàukàcī** m./**mahàukàtā** 'mad(man)', **makitsìyā** f./**makìtsā** 'hairdresser', **mařùbùcī** m./**mařùbùtā** 'writer', **masòyī** m./**masòyā** 'lover', **matằshī** m./**matằsā** 'youth'. Note also **haƙōrī** m./**haƙòrā** 'tooth'.

3.4. Class 3: **-āC_fū)**^{HLH}

Class 3 plurals are similar to those in Class 2 except that the final vowel of the suffix is **-ū** (with HLH tones). The C_f component of the suffix is the final consonant of the base. Singulars—some are paired body-parts—are again typically HL tone and masculine, ending in a vowel other than **-ā**.

3.4.1. Subclass 3a: **-āC_3ū)**^{HLH}

Subclass 3a plurals are formed by infixing **-à̀-** between the second and third consonants of the CVC_2C_3VV base and attaching **-ū** with an overall HLH (sometimes HHH) tone pattern. The initial CVC syllable of the singular usually has /**u**/ as its nucleus. Examples:

gurbì m./**gurà̀bū** (also HHH **gurābū**) 'depression in ground', **gurgù** m./ **gurà̀gū** 'lame (person)', **kuncì** m./**kumà̀tū** 'cheek' (with /**m**/ → /**n**/ homorganic assimilation before /**c**/ in the singular), **murfù** m./**murà̀fū** 'cooking place'.

In some cases the /**y**/ or /**w**/ glide which originally constituted C_2 of the base is preserved in the plural but appears as the second component of long /**ī**/ or /**ū**/ in the C<u>VV</u>CVV singular, e.g.

kwīɓì m./**kwiyà̀ɓū** (also HHH **kwiyāɓū**) 'side of body', **mīkì** m./**miyà̀kū** (also HHH **miyākū**) 'ulcer', **dūtsè** m./**duwà̀tsū** 'stone, rock'. Note too **ɗuwà̀wū** 'buttocks' (with WH sg. **ɗuwài**), and irregular **mūgù** m./**miyà̀gū** 'evil, ugly'.

3.4.2. Subclass 3b: **-āC_fū)**^{HLH}

Subclass 3b consists of a suffix **-ā**C_f**ū)**^{HLH} where C_f is a copy of the final consonant of the base. The initial syllable of the singular is light (cf. 1a). Examples:

gaɓà f./**gaɓàɓū** 'joint, limb', **ƙafà** f./**ƙafàfū** 'leg, foot'. Note too irregular **idò** m./ **idànū** 'eye' (?with an original stem-final /**n**/ possibly lost in the singular).

3.5. Class 4: -ōCƒī)^{H}

Disyllabic singulars (nouns only) operating highly productive Class 4 all H tone plurals with the **-ōCƒī** suffix, where Cƒ is a copy of the final consonant of the base, are often HL final **-à** feminine nouns, e.g. **hanyà** f. → **hanyōyī** (= **hany-** + **-ōyī**) 'road'. Coronals and /**w**/ palatalize before the **-ī** of the suffix. Examples:

jīkà m./f./**jīkōkī** 'grandchild', **ƙōfà** f./**ƙōfōfī** 'door(way)', **mōtà** f./**mōtōcī** 'car', **tāgà** f./**tāgōgī** 'window', **wāƙà** f./**wāƙōƙī** 'song, poem', **dabbà** f./**dabbōbī** 'animal' (note that with geminates only a single consonant is copied).

Exceptions to the HL singular tone pattern include:

dilā m./**dilōlī** 'jackal', **dòkā** f./**dōkōkī** 'law', **kafā** f./**kafōfī** 'small opening, source of news', **kàsuwā** f./**kāsuwōyī** 'market', **ƙwàyā** f./**ƙwāyōyī** 'grain of corn, pill, drug(s)', **tàtsūnìyā** f./**tātsūniyōyī** 'folktale' (where the **-ōCī** plural is added to the inflected feminine), **miliyàn**/**miliyōyī** 'million' (where the final **-Vn** of the singular is deleted in the plural), and **zākì** m./**zākōkī** 'lion'.

Many English loanwords of various shapes use this plural formation, e.g.

bātìř m./**bātiřōřī** 'battery', **bīdiyò** m./f./**bīdiyōyī** 'video recorder', **kàtàfīlà** f./ **katafīlōlī** 'caterpillar (tractor)', **kwānò** m./**kwānōnī** 'metal pan' (via Yoruba), **membà** m./f./**membōbī** 'member', **ōfìs** m./**ōfisōshī** 'office', **tashà** f./**tashōshī** 'station' (via Yoruba)

as do a number of Arabic loanwords ending in **-ā**, e.g.

àlāmà f./**alāmōmī** 'sign', **àl'ummà** f./**al'ummōmī** 'community', **bindigà** f./**bindigōgī** 'gun', **hařkà** f./**hařkōkī** 'affair, matter', **hidimā** f./**hidimōmī** 'business, affair'

Class 4 also includes a small group of common archaic plurals with a variant **-āCʃī)**^{H} suffix, e.g. **àkwiyà** f./**awākī** 'goat' (< ***awk-** with **/wk/** → **/kw/** metathesis), **dōkì** m./**dawākī** 'horse' (< ***dawk-**), **tunkìyā** f./**tumākī** 'sheep' (< ***tumk-**).

*3.6. Class 5: **-uCā)**^{HL}*

Class 5 plurals have a suffix **-uCà** with a set HL tone pattern, and fall into several subclasses depending on the -C- segment of the suffix, the choice being partially determined by the weight of the initial syllable as well as the identity of the final consonant of the singular. The vast majority of singulars selecting Class 5 plurals are disyllabic masculine nouns ending in a vowel other than **-ā**, with either LH (common) or HL tones, and there is a rule of partial dissimilation operating between the base-final C and the -C- of the **-uCā)**^{HL} suffix. There are no adjectives in Class 5, and there is some idiolectal/dialectal variation regarding the choice of plural suffix, e.g. suffix with or without additional reduplication, identity of the -C- segment.

*3.6.1. Subclass 5a: **-unā)**^{HL}*

This formation has the suffix **-unà** with a fixed HL tone melody. The singulars are normally disyllabic CVVCVV or CVCCVV, i.e. with a heavy first syllable, and the base-final consonant cannot be **/n**, **ř/**, or **/y/** (singulars with these consonants select 5b plurals). Examples:

bàřgō m./**bařgunà** 'blanket', **ɗākì** m./**ɗākunà** 'hut, room', **famfò** m./**famfunà** 'tap, pump', **hǔlā** f./**hūlunà** 'cap, hat', **jàkī** m./**jākunà** 'donkey', **kōfì** m./**kōfunà**

'cup', **kwàndō** m./**kwandunà** 'basket', **ƙòƙō** m./**ƙōƙunà** 'small calabash', **rìgā** f./**rīgunà** 'gown', **tùlū** m./**tūlunà** 'water-pot'

Some trisyllabic loan nouns take 5a plurals, e.g. **àgōgo** m./**agōgunà** 'watch, clock', **àkàwu** m./**akāwunà** 'clerk', **àkwàtì** m./**akwātunà** 'box'. Note too irregular **kâi** m./**kāwunà** 'head', and **sarkī** m./**sarākunà** 'emir, chief'. Tonally anomalous dialectal (H)HLH **-unā** plurals are also sporadically reported (though not always recognized by SH speakers), e.g. **akwātùnā** 'boxes', **tūlùnā** 'water-pots' (McIntyre 1992).

A number of disyllabic nouns with initial light CV syllables either copy/geminate the final C_2 consonant and/or left-copy the internal -CVC- of the plural form into antepenultimate position, i.e. the base-final C + **-un-** component of the suffix, as well as adding the 5a plural **-unà** suffix. Examples:

cikì m./**cikkunà** = **cikunkunà** 'stomach, foetus', **damì** m./**dammunà** 'bundle of corn', **bùhū** m./ **buhunhunà** 'sack'. Note too irregular **idò** m./**idandunà** 'eye'.

3.6.2. Subclass 5b: -ukā)^{HL}

Subclass 5b has a suffix **-ukà** with overall set HL tones. Like 5a, singulars operating 5b plurals are normally disyllabic with a heavy CVVCVV or CVCCVV initial syllable. Nouns with **n**, **ř**, or **y** as the base-final consonant select only this **-ukā)**^{HL} subtype, but is it *not* used if the final consonant is velar **/k, ƙ/**, or **/g/**. Examples:

dàřnī m./**dařnukà** 'cornstalk fence', **ƙauyè** m./**ƙauyukà** 'village', **lāyì** m./**lāyukà** 'line, lane', **ràfī** m./**rāfukà** 'stream', **ràunī** m./**raunukà** 'wound', **zaurè** m./**zaurukà** 'entrance porch'

Note also irregular **kàrē** m./**kařnukà** 'dog' (with etymological **/n/** preserved in the plural), **râi** m. (< disyllabic ***rāyì**), pl. **rāyukà** 'life'. 5b plurals often appear with a geminate **/kk/** in WH, e.g. **taikì** m./**tayukkà** 'hide-bag'.

A number of disyllabic nouns, mostly with initial heavy CVV syllables, left-copy the internal -CVC- of the plural form itself, i.e. the base-final C + **-uk-**, and insert it into antepenultimate position, with assimilation of the /**k**/ segment to the following abutting consonant. (Cf. Subclass 5a where internal -CVC- reduplication only applies to singulars with a light first syllable.) Examples:

cùtā f./**cūtuttukà** (< ***cūtuktukà**) 'disease', **kwānò** m./**kwānunnukà** (< ***kwānuknukà**) 'metal pan', **lâifī** m./**laifuffukà** (< ***laifukfukà**) 'crime, fault', **māshì** m./**māsussukà** (< ***māsuksukà**) 'spear'

A few trisyllabic (loan)words also allow this antepenultimate -CVC- insertion in the plural, e.g. **haɗàr̃ī** m./**haɗar̃ur̃r̃ukà** 'danger, accident', **kabàr̃ī** m./**kabar̃ur̃r̃ukà** 'grave'.

*3.6.3. Subclass 5c: **-uwā**)^{HL}*

The 5c suffix is **-uwà**, with the Class 5 HL tone melody. Singular disyllabic nouns selecting 5c plurals usually have a light CV initial syllable (cf. Subclasses 5a and 5b where it is typically heavy). Subclass 5c is *not* used if the base-final consonant is /**m**/. Internal -CVC- reduplication is common. Examples (antepenultimate C**ū** < C**uw**):

àbù m./**abūbuwà** 'thing', **bùhū** m./**buhūhuwà** 'sack', **gàrī** m./**garūruwà** 'town', **ƙàshī** m./**ƙasūsuwà** 'bone'. Note also **dājì** m./**dāzūzuwà** 'bush (wilderness)'.

A few nouns with 5c plurals either have a medial geminate /**nn**/ in the singular or copy the base-final /**n**/ in the plural, e.g. **hannū** m./**hannuwà** 'hand, arm', **kûnnē** m./**kunnuwà** 'ear', **zanè** m./**zannuwà** 'body-wrapper'. The 5c **-uwā**)^{HL} suffix is also used to form some "plurals-on-plurals" with no internal reduplication/copying, e.g. **idānuwà** 'eyes' (built on **idànū** = 3b plural of **idò**), **itàcē** m./**itātuwà** 'tree, (fire)wood', **ƙiràrē** m./pl./**ƙirāruwà** 'firewood sticks' (see §3.17).

3.6.4. Subclass 5d: **-*u*C$_f$*ā*)^{HL}**

In this subclass, the -C- segment of the HL tone suffix is the base-final consonant C$_f$. Singulars taking 5d plurals are mostly polysyllabic ending in **-ī** (occasionally disyllabic with three consonants), e.g. **gàtarī** m./**gāt-urà** 'axe', where /**u**/ is inserted between the final two base consonants and **-ā** is attached. Examples:

> **amāwàlī** m./**amāwulà** 'part of turban covering face', **cōkàlī** m./**cōkulà** 'spoon', **kùnkurū** m./**kunkurà** 'tortoise', **takòbī** m./**takubà** 'sword' (all < Tuar.), **ràƙumī** m./**rāƙumà** 'camel' (?< Tuar.). Note too disyllabic **aikì** m./**ayyukà** 'work' (with geminate /**yy**/ in the plural), and **tafkì** m./**tafukà** 'pond'.

Nouns with a short vowel in the initial CV/CVC syllable often geminate the C of the **-u**C$_f$**ā**)^{HL} suffix, especially in WH, e.g.

> **àl'amàřī** m./**al'amuřřà** (also **al'amuřà**) 'matter, affair', **dařàsī** m./**dařussà** 'lesson', **hargì** m./**haruggà** 'sword fastening', **harshè** m./**harussà** 'tongue, language', **tafkì** m./**tafukkà** (also **tafukà**) 'pond', **takòbī** m./**takubbà** (also **takubà**) 'sword'. Note also the archaic 5d plurals **àbù** m./**abubbà** 'thing' and **gàrī** m./**garurrà** 'town' with gemination of the base-final consonants.

A small number of singulars also undergo -CVC- reduplication in antepenultimate position, e.g. **māgànī** m./**māgungunà** 'medicine', **shagàlī** m./**shagulgulà** 'celebration, party'.

Some English loanwords of the shape CVVCVC with mostly HL tone can use the 5d plural formation, e.g. **bàbûř** m./**bābuřà** 'motorcycle', **shēbùř** m./**shēbuřà** 'shovel', **tēbùř** m./**tēbuřà** 'table'. A few polysyllabic nouns form HL 5d plurals without the initial /**u**/ of the suffix, e.g. **lūdàyī** m./**lūdayà** 'ladle', **tàkàlmī** m./**tākalmà** 'shoe'.

3.7. Class 6: ***-akī/-a(i)kū)***^{LH}

Class 6 plurals utilize a LH tone-integrating suffix with the following allomorphs: **-akī**, and either **-akū** or **-aikū** (= **-a(i)kū**). Singulars—restricted in number and nouns only—are typically all H tone feminine with the shape **CāCā** (the medial C is often a nasal or liquid), including a few with the feminine ending **-yā**. The **-akī** suffix is used with two nouns with an initial labialized velar, where a process of rounding dissimilation seems to govern the choice of the non-round final **-ī** allomorph—**gōnā** f./**gȍnàkī** 'farm', and **kwānā** m./**kwȁnàkī** '(24 hour) day'. Otherwise, the **-a(i)kū** form used, and the **-akū/-aikū** variation is non-predictable. Examples:

rānā f./**rȁnà(i)kū** 'day', **tsārā** m./f./**tsȁràikū** 'age-mate', **zānā** f./**zȁnà(i)kū** 'reed mat', and (all with the **-yā** feminine suffix dropped in the plural) **cēɗiyā** f./**cȅɗàkū** 'fig tree', **rāriyā** f./**rȁràikū** 'drainage-hole, gutter, sieve', **tsāmiyā** f./**tsȁmàikū** 'tamarind'

3.7.1. Subclass 6a: -CVC-... ***-akī)***^{HLHH}

A few masculine and feminine singulars are subject to internal -CVC- reduplication in antepenultimate position in addition to suffixing **-akī**, and the overall tonal melody for the quadrisyllabic output is HLHH. The **/k/** of the reduplicated -CV**k**- element assimilates/geminates with the following consonant, e.g. **aurē** m./**au<u>ràr</u>rakī** (< ***au<u>rak</u>rakī**) 'marriage'. Examples (including some deverbal nouns):

gāwā f./**gāwàwwakī** 'corpse', **gōyō** m./**gōyàyyakī** 'baby carried on back', **guntū** m./**guntàttakī** 'fragment, piece', **hīřa** f./**hīřàřřakī** 'conversation', **kāyā** m./**kāyàyyakī** 'load, goods', **kurciyā** f./**kurtàttakī** 'dove' (with the feminine **-yā** suffix dropped in the plural), **ƙārā** f./**ƙāràrrakī** 'scream(ing), complaint', **sūnā** m./**sūnànnakī** 'name'

3.7.2. Subclass 6b: -CVC-...-aC$_f$ī)^{HLHH}

Subclass 6b is identical to 6a except that the C slot in the **-aC$_f$ī** suffix is filled by the base-final consonant C$_f$, and unlike other Class 6 plurals the singular nouns are either trisyllabic or triconsonantal disyllabic. The coda C of the reduplicated antepenultimate -CVC- assimilates to the point of articulation of following consonant or rhotacizes, and the penultimate syllable in the output is light, e.g. **gařdamà** f./**gařdàndamī** (< ***gařdamdamī**) 'dispute, argument', **numfāshī** m./**numfàřfashī** (< ***numfashfashī**) 'breath'. Further examples are:

gutsurè m./**gutsàttsarī** 'fragment, small piece', **kaɗanyà** f./**kaɗàndanī** 'shea-nut tree' (with the feminine suffix **-yà** dropped in the plural), **ƙaryā** f./**ƙaràirayī** 'lie', **ƙurjī** m./ **ƙuràrrajī** 'pimple', **shāwařà** f./**shāwàřwařī** 'advice'

3.8. Class 7: -annī)^{LH}

Class 7 plurals are limited to a small set of high frequency nouns and have a suffix **-annī** with a set LH tone melody. Their singulars, some of which operate plurals in other classes, are usually disyllabic with LH or HL tone, and end in a non-high vowel. Examples:

dȍdō m./**dȍdànnī** 'monster', **fùrē** m./**fùrànnī** 'flower', **kȁkā** m./f./**kȁkànnī** 'grandparent', **mākȍ** m./**mȁkwànnī** 'week', **sȁƙō** m./**sȁƙwànnī** 'message', **ùbā** m./**ùbànnī** 'father', **watȁ** m./**wàtànnī** 'month, moon'

A few polysyllabic singulars take Class 7 plurals, e.g. **kȁsuwā** f./**kȁsùwànnī** 'market', **řàhōtȍ** m./**řàhȍtànnī** 'report', **shȕgàbā** m./**shȕgàbànnī** 'leader', in addition to one monosyllabic noun **fā** m./**fànnī** 'flat rock' (also Class 10 **fànnai**). (From a historical and comparative viewpoint, Class 7 **-annī** plurals probably group together with 5a **-unā** plurals, Newman 1990: 22.)

3.8.1. Subclass 7a: -ēCƒanī)HLHH

This subclass is formed by inserting **-ē-** between the second and final consonants of the base and suffixing **-anī** (with the singleton /**n**/). This produces a quadrisyllabic plural with an iambic light-heavy-light-heavy syllabic pattern, and the output takes a fixed HLHH tone melody. Nouns operating Subclass 7a plurals are typically feminine with the shape **C**a**C**C**ā** (where the second consonant is a liquid **ř**, **r**, or **l**). Examples:

gàřmā f./**gařèmanī** 'large (triangular) hoe', **garwā** f./**garèwanī** '4-gallon can', **jařkà** f./**jařèkanī** 'jerry-can', **màlàfā** f./**malèfanī** 'large straw hat' (< ***malf-**), **sàlkā** f./**salèkanī** 'leather water-bag'

3.8.2. Subclass 7b: -ēC3aCƒī)HLHH

Subclass 7b plurals insert **-ē-** between the second and third base consonants and attach -**a**C$_f$**ī**, where C$_f$ is the base-final consonant. Like Subclass 7a, the output has a quadrisyllabic iambic foot structure and a set HLHH melody. Examples:

fařtanyà f./**fařètanī** 'hoe' (with the feminine suffix **-yà** dropped in plural), **tařwaɗā** f./**tařèwaɗī** 'mudfish'

Some 7b plurals are built on reduplicated bases, e.g.

Bàbarbarè m./**Barèbarī** 'Kanuri person' (< ***barbar**), **Bàzazzàgī** m./**Zagèzagī** 'Zaria person' (< ***zagzag**), **malmalā** f./**malèmalī** 'lump/mould of *tuwo* (food)' (< ***malmal**), **raɗà** f./**raɗèraɗī** 'whisper(ing), rumour' (< ***raɗraɗ**)

3.9. Class 8: -ī)LH

Class 8 plurals replace the final vowel of the singular with the suffix **-ī** and impose a LH tone melody (coronals and /**w**/ automatically palatalize before the **-ī**). (Classes 8, 9, and 10 all have vocalic (/**-ī**/, /**-ū**/, /**-ai**/) suffixes with fixed LH

tones.) Class 8 singulars are often trisyllabic with final /ō/ or /ā/ and the penultimate syllable is almost always heavy. Examples:

àgwằgwā f./**àgwằgī** 'duck', **ɓàrāwồ** m./**ɓàrằyī** 'thief', **kùyangằ** f./**kùyàngī** 'slave girl', **màkāhồ** m./**màkằfī** 'blind person', **tằbarmā** f./**tằbàrmī** 'mat', **tàurārồ** m./**tàurằrī** 'star'. Note too **sauràyī** m./**sàmằrī** 'young man' (< ***samār**) with a light CV penultimate syllable in the singular.

A few common, animate-denoting, disyllabic singulars with initial heavy CVV L tone syllables, and ending in /ō/ or /ā/, also operate Class 8 plurals. Examples:

bằƙō m./**bằƙī** 'strange(r)', **fằrā** f./**fằrī** 'grasshopper', **kằzā** f./**kằjī** 'chicken', **kwằɗō** m./**kwằɗī** 'frog', **ƙwằrō** m./**ƙwằrī** 'insect', **zằbō** m./**zằbī** 'guineafowl'. Note too **bāwằ** m./**bāyī** 'slave' with a H tone sg./pl. initial syllable.

The following final **-ō** adjectives also geminate their base-final consonant in the plural: **ƙātồ** m./**ƙàttī** 'huge', **sābō** m./**sàbbī** (</= **sằbàbbī**) 'new', **tsōhō** m./**tsòffī** (</= **tsồfàffī**) 'old'.

3.10. Class 9: -ū)^{LH}

Class 9 plurals use a suffix **-ū** and the same overall LH tone melody as Classes 8 and 10. Singular forms are typically polysyllabic ending in /ā/ or occasionally /ē/ (if adjectival), and some also have Class 8 plurals. Examples:

àl'ādằ f./**àl'ằdū** 'custom, tradition', **bùkātằ** f./**bùkằtū** 'need', **gàjērē** m./**gàjèrū** 'short', **kaɗanyằ** f./**kàɗànyū** 'shea-nut tree' (with /**y**/ segment of the feminine suffix preserved in the plural), **katangā** f./**kàtàngū** 'wall (around compound)', **kujèrā** f./**kùjèrū** 'chair', **màrāyằ** m./f./**màrằyū** 'orphan', **shèkarằ** f./**shèkàrū** 'year', **takằrdā** f./**tàkàrằdū** 'paper', **tàttabằrā** f./**tàttàbàrằū** 'pigeon', **tsumangìyā** f./**tsùmàngū** 'cane switch' (with the feminine suffix dropped in the plural).

Some singulars also take antepenultimate -CVC- reduplication, e.g. **màganà** f./**màgàngànū** 'speech, matter', **rìgimà** f./**rìgìngìmū** 'dispute, argument'.

Class 9 plurals are also used by derivative final **-ā** locative nouns (some are also Class 10), e.g. **makaɾantā** f./**màkàɾàntū** 'school', **maƙērā** f./**màƙèrū** 'smithy, forge', **marinā** f./**màrìnū** 'dyepit', **mashāyā** f./**màshàyū** 'drinking place, bar'. Past participial adjectives also select Class 9 plurals, e.g. **dàfaffē** m./**dàfàffū** 'cooked', **shàhàɾaɾɾē** m./**shàhàɾàɾɾū** 'famous', **tsàrarrē** m./**tsàràrrū** 'detained, imprisoned'.

A few disyllabic singulars take Class 9 **-ū** plurals, e.g. **ɗanyē** m./**ɗànyū** 'fresh, raw, unripe', **shaidà** m./f./**shàidū** 'witness', **shēgè** m./**shègū** 'bastard'. Another category of disyllabic singulars suffix **-ū** in the plural but with all H tones. These singulars typically have the shape C**ā**CVV with HL tones, e.g.

fātà f./**fātū** 'skin, hide', **gāshì** m./**gāsū** 'hair', **māshì** m./**māsū** 'spear' (both with /**sh**/ → /**s**/ depalatalization before /**ū**/), **māyè** m./**māyū** 'witch', **nāmà** m./**nāmū** '(wild) animal', **yātsà** m./f./**yātsū** 'finger'. Note too **kâi** m./**kānū** 'head, (news) headlines', **sâ** m./**sānìyā** f./**shānū** 'bull/cow/cattle', and **wâ** m. 'older brother', **yâ** f. 'older sister', **yàya** 'older sibling', pl. **yāyū** 'older siblings'.

3.11. Class 10: ***-ai***$)^{LH}$

Class 10 plurals suffix **-ai** together with a LH tone pattern, and are common with polysyllabic singulars, including Arabic loanwords ending in /**ī**/. Examples:

àbōkī m./**àbòkai** 'friend', **dòrinā** f./**dòrìnai** 'hippopotamus', **kāɾùwà** f./**kàɾùwai** 'prostitute', **kòfatò** m./**kòfàtai** 'hoof', **kùnkurū** m./**kùnkùrai** 'tortoise', **màkānikè** m./**màkànìkai** 'mechanic', **shàƙiyyì** m./**shàƙìyyai** 'shameless (person)'; (< Ar.) **àlmājìɾī** m./**àlmàjìɾai** 'Koranic student', **ɗālìbī** m./**ɗàlìbai** 'student', **jāhìlī** m./**jàhìlai** 'ignorant (person)', **mālàmī** m./**màlàmai** 'teacher', **mùhimmì** m./**mùhìmmai** 'important'

Palatalized coronals depalatalize before the **-ai** suffix, e.g. **algàshī** m./**àlgàsai** 'purple', **àlhajì** m./**àlhàzai** 'pilgrim to Mecca'. Note too disyllabic **jàkī** m./**jàkai** 'donkey', and **littāfì** m./**lìttàttàfai** 'book' (with internal syllabic reduplication).

Derivative instrumental (**ma...ī**) nouns use this plural suffix, e.g. **mabūɗī** m./**màbùɗai** 'key, opener', **masassabī** m./**màsàssàbai** 'harvesting tool', **matākī** m./**màtâkai** 'step'; so do (**ma...ī**) locatives, e.g. **masallācī** m./**màsàllàtai** 'mosque', **masaukī** m./**màsàukai** 'lodging place', and some (**ma...ā**) locatives, e.g. **mafakā** f./**màfàkai** 'shelter, refuge', **marinā** f./**màrìnai** 'dye-place, dyepit'. (Some final **-ā** locatives use Class 10 and/or final **-ū** Class 9 plurals.) Note too the "ethnonym" **bàhagò** m./**bàhàgwai** 'left-handed person'. "Augmentative adjectives" (type "C") also take Class 10 **-ai** plurals, e.g. **shìnkinkìmī** m./**shìnkìnkìmai** 'heavy', **tàlaulàyī** m./**tàlàulàyai** 'tall and skinny', as well as reduplicated expressive adjectives/nouns such as **dàƙīƙì** m./**dàƙìƙai** 'stupid (person)', **tsòlōlò** m./**tsòlòlai** 'tall and skinny (person)'.

A small number of typically HL tone CVCVV nouns geminate the base-final C_2 consonant before the **-ai** suffix, e.g. **damì** m./**dàmmai** 'bundle of grain', **dubū** f./**dùbbai** 'thousand', **kwabò** m./**kwàbbai** '*kobo* (penny)', **tudù** m./**tùddai** 'hill'. (Speakers of WH also geminate the final consonant of trisyllabic singulars in the plural, e.g. **màlàmmai** 'teachers' = SH **màlàmai**.) A few HL CVCVV nouns suffix **-ai** but have all H tones and no C_2 gemination, e.g. **birì** m./**birai** 'monkey', **zumù** m./**zumai** 'close friend'. Some **-ai** plurals also contain **-n(n)-**, e.g. **fā** m./**fànnai** 'rocky outcrop', **kàrē** m./**kàřnai** 'dog' (the nasal in **kàřnai** is probably etymological, having disappeared in the singular).

3.11.1. Subclass 10a: CVC_i-ā-CVC_iai)^{LH}

This related double affixation plural rule requires a reduplicated base and inserts **-ā-** between the CVC_i base element and its copy, in addition to suffixing **-ai**)^{LH}, e.g. **gungumè** m./**gùmàgùmai (gùm-à-gùm-ai)** 'log'. One group of singulars using this plural contains frozen reduplicated nouns, e.g. (all H) **faifai** m./**fàyàfàyai** 'round mat, gramophone record', **marmarā** f./**màràmàrai** 'laterite'. Many singular nouns with Subclass 10a plurals have HHL tones and end in **-è**, e.g. (with phonological adjustments to the final C of the CVC reduplicate):

fiffikè m./**fìkàfìkai** 'wing', **giřgijè** m./**gìzàgìzai** 'rain-cloud', **jijjigè** m./**jìgàjìgai** 'post, support', **zuzzugè** m./**zùgàzùgai** 'bellows'. Some of these paired reduplicates have alternative singulars of the shape CVC$_i$**à**CVC$_i$**ī**, e.g. **fikàfikī**, **zugàzugī**.

The other category selecting CVC$_i$**-ā-**CVC$_i$**ai**)^{LH} plurals consists of monosyllabic nouns with a Falling tone borrowed from English, e.g.

bâm m./**bàmàbàmai** 'bomb', **fâm** m./**fàm(à)fàmai** 'pound (currency)' (with **-ā-** infix optional), **fîm** m./**fìnàfìnai** 'film' (also **fìlàfilai**), **kwâs** m./**kwàsàkwàsai** 'course (of study)'

3.12. Class 11: -ā)^{H}

Class 11 plurals suffix **-ā** and have all H tones, and coronals appear in their non-palatalized, sometimes historically original, form before the /**ā**/. Singulars are disyllabic and often human/animate, e.g.

ařnè m./**ařnā** 'pagan', **mijì** m./**mazā** 'husband, male', **màtā** (= **màcè**) f./**mātā** 'woman, wife'

A number of erstwhile Class 11 plurals have been reanalyzed as singulars in SH, e.g. **gidā** m. 'house' (cf. WH **gijè**), **ƙudā** m. 'fly' (cf. WH **ƙujè**), **ruwā** m. 'water'.

3.13. Class 12: -āwā)$^{LH/H}$ (ethnonymic plurals)

This is the basic plural class for so-called "ethnonyms" formed with the singular prefix **bà-** and denoting ethnicity, origin, profession, social status, etc. (see §**5**:3.2). Unlike plural Classes 1-11 which apply to mainly simple nouns and adjectives, ethnonyms are largely derivative. It is also the plural formation for

some group-denoting common nouns without the **bà-** prefix. Class 12 ethnonymic plurals attach a tone-integrating LH or all H **-āwā** suffix. The general rule is that LH tone plurals are trisyllabic with an initial heavy syllable, and plurals of any other shape suffix the all H tone allomorph. Examples (the convention followed here is to write proper noun sg./pl. ethnonyms with an initial capital):

(LH **-āwā**) **bàfādà** m./**fàdàwā** 'courtier', **Bàhaushè** m./**Hàusàwā** 'Hausa person', **bàƙauyè** m./**ƙàuyàwā** 'villager', **Bàtūřè** m./**Tùřàwā** 'European, white person', **dattījò** m./**dàttàwā** '(elderly) gentleman'

(H **-āwā**) **Bàgòbiřī** m./**Gōbiřāwā** 'Gobir person', **Bàkanò** m./**Kanāwā** 'Kano person', **Bàkatsinè** m./**Katsināwā** 'Katsina person', **Bàsakkwacè** m./**Sakkwatāwā** 'Sokoto person', **dògarì** m./**dōgarāwā** 'royal bodyguard', **kìlākì** f./**kilākāwā** 'modern prostitute', **talàkà** m./**talakāwā** 'commoner, poor person'

Some trisyllabic Class 12 plurals with an initial heavy syllable take the all H **-āwā** suffix (the choice is lexically determined and depends on idiolect/dialect), e.g. **Bàdàurī** m./**Daurāwā** 'Daura person', **Bàtūřè** m./**Tūřāwā** (= LLH **Tùřàwā**) 'European, white person'. Proper name-based plurals indicating group followers and toponymns normally use the all H **-āwā** suffix, e.g.

Mūsāwā = followers of Musa and town name (< **Mūsā**), **Gōbiřāwā** = quarter in Kano City (< **Gòbiř** = Gobir area), **Jāhunāwā** = Jahunawa clan (< **Jāhùn** = Jahun area), **Tamburāwā** = town near Kano City (< **tamburà** pl. 'royal drums'), **Yōlāwā** = Yolawa clan and quarter (< **'Yōlà** = Yola area)

3.14. Class 13: Fully-reduplicated plurals (singular noun x 2)

A small category of nouns, almost all of them loanwords from English, form their plurals via full reduplication of the singular. Examples:

àlāwùs m./**àlāwùs-àlāwùs** 'allowance (money)', **bâs** m./**bâs-bâs** 'bus', **bồyi** m./**bồyi-bồyi** 'houseboy, steward', **cîf** m./**cîf-cîf** 'chief (title)', **cōcì** m./**cōcì-cōcì** 'church', **el'è** f./**el'è-el'è** 'LA (Local Authority)', **en'è** m./**en'è-en'è** 'NA (Native Authority)', **fiřjì** m./**fiřjì-fiřjì** 'fridge', **jōjì** m./**jōjì-jōjì** 'judge', **kūkù** m./**kūkù-kūkù** 'cook', **kùlâb** m./**kùlâb-kùlâb** 'club (sport, recreation)', **sahū** m./**sahū-sahū** 'row, line, category', **sìtô** m./**sìtô-sìtô** 'store-room', **tầsî** f./**tầsî-tầsî** 'taxi'

In compounds, only the final component is copied in the plural, e.g. **dầřaktầ-janàř** m./**dầřaktầ-janàř-janàř** 'director general'. Some singulars operate alternative plural formations, e.g. **àkầwu** m./**àkầwu-àkầwu** (= Class 5a **akāwunầ**) 'clerk', **bâm** m./**bâm-bâm** (= 10a **bàmầbàmai**) 'bomb', **kwâf** m./**kwâf-kwâf** (= 5a **kōfunầ**) 'cup (trophy)'. Some diminutive ideophonic adjectives also reduplicate fully in the plural, e.g. **tsigil/tsigil-tsigil** 'very small'.

3.15. Class 14: "Repetitive-frequentative" plurals (-e)^{LH} x 2)

"Repetitive-frequentative" formations, denoting events and objects, are reduplicated plurals formed via the imposition of an independent tone-integrating suffix **-e**)^{LH} on a verbal base (repetitive-frequentatives display the same derivational morphology as deverbal statives). The output is then copied in its entirety, e.g. using the lexical verbs **ginầ** 'to build' and **tàmbayầ** 'to question', we get the following Class 14 plurals: (**ginầ**)^{HL} + **-e**)^{LH} x 2 → **gìne-gìne** 'buildings', and (**tàmbayầ**)^{LHL} + **-e**)^{LH} x 2 → **tàmbàye-tàmbàye** 'questions'. (A long final **-ē**, e.g. **gìne-gìnē**, is attested in some non-SH dialects.) Some repetitive-frequentative plurals are derived from underlying forms containing the derivative **-TA** verbalizing suffix (though the **-TA** verb is not always attested), and the source noun often functions synchronically as the singular corresponding to the plural repetitive-frequentative, e.g. **shầwàřce-shầwàřce** 'decisions, consultations, recommendations' (cf. **shầwařtầ** 'to consult' < **shāwařầ** f. 'decision, consultatation, advice'). (Note that /**t**/ palatalizes to /**c**/ before the /**-e**/ suffix.) Examples:

àikàce-àikàce 'activities, operations' (cf. **aikàtā** 'to perform' < **aikì** m. 'work'), **bàmbànce-bàmbànce** 'differences' (cf. **bambàntā** 'to differentiate' and **bambancì** m. 'difference' < **bambam** adv. 'differently'), **cìwàce-cìwàce** 'illnesses' (cf. **cīwò** m. 'illness'), **tàllàce-tàllàce** 'advertisements' (cf. **tallàtā** 'to spread wares for sale' < **tàllà** m. 'advertisement, hawking goods for sale'), **wàhàlce-wàhàlce** 'troubles, difficulties' (cf. **wahàltā** 'to trouble' < **wàhalà** f. 'trouble, difficulty')

A few repetitive-frequentative plurals are built directly on source common nouns (simple and derivative), and some function synchronically as the plurals of cognate deverbal nouns. Examples:

camfì m./**càmfe-càmfe** 'superstition', **habaicī** m./**hàbàice-hàbàice** 'innuendo, hint', **irì** m./**ìre-ìre** 'kind, sort, type', **ƙīrà** f./**ƙère-ƙère** 'model, (pl.) manufactures' (< **ƙērà** 'forge, smith, manufacture'), **mafařkī** m./**màfàřke-màfàřke** 'dream', **sātà** f./**sàce-sàce** 'theft' (< **sàtā** 'steal'), **sūkà** f./**sòke-sòke** 'criticism' (< **sòkā** 'criticise'), **tsallē** m./ **tsàlle-tsàlle** 'jumping around', **tsàrabà** m./**tsàràbe-tsàràbe** 'souvenir', **tùnànī** m./ **tùnàne-tùnàne** 'thought, thinking'

Further examples (monosyllabic verbs insert an epenthetic **-y-** before the **-e** suffix) are:

bùshe-bùshe 'playing music' (< **būsà** 'blow'), **canjì** m./**cànje-cànje** 'change' (< **canzà** 'change'), **cìye-cìye** 'different types of food, snacks' (< **ci** 'eat'), **cùtā** f./**cùce-cùce** 'illness, disease' (< **cùtā** 'harm'), **gàishe-gàishe** 'greetings' (< **gaisà** 'exchange greetings'), **gyārā** m./**gyàre-gyàre** 'repair, correction' (< **gyārà** 'repair'), **kiɗà** f./**kàɗe-kàɗe** 'drumming' (< **kaɗà** 'beat (drum)'), **màce-màce** 'deaths' (< **macè** 'die'), **ràbō** m./**ràbe-ràbe** 'separation, division' (< **rabà** 'divide, separate'), **sàyē** m./**sàye-sàye** 'purchase' (< **sàyā** 'buy'), **shàye-shàye** 'drinks' (< **shā** 'drink'), **shirì** m./**shìrye-shìrye** 'plan, preparation, programme' (< **shiryà** 'plan, prepare'), **shūkà** f./**shùke-shùke** 'plant, crop' (< **shūkà** 'plant,

sow'), **tàndʼe-tàndʼe** 'snacks, savouries' (< **tàndʼā** 'lick'), **yāƙì** m./**yàƙe-yàƙe** 'war' (< **yàƙā** 'make war on')

Some singular nouns additionally operate regular plurals, e.g. **mafařkī** m./**màfàřkai** (Class 10) 'dream', **tàmbayà** f./**tambayōyī** (Class 4) 'question', **wàhalà** f./**wahalōlī** (Class 4) 'trouble', but usually without the distinctive sortal-frequentative value of the fully reduplicated Class 14 plurals.

From a syntactic and semantic viewpoint, repetitive-frequentatives group into two classes—event-denoting and object-denoting. In their eventive function, they serve to individuate repeated occurrences of an event or activity, and as such may be considered semantically the nominal equivalent of "pluractional" verbs which denote a plurality of actions (see §7:7). Eventive repetitive-frequentatives occur in the same syntactic environments as other dynamic-activity nouns such as **aikì** 'work(ing)' and **màganà** 'talk(ing)'), e.g.

Following an Imperfective TAM

sunà tàfiye-tàfiye	'they're continually travelling around'
sunà tàɓe-tàɓe	'they are pilfering all the time'
manòmī yanà shùke-shùke	'the farmer is planting (various crops)'

Complement of an aspectual verb

yā fārà kàdʼe-kàdʼe	'he started drumming'
tā riƙà dàfe-dàfe	'she kept on cooking (various dishes)'

Complement of the general verb **yi** 'do'

kâi, mun yi cìye-cìye dà shàye-shàye jiyà!

'hey, we did some eating and drinking yesterday!'

They can also govern an object in a genitive construction, e.g. **sunà ta sàye-sàyen kāyā** 'they are continually buying things/shopping', **sun dingà yàƙe-yàƙen jūnā** 'they kept on making war against each other'. When functioning as clause subjects, repetitive-frequentatives can control either masculine singular or, less commonly, plural concord, depending upon whether they are used to

describe an ongoing action as an indivisible event (= singular concord), or a sequence of individuated events (= plural concord for some speakers), though judgements are not always clearcut. Examples:

bùshe-bùshên dà yakề yî [**yā**]$_{3m}$ **buřgề ni**
'the music he was playing impressed me'
Cf. **bùshe-bùshên dà yakề yî** [**sun**]$_{3pl}$ **buřgề ni**
'the pieces of music he was playing impressed me'
ràye-ràye [**yā**]$_{3m}$ **yi kyâu** 'the dancing was good'
Cf. **ràye-ràye** [**sun**]$_{3pl}$ **yi kyâu** 'the dances were good'

When occurring as non-dynamic, object-denoting common nouns, e.g. (concrete) **gìne-gìne** 'buildings', **tồye-tồye** 'fried cakes', (abstract) **gyầre-gyầre** 'revisions, corrections', **sồke-sồke** 'criticisms', repetitive-frequentatives are plural count nouns controlling plural concord. Examples:

dǔbi [**waɗàncân**]$_{pl}$ **gìne-gìnên** 'look at those buildings'
àmmā àkwai [**wasu**]$_{pl}$ **gyầre-gyầre** 'but there are some corrections'
yā shā sồke-sồke [**mầsu**]$_{pl}$ **yawầ** 'he suffered many criticisms'
shìrye-shìryên dà kikà yi [**sunầ**]$_{pl}$ **dà ban-shà'awầ**
'the programmes you've made are interesting'

Some repetetitive-frequentatives can function as either dynamic nouns or common count nouns, e.g.

anầ ta [**sồke-sồken**] **gwamnatì**
'they (different factions) are criticizing the government'
Cf. [**sồke-sồkên**] **sun dầmē shì** 'the criticisms annoyed him'
manồmī yanầ ta [**shǔke-shǔke**] 'the farmer was planting'
Cf. [**shǔke-shǔke**] **sun yi kyâu** 'the crops have done fine'

3.16. Cross-class plural membership

Because there is not always a neat match-up between singular nouns and their plural forms—although some pairings, e.g. Subclass 1a, are more predictable than others—many singulars allow alternative dialectal/idiolectal plurals. Examples:

dilā m. 'jackal', pl. **dilōlī/dilàlē** (= Classes 4/1), **kwānò** m. 'metal bowl', pl. **kwānōnī/kwānukà** (= 4/5), **kwâs** m. 'course (of study)', pl. **kwâs-kwâs/kwàsàkwàsai** (= 13/10), **làbāřì** m. 'story, news', pl. **làbàřū/làbàřai** (= 9/10), **sàɗakà** f. 'concubine', pl. **sādakōkī/sàɗàkū** (= 4/9), **tudù** m. 'hill', pl. **tuddunà/tùddai** (= 5/10), **idò** m. 'eye', pl. **idandunà/idànū** (= 5/3), **tàmbayà** f. 'question', pl. **tambayōyī/tàmbàye-tàmbàye** (= 4/14)

Note too the following double plurals from Subclasses 1c/1b where the second and more recent 1b variant is built on the outcome of syllable-final weakening in the singular:

būzū m. 'Tuareg', pl. **bugàjē/būzàyē**, **ßaunā** f. 'bush-cow, water buffalo', pl. **ßakànē/ßaunàyē**, **jūjī** m. 'rubbish heap', pl. **jibàjē/jūjàyē**

In a few cases, morphologically distinct plurals have for some speakers developed different but related meanings, e.g.

dūtsè m. 'stone, rock, mountain', pl. **duwàtsū** (Class 3) 'stones, rocks, mountains' and **duwàřwatsū** (irreg. 3) 'small stones, gravel', **sūnā** m. 'name', pl. **sūnàyē** (1b) 'names' and **sūnànnakī** (6) 'naming ceremonies, names'

3.17. "Plurals-on-plurals" and plurals reanalyzed as singulars

There are some plurals which are built on pre-existing plural stems, e.g.

ƙirāruwà = pl. (Class 5c) of **ƙirārē** pl. (Class 1a) 'firewood sticks', **mazàjē** = pl. (1a) of **mazā** = pl. (11) of **mijì** m. 'husband, male', **mātàyē** = pl. (1b) of **mātā** = pl. (11) of **màtā/màcè** f. 'woman, wife', **shānànnakī** 'cattle' = pl. (6) of **shānū** = pl. (9) of **sâ/sānìyā** m./f. 'bull, cow', **idānuwà** = pl. (5c) of **idànū** = pl. (3) of **idò** m. 'eye', **'yā'yàyē** = pl. (1b) of **'yā'yā** 'children' = plural of **ɗ'ā/'yā** m./f. 'son/daughter'

Some plurals are based on original plurals (especially Class 11) which have been recategorized as singulars, e.g.

ɗ'uwàwū m. = pl. (Class 3) 'buttocks' (cf. WH **ɗ'uwài**), **gidàjē** = pl. (1a) of **gidā** m. 'house, compound' = original (11) pl. (cf. WH **gijè**), **itātuwà** = pl. (5c) of **itàcē** m. 'tree, (fire)wood' = pl. (1a) of **icè** m. 'wood', **ƙudàjē** = pl. (1a) of **ƙudā** m. 'fly' = pl. (11) (cf. WH **ƙujè**), **ruwàyē** = pl. (1b) of **ruwā** m. 'water' = pl. (11), **tākalmà** = pl. (5d) of **tàkàlmī** m. 'shoe' = pl. (8) (cf. WH **tàkalmè**)

3.18. Different singulars → homophonous plurals

Some singular nouns which differ in tone and/or final vowel but share the same underlying base form can select homophonous plurals, e.g.

dāgì m. 'digging-stick' and **dàgī** m. 'paw' → same pl. **dāgunà** (Class 5a), **garkā** f. 'small garden' and **garkè** m. 'herd' → pl. **garàkā** (2), **gēzà** f. 'type of shrub' and **gèzā** f. 'mane, fringe' → pl. **gēzōjī** (4), **kōmī** m. 'dug-out canoe' and **kōmā** f. 'fishing net' → pl. **kōmàyē** (1b)

On the other hand, because plurals are sometimes predictable from the surface shape of the singular, segmentally identical but tonally distinct singulars often operate different plurals, e.g.

gōrà f./**gōrōrī** (4) 'bamboo cane' vs. **gòrā** m./**gōrunà** (5a) 'large gourd'
tūrū m./**tūràyē** (1b) 'small drum' vs. **tūrù** m./**tūrunà** (5a)
or **tûrrā** (2) 'log, wooden stocks'

3.19. Zero-plurals

A number of common nouns operate zero plurals, i.e. they do not have morphologically distinct plurals, but are variable in that they can be either singular (the norm) or plural, though speaker judgements sometimes differ with regard to whether a given noun can operate plural concord. The singular/plural distinction shows up through agreement phenomena. Examples:

gǎ [**wannàn**]$_{sg}$ [**ƙàramař**]$_{sg}$ [**gàdâř**]$_{sg}$ 'look at this small duiker'
Cf. **gǎ** [**waɗànnân**]$_{pl}$ [**ƙanānàn**]$_{pl}$ [**gàdân**]$_{pl}$ 'look at these small duikers'
àkwai [**wani**]$_{sg}$ [**kwàlekwàle**]$_{sg}$ **bǎkin kǒgī**
'there is a canoe by the side of the river'
Cf. **àkwai** [**wasu**]$_{pl}$ [**kwàlekwàle**]$_{pl}$ **bǎkin kǒgī**
'there are some canoes by the side of the river'

Other (sometimes) zero-plural nouns are:

àyàbà f. 'banana', **bàdǔjalā** f. 'trumpet, bugle', **bandējì** m. 'bandage', **bàràzanā** f. 'threat', **ɓàrī** m. 'miscarriage', **cīkàs** m. 'problem, fault', **dāmā** f. 'chance, opportunity', **gāɓǎ** f. 'river-bank', **hàřājǐ** m. 'tax', **jànā'izǎ** f. 'funeral', **ƙǒƙarī** m. 'effort', **lābulē** m. 'curtain', **lōfè** m. 'pipe (smoking)', **mangwàřò** m. 'mango', **tân** m. 'ton'

Chapter 5
Nominal and Adjectival Derivation

1. Introduction

Hausa has a sophisticated range of nominal derivatives, employing suffixes and/or prefixes, all of which add various kinds of lexical content to the stem, e.g. abstract nouns and agentives, names of people and languages, systems/ movements, nouns expressing mutuality, etc. Nouns generated by the relevant word-formation rules usually have specified gender. Almost all suffixes are vowel-initial and tone-integrating, extending their canonical tone grids over the domain of the entire word and replacing the stem-final vowel. Prefixes are not tone-integrating. Nominal compounds—also the product of word-formation processes—are also handled in this chapter, in addition to frozen reduplicated nouns and derived adjectives. See also Newman (1986a) and relevant chapters in Newman (2000).

2. Suffixal Derivation

Most of the derivational affixes in Hausa—Hausa is largely a suffixing language—are suffixes and they include: various categories of abstract nouns (§2.1), nouns indicating mutuality/reciprocity (§2.2), politico-religious systems (§2.3), associated characteristics (§2.4), and games (§2.5), "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality" (§2.6), and ideophonic sound/movement nouns (§2.7).[1]

[1]Hausa also has a number of petrified deverbal nominalizing suffixes, e.g. **-kō/-kὸ** and the double suffix **-makō**. Examples of the derivational **-kō/-kὸ** allomorphs (attached to H tone stems) are: **baikō** 'betrothal' (< **bai** 'give'), **bīkὸ** 'trying to persuade runaway wife (or strikers) to return' (< **bi** 'follow' with monoverbs lengthening the vowel to /ī/ before the suffix), **farkō** 'beginning, start' (< **fārὰ** 'begin'), **fīfīkὸ** 'superiority' (< **fi** 'exceed, be superior to' with reduplication), **īkὸ** 'power, control' (< **iyὰ** 'be able'), **ƙarkō** 'durability' (< **ƙārὰ** 'increase'), **rankō** 'retaliation' (< **rāmὰ** 'retaliate'), **tarkὸ** 'trap' (< **tarὲ** 'go to meet, intercept'). The

2.1. Abstract nouns (-(VN)TA, -(VN)CI, and -(VN)TAKA)

Hausa has a number of mainly tone-integrating suffixes (all probably related historically)—(1) **-(VN)TA** (= surface **-(Vn)tā** or **-(Vn)tà**), (2) **-(VN)CI**$^{H/HL}$ (= **-(an)cī** or **-(Vn)cì**), and (3) **-(VN)TAKA**^{LHL} (= **-(Vn)takà**). These suffixes attach to the base form, i.e. stem minus final vowel, of common nouns and adjectives (and occasionally adverbs). See Newman (2000: chap. 1). The resulting nouns express various abstract notions, e.g. physical and behavioural characteristics, as well as languages and dialect terms. In some cases, a source word can operate more than one abstract suffix with little or no meaning difference, and there are dialectal and/or idiolectal differences in the choice. Use of the additional **-Vn-** element seems to be lexically specific, although many disyllabic source words select it and it is sometimes avoided if the final consonant of the source word is nasal. The **V** usually surfaces as /**u**/ if the stem-final vowel is /**ū**/ or /**ō**/, or as /**a**/ (occasionally /**i**/) with any other vowel, or if the base word ends in a consonant or is polysyllabic (the **V** could be analyzed underlyingly as /**a**/ which may then be overridden by the stem-final vowel). With the all H **-ancī** suffix the **V** is always /**a**/. Base-final /**m**/ usually undergoes homorganic assimilation to /**n**/ in syllable-final position before the abutting /**t**/ or /**c**/ of the suffix, e.g. **ƙarantà** 'mean-spiritedness' < **ƙàramī** 'small', **Musuluncì** 'Islam' < **Mùsùlmī** 'Muslim', **jàrùntakà** 'bravery' < **jārùmī** 'brave (person)'.

2.1.1. -(VN)TA (= -(Vn)tā and/or -(Vn)tà)

The feminine gender **-(Vn)tā** and/or **-(Vn)tà** suffixes are usually attached to adjectives describing human attributes, either physical or behavioural, and are often expressed by '-ship, -ness, etc.' derivatives in English. These derivatives

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bimorphemic **-makō** suffix yields a (L)LHH noun and occurs in **màimakō** 'substitute' (< **màyā** 'replace'), **sàkàmakō** 'result' (< **sākà** 'recompense, pay back'), **sàmmakō** 'making an early start' (?< **sàuka** 'arrive'), **tàimakō** 'help' (< **tàyā** 'help').

Possible vestiges of an archaic ***-nī** derivational suffix are present in nouns such as **dukkànī** 'entirety' (cf. **dukkà-n** 'all of'), **hàƙīƙànī** 'certainty' (cf. **hàƙīƙà** adv. 'certainly'), **tùnànī** 'thinking' (cf. **tunà** 'remember'), **rùɗānī** 'confusion' (cf. **rūɗà** 'confuse'), **sàɓānī** 'disagreement' (cf. **sāɓà** 'disagree (with)').

display a variety of non-predictable surface tone patterns, with trisyllabic LLH and HHL especially common. Examples:

LLH + **-tā**

jàřùntā	'bravery'	(< **jāřùmī** 'brave (person)')
(= **jāřuntà** = **jàřùntakà**)		
nàgàřtā	'good character'	(< **nagàri** 'person of good character')

LLH + **-Vntā**

gùrgùntā (= **gurguncì**)	'lameness'	(< **gurgù** 'lame (person)')
mùgùntā	'evil'	(< **mūgù** 'evil (person)')
(with short /**u**/ in the first syllable of the abstract noun)		
sàbùntā	'newness'	(< **sābō** 'new')
zùmùntā (= **zumuncì**)	'close relationship'	(< **zumù** 'close friend')

HHL + **-tà**

gajartà	'shortness'	(< **gàjērē** 'short (person)')
kuturtà	'leprosy'	(< **kuturū** 'leprous, leper')
ƙanƙantà	'smallness'	(< **ƙànƙanè** 'small')
ƙarantà	'mean-spiritedness'	(< **ƙàramī** 'small')
mālantà (= **màlàntā**)	'scholarship'	(< **mālàmī** 'teacher')

HHL + **-Vntà**

hūtsantà	'cantankerousness'	(< **hūtsū** 'cantankerous (person)')
sīřantà	'thinness'	(< **sìřīřì** 'tall and thin')

See also LHL **gwànintà** 'expertise, skill' (< **gwànī** 'expert (person)'), **bìjintà** 'courage' (< **bìjimī** 'bull'), **sàrautà** 'being a ruler' (< **sarkī** 'king, emir'), and LFH **ƙàzântā** 'filthiness' (< **ƙàzāmī** 'filthy'), in addition to variable tone disyllabic forms with the **-tā** suffix, e.g. **bàutā** 'slavery' (< **bāwà** 'slave'), **cùtā**

'illness' (< **cīwò** 'disease'), **mâitā** 'witchcraft' (< **māyè** 'witch'), **wâutā** = **wāwancì** 'stupidity' (< **wāwā** 'stupid (person)').

*2.1.2. -(VN)CI)$^{H/HL}$ (= -(**an**)**cī**)^{H} or -(**Vn**)**cì**)^{HL})*

These suffixes are used to derive masculine abstract nouns denoting behavioural characteristics and practices, often associated with and derived from a noun indicating a location or group of humans. The all H tone **-(an)cī** variant is also used to derive language/dialect names. Both suffixes are tone-integrating, and differ minimally in the tone of the final **-CI** element, which can be either H **-cī** or L **-cì**. The choice of suffix seems to be lexically specific, except in the case of languages/dialects which only use all H **-(an)cī**, and with certain items both variants are attested as dialectal/idiolectal alternatives. With the all H **-(an)cī** derivative the expanded suffix with the intrusive **-an-** element is more frequent.

Base + -(**an**)**cī**)^{H}

(**ƙauyè**)^{HL} 'village' + **-ancī**)^{H} → all H **ƙauyancī** 'naive behaviour'

(**ƙàramī**)^{LHH} 'small' + **-cī**)^{H} → all H **ƙarancī** 'shortage'

Other examples:

Base + **-ancī**)^{H}

biřnancī	'slick, urbane behaviour'	(< **biřnī** 'city')
fādancī	'obsequious behaviour'	(< **fādà** 'court, palace')
fiř'aunancī	'ruthless tyrannical behaviour'	(< **fìř'aunà** 'pharaoh')
gwārancī	'incomprehensible speech'	(< **Gwāri** 'Gwari person')
kānikancī	'mechanics'	(< **màkānikè** 'mechanic')
kwaminisancī	'communism'	(< (**ɗ'an**) **kwamìnìs** 'communist')
yawancī	'majority'	(< **yawà** 'abundance, quantity')

Base + **-cī**)^{H}

azancī	'(common) sense, wit'	(< **azamà** 'purpose, zeal')
gangancī	'recklessness, carelessness'	(< **gàngan** 'intentionally, jokingly')

The same -(**an**)**cī** suffix with all H tones is used to derive language and dialect names—**Hausa** 'Hausa', **Ingìlīshì** 'English', and **bùřōkà** '(Nigerian) Pidgin English' (< Eng. 'broken') are conspicuous exceptions. Examples:

Barbarcī 'Kanuri language' (cf. **bàbarbarè** 'Kanuri person'), **Bībīsancī** 'BBC World Service Hausa' (< **Bībīsî** 'BBC'), **Bōlancī** 'Bole language' (cf. **Bòlàwā** 'Bole people'), **Būzancī** 'Tuareg language' (< **Būzū** 'Tuareg'), **Fařansancī** 'French' (< **Fàřansà** 'France'), **Filātancī** = **Fillancī** 'Fulani language' (cf. **Bàfilātànī** 'Fulani person', **Filànī** 'Fulani people'), **Jāmusancī** 'German' (< **Jāmùs** 'Germany'), **Kanancī** 'Kano (dialect of) Hausa' (< **Kanò** 'Kano area'), **Lāřabcī** 'Arabic' (cf. **Lāřabāwā** 'Arabs'), **Sakkwatancī** 'Sokoto (dialect of) Hausa' (< **Sakkwato** 'Sokoto area'), **Tūřancī** 'English' (< **Tūřai** 'Europe'), **Yařbancī** 'Yoruba language' (cf. **Yařbāwā** 'Yoruba people')

Note too the generalized compass terms **kudancī** 'southern area' (< **kudù** 'south(wards)'), and (without the **-n-** element) **gabashī** 'eastern area' (< **gabàs** 'east(wards)', cf. **gabasancī** 'behaviour of eastern people'), **arēwacī** 'northern area' (< **arèwa** 'north(wards)'), and **yammacī** 'western area' (< **yâmma** 'west(wards)').

Base + -(**Vn**)**cì**)^{HL}

(**angō**)^{HH} 'bridegroom' + -**Vncì**)^{HL} → HHL **angwancì** 'being a bridegroom'

(**àlmājìřī**)^{LHLH} 'pupil (Koranic)' + -**cì**)^{HL} → HHHL **almājiřcì** 'being a (Koranic) pupil'

Other examples (including some professions) include:

Base + **-Vncì**)^{HL}

bēbancì (= **bèbàntakà**) 'being deaf and dumb' (< **bēbē** 'deaf and dumb person')

bāƙuncì 'hospitality' (< **bàƙō** 'stranger, guest')

fankashālancì	'stupidity'	(< **fankàshālì** 'stupid (person)')
gātancì	'preferential treatment'	(< **gātā** 'pampering, indulging')
gurguncì (= **gùrgùntā**)	'lameness'	(< **gurgù** 'lame (person)')
kāřuwancì	'prostitution'	(< **kāřùwà** 'prostitute')
kāsuwancì	'trading'	(< **kàsuwā** 'market')
kuruncì (= **kuruntà**)	'deafness'	(< **kurmā** 'deaf (person)')
ƙabīlancì	'tribalism'	(< **ƙàbīlà** 'ethnic group, tribe')
miskilancì	'perverseness'	(< **miskìlī** 'perverse, contrary person')
muhimmancì	'importance'	(< **mùhimmì** 'important')
shūgabancì	'leadership'	(< **shùgàbā** 'leader')
zumuncì	'friendship'	(< **zumù** 'close friend')

Base + **-cì**)^{HL}

ādalcì	'fairness, justice'	(< **ādàlī** 'fair person')
amincì	'close friendship'	(< **àmīnì** 'close friend', cf. **àmìntakà** 'intimacy')
bambancì	'difference'	(< **bambam** 'different')
jāhilcì	'ignorance'	(< **jāhìlī** 'ignorant (person)')
kaɗaicì	'loneliness, solitude'	(< **kaɗai** 'only, alone')
kařimcì	'generosity'	(< **kàřīmì** 'generous (person)')
kawaicì	'reticence, tranquillity'	(< **kawài** 'only, just')
mālancì (= **mālantà**)	'scholarship'	(< **mālàmī** 'teacher')
mutuncì	'honour, decency'	(< **mùtûm** 'person, human being', cf. **mùtùntakà** 'human nature')

There are also a few examples of **-(Vn)cì** attaching to overt plural nouns, e.g. **fataucì** (< ***fatak-cì**) 'long-distance trading' (< **fatàkē** 'long-distance traders'), **'yan'uwancì** 'brotherhood' (< **'yan'uwā** 'brothers').

With some -(VN)CI derivatives, the two suffixes function as dialectal/idiolectal alternatives, e.g. (more common variant listed first) **fādancī** (= **fādancì**) 'flattery,

obsequious behaviour', **iskancì** (= **iskancī**) 'loose living', **gidādancī** (= **gidādancì**) 'country ways', **ƙarancī** 'shortage' (**ƙarancì**/**ƙarantà** = 'pettiness' in some dialects), **ƙauyancī** (= **ƙauyancì**) 'naive behaviour'.

2.1.3. -(VN)TAKA)^{LHL} (= -(Vn)takà)^{LHL}

Abstract nouns with the tone-integrating suffix -(**Vn**)**takà**)^{LHL} typically indicate personal attributes or states (occasionally professions). Examples:

(**dangì**)^{HL} 'family' + -**Vntakà**)^{LHL} → LLHL **dàngàntakà** 'relationship'

(**maƙwàbcī**)^{HLH} 'neighbour' + -**takà**)^{LHL} → LLHL **màƙwàbtakà** 'being neighbours'

Other examples include:

Base + -**Vntakà**)^{LHL} (common)

àbòkàntakà	'friendship'	(< **àbōkī** 'friend')
bèbàntakà (= **bēbancì**)	'being deaf-mute'	(< **bēbē** 'deaf-mute')
dõgòntakà	'tallness'	(< **dōgō** 'tall')
sàbùntakà (= **sàbùntā**)	'newness'	(< **sābō** 'new')
shèɡàntakà	'rudeness, insolence'	(< **shēɡè** 'bastard')
yàràntakà	'childish behaviour'	(< pl. **yârā** 'children')
'yàn'ùwàntakà	'brotherliness, family relations'	(< pl. **'yan'uwā** 'brothers')

Base + -**takà**)^{LHL}

jàřùntakà (= **jāřuntà** = **jàřùntā**)	'bravery'	(< **jāřùmī** 'brave (person)')
màlàntakà (= **mālantà** = **mālamancī**)	'teaching (profession)'	(< **mālàmī** 'teacher')
mùtùntakà	'human respect'	(< **mùtûm** 'man, person')
sàmàrtakà	'youthfulness'	(< pl. **sàmàrī** 'young men')

2.2. *Mutuality/reciprocity (**-ayyà**)^{LHL} and/or **-ēCƒēnìyā**)^{LHHLH}*

Derivative, mainly deverbal nouns expressing mutuality or reciprocity are formed with two feminine gender tone-integrating suffixes: left-spreading LHL tone **-ayyà** and LHHLH **-ēCƒēnìyā** (where **Cƒ** is a copy of the stem-final consonant). (See Newman 2000: chap. 47.) Stem-final coronals, including the **Cƒ** copy, palatalize before the /ē/ vowels of the **ēCƒēnìyā** suffix, e.g. **gàjējējēnìyā** 'joint inheritance' < **gàdā** 'inherit'. The choice of suffix is lexically conditioned in the main, though monoverbs select only **-ayyà**, and some source words allow both suffixes. Examples:

(**tārà**)^{HL} 'collect' + **-ayyà**)^{LHL} → LHL **tàrayyà** 'federation, association'

(**yàřda**)^{LH} 'agree' + **-ēCƒēnìyā**)^{LHHLH} → LHHLH **yàřjējēnìyā** 'agreement'

Base + **-ayyà**)^{LHL}

àurayyà	'intermarriage'	(< **àurā** 'marry')
(= **àuràtayyà** with **-TA** verbalizer)		
bùgayyà	'trading blows'	(< **bùgā** 'hit')
cìnìkayyà	'inter-trading'	(< dynamic noun **cìnikī** 'trading')
kàrɓayyà	'(labourers) taking loads for one another'	(< **kàrɓā** 'take, receive')
sàkayyà	'reward (for sth. good), punishment (for sth. bad)'	(< **sākà** 'recompense')
yàƙayyà	'mutual hostility, warfare'	(< **yàƙā** 'make war on')

Monoverbs insert an epenthetic /**y**/ glide before the **-ayyà** suffix:

bìyayyà	'obedience, loyalty'	(< **bi** 'follow, obey')
cìyayyà	'eating together (pot-luck)'	(< **ci** 'eat')

jǎyayyà	'dispute, wrangling'	(< **jā** 'pull')
jìyayyà	'good relations'	(< **ji** 'feel, hear')
ƙìyayyà	'mutual hatred'	(< **ƙi** 'hate')
sòyayyà	'mutual affection, love'	(< **sō** 'love')

Base + **-ēCƒēnìyā**)^{LHHLH} (where **Cƒ** = copy of base-final consonant)

bùgēgēnìyā	'trading blows'	(< **bùgā** 'hit')
(= **bùgayyà**)		
gǎjējēnìyā	'several people inheriting'	(< **gǎdā** 'inherit')
kàrɓēɓēnìyā	'(labourers) taking loads	(< **kàrɓā** 'take, receive')
for one another'	(= **kàrɓayyà**)	
rùngùmēmēnìyā	'mutual embracing'	(< **rùngumǎ** 'embrace')
yǎƙēƙēnìyā	'mutual hostility, warfare'	(< **yǎƙā** 'make war on')
(= **yǎƙayyà**)		

Some speakers geminate the **Cƒ** copy consonant, e.g. **bùgaggēnìyā** = **bùgēgēnìyā** 'trading blows' (with /**ē**/ → /**a**/ shortening and centralization in the resulting closed syllable).

*2.3. Politico-religious systems, movements, etc. (**-iyyà**)^{LHL})*

This feminine suffix with a fixed, tone-integrating, LHL tone melody denotes, inter alia, a system, movement or era, often socio-political or religious (see Newman 2000: chap. 68). With the possible exception of **dìflòmàsiyyà** 'diplomacy' (?< Eng.), all **-iyyà** nouns are borrowed from Arabic, along with the derivational suffix itself. Examples:

Àřàbiyyà 'Arabic language', **dìmòkùřǎɗiyyà** 'democracy', **Ìslǎmiyyà** 'Islamic beliefs or calendar', **jàhìliyyà** 'the pre-Islamic dark ages, barbarism', **jàm'iyyà** 'political party, group', **jàmhǔřiyyà** 'confederation' (cf. **jàmhūřiyà** 'republic'), **Kǎdìřiyyà** 'Qadiriyya Muslim sect', **kǐmiyyà** 'science', **Màhàdiyyà** 'Mahdiyya

Muslim sect', **Mùhàmmàdiyyà** 'Muslim religion, Islamic traditions', **nàsàřiyyà** 'western system (e.g. school)', **sànàdiyyà** 'cause, reason', **tà'àziyyà** 'condolences', **tàřbiyyà** '(religious) training, education, discipline', **Tìjjàniyyà** 'Tijaniyya Muslim sect', **Ùsmànìyyà** 'era of Usman Dan Fodiyo' (reformist Fulani cleric and leader of the *jihad* in the early 19th century)

Note too the following more recent creations using the same suffix: **Bùhàřiyyà** 'Buhari regime' (= Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, Nigerian military head of state, 1983-85), **Sànùsiyyà** 'reign of Sir Muhammad Sanusi' (Emir of Kano, 1953-63, also a Muslim sect).

*2.4. Related characteristics (**-au**)^{LH})*

A LH tone-integrating masculine suffix **-au**, when attached to mainly verb stems, produces a class of derivative nominals which typically describe (often excessive) human personality traits or habits, e.g. **hanà** 'prevent' + **-au**)^{LH} → **hànau** 'skinflint', **mântā** 'forget' + **-au**)^{LH} → **màntau** 'forgetful person' (cf. English 'over/hyper-X', etc.). In addition to deriving human nouns with a performative function, the word-formation rule can also be used to denote inanimate properties, end-products or states, or a concrete noun denoting the result of an action, e.g. **kàfau** 'deep mud' (< **kafè** 'become stuck'), **zùbau** 'grinding stone' (< **zubà** 'pour into'), in addition to several other semantic categories (see below). Some **-au** formatives have specialized meanings which are not transparently relatable to the source verb (see Newman 2000: chap. 50). Other examples (some of which can also be proper names) are:

dàfau	'poor quality meat'	(< **dafà** 'cook')
fìddau	'reject'	(< **fìd dà** 'throw away')
hàƙùrau	'patient person'	(< **hàƙurà** 'be patient')
jìmrau = jùrau	'patient, stoic person'	(< **jimrè = jūrè** 'endure')
màkàrau	'person who is habitually late'	(< **màkarà** 'be late')

màƙàlau	'child who clings to mother'	(< **maƙàlā** 'attach to')
mànnau	'stuck fast (child to mother)'	(< **mannà** 'stick sth. on')
nòmau	'successful farmer'	(< **nōmè** 'farm, hoe')
tàfiyau	'well-travelled person'	(< **tàfi** < ***tàfiyà** 'go/travel (to)')

Note too the noun-based **-au** derivatives **àsìřau** 'secretive person' (< **àsīřī** 'secret'), **sìyàsau** 'political person' (< **sìyāsà** 'politics'), and **tàbàrau** 'spectacles' (< ?).

The **-au**)^{LH} suffix is also used to derive personal proper names and/or epithets for prominent, usually male, individuals, e.g.

Bàrau = name for boy born after many of earlier siblings have died (< **barì** 'leave')

Gàgàrau = 'invincible' (nickname for Abubakar, < **gàgarà** 'be uncontrollable')

Gànau = name for boy born during new moon phase (?< **ganī** 'see')

Kètau = epithet for a barber (< **kētà** 'cut through')

Kòrau = epithet of emir or official in charge of royal stables (< **kòrā** 'drive (animals)')

Kòsau = name for child born at harvest time (< **ƙōsà** 'be replete')

Sàdau = name for child born after divorced mother has returned to husband (< **sādà** 'bring together')

Shèkàrau = name given to boy overdue at birth (< **shèkarà** 'spend a year')

See also **Jàtau** = name for light-skinned boy (?< adj. **jā** 'red'), **Sàllau** = name given to boy born during a Muslim festival (nickname for **Sālihù**, < noun **sallà** 'prayer, religious festival'), and the place names **Fànìsau**, **Gùsau** (< ?).

It is also be used to indicate paid-labour activities, e.g.

àikàtau	'wage-labour'	(< **aikàtā** 'do, work, perform')
dàkau	'pounding corn for payment'	(< **dakà** 'pound (corn)')

ɗìnkau	'sewing for payment'	(< **ɗinkà** 'sew')
nìƙau	'grinding corn for payment'	(< **niƙà** 'grind')
wànkau	'washing clothes for payment'	(< **wankè** 'wash')

The above **-au** formations can function like dynamic-activity nouns, e.g. (with Imperfective TAM) **tanà àikàtau** 'she's working for payment'. The **-au** suffix has also been used to create some more modern technical/grammatical terms:

aìkàtau	'verb'	(< **aikàtā** 'do, work, perform')
dõgàrau	'relative (clause)'	(< **dõgarà** 'depend on')
hàddàsau	'causative'	(< **haddàsā** 'cause')
kàikàitau	'dative'	(< **kaikàitā** 'slant, tilt')
kàrɓau	'direct object'	(< **kàrɓā** 'accept, receive')

It also appears with some diseases and (usually harmful) insects and plants:

bũɗau	'butterfly'	(< **būɗè** 'open')
bùgau	'black-quarter disease'	(< **bùgā** 'beat, hit')
bũsau	'larva of digger-wasp; drying up of corn'	(< **būsà** 'blow on')
sànƙàrau	'cerebro-spinal meningitis'	(< **sanƙàrē** 'stiffen (up)')
shànyau	'insect which eats stored grain'	(< **shânyā** 'spread out to dry')
tsìdau	'thorny weed'	(< **tsai dà** 'stop')
tùnkùɗau	'maggot which attacks bulrush-millet'	(< **tunkùɗā** 'push aside')

2.5. *Deverbal nouns denoting games (-e)^{H})*

There is a closed set of specialized deverbal nouns with a tone-integrating, short vowel **-e**)^{H} suffix, used mainly to denote games or contests, e.g. **rige** 'competing to finish sth. first' (< **rigā** 'reach somewhere first'), **tsallake** 'jumping game' (<

tsallàkā 'jump over') (see Amfani 1984, and Newman 2000: chap. 30). These derivatives typically behave as autonomous (msg.) nouns. Examples:

lālêⁿ yā ìsa	'the (card) shuffle is enough' (< **lālè** 'shuffle (cards)')
kā ga dambêⁿ?	'did you see the boxing?' (< ?)

Some can also function like verbal and dynamic-activity nouns, e.g. (with Imperfective TAMs):

sunà dambe	'they are boxing'
cake mukè (**yî**)	'we're *playing darts*'
(= **cake** 'game similar to darts' < **cakà** 'stab')	

Some can govern genitival complements, suffixing the **-n** linker:

ɓàràyîn sunà yanken àljīhū	'the thieves are picking pockets'
(= **yanke** 'pick-pocketing' < **yankà** 'cut')	
munà rigen gamà aikìn	'we are competing to finish the work first'

Other examples are: **fashe** 'egg-breaking game' (< **fasà** 'break'), **tsēre** 'race' (< **tsērè** 'run away'), **zungure** 'gambling game' (< **zungùrā** 'poke'). Some of the deverbal nouns generated by the word-formation rule express negative, anti-social activities, e.g. **gōge** 'rubbing up against s'one (esp. female)' (< **gōgè** 'rub'), **jāgule** 'messing up food/place' (< **jāgùlā** 'mess up'), **lēƙe** 'sneaking a look at s'one's work' (< **lēƙà** 'peep at') (see also **yanke** 'pick-pocketing' above).

2.6. "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality" (-ī)^{H})

Parsons (1955: 376) defines "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality" (ANSQs) as signifying "qualities or attributes of people, animals, or things that are perceptible by one or more of the senses", e.g. (often equivalent to English '-ness' derivatives) **dāɗī** 'pleasantness, niceness', **nauyī** 'heaviness', **tsāmī** 'sourness,

acidity', **wārī** 'stench', **zāƙī** 'sweetness', **zurfī** 'depth', etc. (see also Newman 2000: chap. 2). ANSQs also operate their own derivative sensory adjectives, e.g. **zàzzāfā** '(very) hot' and verbs, e.g. **zāfàfā** 'heat up sth.'. There are 60 or more ANSQs with the same canonical form, some of which are now archaic: they are all disyllabic, have a heavy (CVV, CVC) first syllable, and attach a tone-integrating **-ī)**^{H} masculine suffix to the base, as follows:

fāɗ- + **-ī)**^{H}	→	HH **fāɗī** 'width, breadth'
sany- + **-ī)**^{H}	→	HH **sanyī** 'cold(ness)'
ɗ'āt- + **-ī)**^{H}	→	HH **ɗ'ācī** 'bitterness (e.g. kolanuts, medicine)'

(Notice that underlying coronals palatalize before the **-ī** suffix, e.g. **/t/ → /c/**.)

Because of their predictable morphosemantic uniformity, ANSQs are analyzable as derived nominals, even though most of them have no attested, independently-occurring stems (Newman 1986b: 253-54). Relatable stems are identifiable for a few ANSQs, however, e.g. **ɗ'ācī** 'bitterness, sourness' (cf. **ɗ'ātà** 'bitter, tomato-like plant'), **gwīßī** 'viscosity' (cf. **gwīßà** 'sediment'), **zāfī** 'heat' (cf. **zuf(f)à** 'hot weather'), **zāƙī** 'sweetness' (cf. **zāƙò** 'sweet cassava'). Other common examples are:

> **danshī** 'dampness, moistness', **ɗ'ārī** 'cold, dry weather', **kaifī** 'sharpness', **ƙanshī** 'aroma, fragrance', **ƙarfī** 'strength, energy', **ƙuncī** 'narrowness, constrictedness', **ƙwārī** 'durability', **laushī** 'softness', **santsī** 'slipperiness, smoothness', **sauƙī** 'lightness, easiness', **taurī** 'toughness, hardness', **tsarkī** 'cleanliness, holiness', **yauƙī** 'sliminess'. Note too **ɗ'òyī** 'stench', **kirkì** 'goodness, kindness', and **mūnì** 'ugliness, evil' with irregular tones.

ANSQs behave syntactically as nouns, e.g. as clausal subjects. When occurring as part of the complement they often translate as attributive adjectives, e.g. in postmodifying phrases formed with connective **mài/màsu**, or as predicative adjectives in English. Examples:

zāfī yā yi yawà	'the heat is too much'
wannàn àkwàtì nauyī gàrē shì	'this box is really heavy'
(lit...heaviness in relation to 3m)	
yā shā māgànī mài ɗ'ācī	'he drank bitter medicine'
wannàn aikì yanà dà saukī	'this work is easy'

Along with other abstract nouns, ANSQs also regularly occur as complements of the general verb **yi** 'do', again with an adjectival meaning, e.g.

àbinci zâi yi sanyī	'the food will go cold' (...will do cold)
ōfìs yā yi zāfī	'the office is (too) hot' (...did heat)
Cf. **aikìn nân yā yi kyâu**	'this work is good' (...did goodness)

With an overt indirect object, the **yi** + ANSQ phrase often has a negative-excessive force, e.g. **wannàn àkwàtì zâi yi makà nauyī** 'this box will be too heavy for you' (...will do IOM.2m heaviness). Cf. too **Hausa tā yi masà wùyā** 'Hausa was too difficult for him', with the non-ANSQ abstract noun **wùyā** 'difficulty', and **àbinci yā yi minì kàɗan** 'the food is too little for me', with the adverb **kàɗan** 'a little'.

There are also a number of common compound nouns with the structure [ANSQ.linker-noun], e.g. **ƙarfin-gwīwà** 'support' (lit. strength.of-knee), **taurin-kâi** 'stubbornness' (hardness.of-head), **sanyin-zūcìyā** 'easy-goingness' (cold.of-heart), **zāfin-nāmà** 'agility, quickness' (hotness.of-flesh), **zurfin-cikì** 'secretiveness' (depth.of-stomach). Note too the following (quasi-) compounds with the form [noun.linker-ANSQ] (= descriptive genitives): **ruwan-sanyī** 'cold water' (water.of-cold), **ruwan-zāfī** 'hot water' (water.of-heat). (The corresponding **mài** + ANSQ phrases **ruwā mài sanyī/zāfī** 'water which is cold/hot' do not have the intrinsic generic interpretation of the compounds.)

ANSQs allow fully reduplicated forms, with a shortened final **-i** vowel on each reduplicate, with a detensified '-ish' meaning (the same rule is available for simple colour/size adjectives). Examples: **sanyi-sanyi** 'coolishness' (< **sanyī**

'cold(ness)'), **tsāmi-tsāmi** 'sourishness' (< **tsāmī** 'sourness'), **zāƙi-zāƙi** 'sweetishness' (< **zāƙī** 'sweetness'), **zāfi-zāfi** 'warmth' (< **zāfī** 'heat'). These reduplicates have a more limited syntactic distribution than their source ANSQs—they never occur as clausal subjects—and typically function as noun modifiers. Examples:

yā shā lèmō mài zāƙi-zāƙi	'he drank a sweetish soft drink'
àbinci yā yi sanyi-sanyi	'the food has gone coolish'

*2.7. Ideophonic sound/movement nouns (**-niyā**)$^{LL\text{-}HH}$ or X x 2)$^{LL\text{-}HH}$*

There is a closed class of highly expressive ideophonic nouns denoting sounds and/or movements—Parsons' (1963: 188, fn. 1) "Frequentative Dynamic Nouns"—a subset of which utilizes a tone-integrating feminine suffix **-niyā**)$^{LL\text{-}HH}$, e.g. **ɗàwàiniyā** 'struggling with a task', **hàyǎniyā** 'hubbub' (see also Newman 2000: chap. 35:§6). The first two syllables of the quadrisyllabic output often have an iambic light-heavy structure. Cognate source words, if attested, are typically ideophones themselves (**§15**:7), e.g. **bàlbàlniyā** 'bright burning of fire, light' (cf. **bàlbàl** idph. 'burning bright'), **ɽùgùmniyā** 'rumbling noise' (cf. **ɽùgùm** idph. 'noise of sth. rumbling, thudding, etc.'). Items in this class function like dynamic-activity nouns, e.g.

yârā sunǎ dìrìniyā	'the children are dilly-dallying'
(= predicative with an Imperfective TAM)	
sun yi hàtsǎniyā	'they quarrelled' (= predicative object of **yi** 'do')
hàyǎniyā tā yi yawǎ	'there's too much hubbub' (= clause subject)

Other examples are:

dùrùmniyā 'looking hither and thither' (cf. **dùrùm** idph. 'all confused'), **gàràuniyā** 'aimless wandering' (cf. **gàràrī** 'aimless wandering'), **kǔtsǎniyā** 'interference, meddlesomeness' (cf. **kūtsǎ** 'barge in'), **ƙàràuniyā** 'rattling' (cf.

ƙarau 'glass bangle'), **ƙìrìniyā** 'naughtiness', **wàlwàlniyā** 'sparkling, twinkling' (cf. **wàlwàlàl** idph. 'glossy, glistening')

Alongside some of the **-niyā** derivatives there are some semantically and syntactically equivalent cognate ideophonic formations which consist of a fully reduplicated component with the same set overall LL-HH tone melody (§**15**:7.1.4). The reduplicated disyllabic element has a light-heavy syllable structure (again parallel to the **-niyā** derivatives). Examples (final **-ā** = feminine, otherwise masculine):

dìrì-dirī = dìrìniyā 'dilly-dallying', **gìdì-gidī = gìdùniyā** 'being officious, a busy-body', **jàlè-jalē = jàlèniyā** 'going here and there', **mùtsù-mutsū = mùtsùniyā** 'fidgeting', **wàcà-wacā = wàcàniyā** 'squandering', **wàtsàl-watsal = wàtsàlniyā** 'wriggling'

Some of these LL-HH derivatives do not have corresponding **-niyā** formations, e.g. **cùkù-cukū** 'underhand dealing', **hàdà-hadā** 'buying and selling', (with CVC initial syllables) **wàndàř-wandař** 'zigzagging', **zìřgà-ziřgā** 'going to and fro'.

3. Prefixal Derivation

There are two prefixal formations: derived nouns of agent, instrument and location using **ma-**, and "ethnonyms" with a **bà-** prefix. Both formations also utilize tone-integrating suffixes, with the marginal exception of some ethnonyms.

3.1. Agential, instrumental and locative nouns formed with the prefix ***ma-***

In keeping with a number of Afroasiatic (including Chadic) languages (Greenberg 1963), Hausa uses a nominalizing **ma-** prefix to derive agential, e.g.

maƙèrī 'blacksmith', instrumental, e.g. **mabūɗī** 'opener, key', and locative nouns, e.g. **makaɽantā** 'school', usually from underlying verbs. The word-formation rule uses a lexically H tone **ma-** prefix plus tone-integrating vocalic suffixes, i.e. circumfixes. See also McIntyre (1988a, b, 1995), Parsons (1963), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 7).

*3.1.1. Agential nouns (**ma**-X-**ī**)^{LH}*

Masculine singular deverbal agentials have the form **ma-** plus a suffix **-ī**)^{LH}, with the initial L tone spreading leftwards over the stem. Feminine singulars have a suffix **-iyā**)^{HLH} (H spreads left), and the plural forms use a suffix **-ā**)^{LH} (L spreads left as in the masculine). Coronal consonants automatically palatalize before the **-ī/iyā** suffixes. Agentials typically denote the volitional (human) agent of a verbal activity, e.g. a profession, but it can also describe a human characteristic, in which case the **ma-** form also normally functions as an adjective (see below). With some agentials, the semantic connection with the underlying base is more opaque.

Table 4. Agential nouns

Verb stem	Masculine **ma**-X-**ī**)^{LH}	Feminine **ma**-X-**iyā**)^{HLH}	Plural **ma**-X-**ā**)^{LH}	
hàifā 'give birth to'	**mahàifī**	**mahaifìyā**	**mahàifā**	'parent'
tāshì 'get/grow up'	**matȁshī**	**matāshìyā**	**matȁsā**	'adolescent'
ɽubùtā 'write'	**maɽùbùcī**	**maɽubūcìyā**	**maɽùbùtā**	'writer'
haukàcē 'go mad'	**mahàukàcī**	**mahaukacìyā**	**mahàukàtā**	'mad (person)'

With grade 0 monoverbs, a transitional **/y/** glide is inserted between the full stem and the suffix, e.g. (m./f./pl.) **mabìyī/mabiyìyā/mabìyā** 'follower' (< **bi** 'follow'), **mashȁyī/mashāyìyā/mashȁyā** 'drinker, smoker (heavy)' (< **shā** 'drink'), **masȍyī/masōyìyā/masȍyā** 'lover' (< **sō** 'love').

For socio-cultural reasons, some agential nouns are restricted to being either masculine or feminine gender, e.g. (masc. only) **mafàràucī** 'hunter', **mahàucī** 'butcher', **mahùkùncī** 'judge, administrator', **makìyȁyī** 'herdsman', **manȍmī**

'farmer', **mayàƙī** 'warrior', (fem. only) **magūɗìyā** 'woman who ululates', **makitsìyā** 'woman's hairdresser', **makullìyā** 'concubine'.

A number of **ma-** agentials are built on verbs which are themselves denominal derivatives formed with the **-TA** verbalizer suffix, e.g. **matsègùncī** 'gossiper' (< **tsēgùntā** 'gossip (to)' < **tsēgùmī** 'gossip'), **matsìyàcī** 'poor person' (< **tsìyatà** 'be(come) poor' < **tsìyā** 'poverty'), **majìyyàcī** 'nurse, patient' (< **jìyyatà** 'nurse' < **jiyyà** 'nursing'). (Notice that this last **ma-** formation can denote either the agent = 'nurse' or affected person = 'patient'.) In a few cases, the agential is not synchronically relatable to any extant verb, e.g. **maƙwàbcī** 'neighbour', and some are derived from nominal bases, e.g. **matsàfī** 'magician' (< **tsāfì** 'magic'). A few fully lexicalized **ma-** formations operate plurals other than final **-ā**, e.g. **macìjī** 'snake' → (Class 10) pl. **màcìzai** (lit. biter, < **cìzā** 'bite').

Some transitive-based **ma-** agentials can take overt genitival objects with the linker, some of which are collocational. Examples:

> **mabìyin àddīnìn Kiřistà** 'Christian' (lit. follower.of religion.of Christian), **makàshin kuɗī** 'spendthrift' (killer.of money), **manèmin làbàřai** 'reporter' (seeker.of news), **magìnin tukunyà** 'potter' (builder.of pot), **masànin kìmiyyà** 'scientist' (knower.of science), **mashàyin wîwî** 'a marijuana smoker' (smoker.of marijuana), **masòyin nāmàn kīfī** 'a lover of fish' (lover.of meat.of fish)

Some (but not all) speakers also allow feminine **ma-** formations with genitive objects, e.g. **mabiyìyař àddīnìn Kiřistà** 'Christian (f.)', **mashāyìyař wîwî** 'a marijuana smoker (f.)', **maɗinkìyař rīgunà** 'a dress-maker (f.)'. With plural agentials followed by an object, a direct juxtaposition construction with no overt linker is often preferred (sometimes required), e.g. **mabìyā àddīnìn Kiřistà** 'Christians', **magìnā tukunyà** 'potters', **makàsā kuɗī** 'spendthrifts', **manèmā làbàřai** 'reporters', **masànā kìmiyyà** 'scientists'.

There are also a small number of so-called "short form" agentials which are formed with the **ma-** prefix followed by a L tone, heavy syllable CVV verb stem (occasionally CVC). Most are based on monosyllabic stems, including gr0 monoverbs, e.g. **bi** 'follow', and (less commonly) truncated gr5 verbs, e.g. **bā dà**

'give (away)'. These invariant short form agentials are restricted to use with a following collocational object with no linker, and most, if not all, are analyzable as compounds. They are grammatically singular (usually masculine), with speakers switching to the full agentials in the plural. Examples:

mabì-sarkī	'follower of the emir' (< **bi** 'follow')
macì-na-wùyā	'kingfisher' (lit. eater-that of-difficulty, < **ci** 'eat')
magà-takàrdā	'scribe' (one who sees-paper, < **ganī** 'see')
maƙì-gudù	'brave person who refuses to run away' (< **ƙi** 'refuse')
majè-hajjì	'person who dies on the *Hajj* pilgrimage' (< **jē** 'go to')
mashà-ruwā	'rainbow' (drinker-rain, < **shā** 'drink')
mabà-dà-nōnò	'wet nurse' (giver-breast/milk, < **bā dà** 'give (away)')

Several short form **ma-** agentials are frozen single-word compounds which have developed specific grammatical functions. The agential **masò** (< **sō** 'love, like, want'), for example, is used to indicate intermediate compass directions, e.g. **kudù masò yâmma** 'southwest' (lit. south liker (of) west), **arèwa masò gabàs** 'northeast' (north liker (of) east). Agential **mafì** (pl. **mafìyā**, < **fi** 'surpass, exceed') behaves as a quantifier in comparative/superlative constructions, e.g. **Audù nē mafì tsawō** '*Audu* is the taller/tallest', **'yan-wàsā mafìyā kyâu** 'the best players' (with no linker as above). And the formative **maràs** (pl. **maràsā**, < **rasà** 'lack, be without') functions as a syntactic link element in phrasal adjectival modifiers, where it is the negative equivalent of **mài/màsu**, e.g. **yārò maràs kunyà** 'a shameless boy' (boy lacker (of) shame), **mutànē maràsā lāfiyà** 'unhealthy people'.

Some **ma-** formatives—often those built on intransitive verbs and denoting typically human characteristics—can also be exploited as adjectival modifiers (pre- or post-head), e.g. **wani maƙàryàcī** 'a liar' vs. **wani maƙàryàcin yārò** 'a liar of a boy = a lying boy', **waɗànnân mahàukàtā** 'these madmen' vs. **wasu sàmàrī mahàukàtā** 'some crazy youths'. Further examples (msg. forms) are:

makàmàncī adj./n. 'similar, similarity', **makwàɗàicī** adj./n. 'greedy, glutton', **maƙètàcī** adj./n. 'wicked (person)', **malàlàcī** adj./n. 'lazy, lazybones', **marìgàyī** adj./n. 'deceased (person)', **marɔ̀wàcī** adj./n. 'stingy, miser', **matàbbàcī** adj./n. 'reliable (person)', **matsàkàicī** adj./n. 'average-sized (person)', **matsìwàcī** adj./n. 'insolent (person)', **matsìyàcī** adj./n. 'poor, pauper'

Some **ma-** formations with agential morphology have become fully lexicalized nouns with distinctive non-agential meanings, e.g. **maɗàcī** 'mahogany tree' (cf. **ɗācī** 'bitterness'), (with feminine suffixes) **maƙarřƙashìyā** 'plot' (cf. **ƙàřƙashī** 'underside'), **masanìyā** 'knowledge' (cf. **sanì** 'know').

*3.1.2. Instrumental nouns (**ma-X-ī**)^{H}*

Deverbal instrumental nouns have a masculine singular form **ma-** plus a suffix **-ī** with all H tones, e.g.

madōgarī 'prop' (< **dōgàrā** 'lean on'), **maɗōrī** 'wooden splint' (< **ɗōrà** 'set broken limb'), **magōgī** 'brush' (< **gōgè** 'brush'), **magwajī** 'measuring rod' (< **gwadà** 'measure'), **majāyī** 'girth strap for horse' (< **jā** 'pull', with epenthetic /**y**/), **masassabī** 'harvesting tool' (< **sassàbē** 'clear land')

The /**a**/ in the **ma-** prefix often harmonizes/assimilates to /**u**/ if the following verb stem contains /**u**(**u**)/, e.g. **mabūɗī = mubūɗī** 'opener, key' (< **būɗè** 'open'), **makullī = mukullī** 'key' (< **kullè** 'lock'), **murfī < marufī** 'cover' (< **rufè** 'cover').

Instrumental plurals are formed with the Class 10 suffix **-ai** with a fixed LH tone grid, e.g. **mabūɗī/màbùɗai** 'opener, key', **magōgī/màgògai** 'brush', **makāmī/màkàmai** 'weapon', **matākī/màtàkai** 'step', **masassabī/màsàssàbai** 'harvesting tool'.

*3.1.3. Locative nouns (**ma-X-ā/ī**)^{H}*

Deverbal locative 'place of X-ing' nouns use the **ma-** prefix plus a feminine singular suffix **-ā** or (less frequently) masculine **-ī**, with all H tones, e.g.

Final **-ā**

maciyā 'small roadside place (for snacks)' (< **ci** 'eat'), **makaɗantā** 'school' (< **kaɗàntā** 'read'), **maƙērā** 'smithy, forge' (< **ƙērà** 'smith, forge'), **mararrabā** 'fork in road' (< pluractional **rarràbā** 'divide up'), **marinā** 'dye-place, dye-pit' (< **rinà** 'dye'), **masanā'antā** 'factory' (< non-occurring **-TA** verb, cf. **sànā'à** 'trade, profession'), **mashāyā** 'drinking place, bar' (< **shā** 'drink'), **matātā** '(oil) refinery' (< **tācè** 'refine, filter'), **mayankā** 'slaughterhouse' (< **yankà** 'slaughter, cut')

Final **-ī**

masallācī 'mosque' (< **sàllatà** 'perform prayer'), **masaukī** 'lodging place' (< **sàuka** 'lodge, stay'), **mashēkarī** 'place where dry season is spent' (< **shèkarà** 'spend a year'), **mashigī** 'opening' (< **shìga** 'go in'), **mazaunī** 'seat, dwelling place' (< **zaunà** 'sit, reside')

In a few cases, final **-ā** and final **-ī** variants coexist, e.g. **magamā = magamī** 'meeting place' (< **gamà** 'join'), **magangarā = magangarī** 'downhill path' (< **gangàrā** 'roll down').

Plurals of locative singulars ending in **-ī**, like final **-ī** instrumentals, take the Class 10 **-ai**)^{LH} suffix, e.g. **masallācī/màsàllàtai** 'mosque', **masaukī/màsàukai** 'lodging place', **matsayī/màtsàyai** 'place to stand, position, status', **mazaunī/màzàunai** 'seat, dwelling place'. Locationals ending in **-ā** take the same Class 10 **-ai**)^{LH} plural suffix and/or the Class 9 **-ū**)^{LH} suffix depending on the speaker. Examples:

maciyā/màcìyai = màcìyū 'roadside eating place', **mafakā/màfàkai** 'refuge, shelter', **makaɗantā/màkàɗàntū** 'school', **maƙērā/màƙèrū** 'smithy, forge', **marinā/màrìnai = màrìnū** 'dyepit', **masanā'antā/màsànà'àntū** 'factory', **mashāyā/màshàyū** 'drinking place, bar', **matātā/màtàtū** '(oil) refinery', **mayankā/màyànkū** 'slaughterhouse'

3.2. Ethnonyms ("persons from X") formed with the prefix ***bà-***

The other derivational process entailing both prefixation and suffixation generates so-called "ethnonyms", a cover-term used for **bà-** prefixed (singular) nouns formed from place names which mainly denote a person's ethnicity or origin, in addition to profession, social status or personal attributes. Some of the more common ethnonyms are:

masculine	feminine	plural (without the **bà-** prefix)	
Bà'amiřkè	**Bà'amiřkìyā**	**Amiřkāwā**	'American'
(cf. **Amìřkà** 'America')			
bàdūkǔ		**dǔkàwā**	'leather-worker'
(cf. **dūkancì** 'leather-working')			
bàfādè	**bàfādìyā**	**fàdàwā**	'courtier' (cf. **fādà** 'palace')
Bàfařanshè	**Bàfařanshìyā**	**Fařansāwā**	'French'
(cf. **Fàřansà** 'France')			
Bàhaushè	**Bàhaushìyā**	**Hàusàwā**	'Hausa person'
(cf. **Hausa** 'Hausa area')			
Bàjāmushè	**Bàjāmushìyā**	**Jāmusāwā**	'German'
(cf. **Jāmùs** 'Germany')			
Bàjapanè	**Bàjapanìyā**	**Japanāwā**	'Japanese' (cf. **Jàpân** 'Japan')
bàƙauyè	**bàƙauyìyā**	**ƙàuyàwā**	'villager' (cf. **ƙauyè** 'village')
Bàlāřabè	**Bàlāřabìyā**	**Lāřabāwā**	'Arab'
Bàsakkwacè	**Bàsakkwacìyā**	**Sakkwatāwā**	'Sokoto person'
(cf. **Sakkwato** 'Sokoto area')			
Bàtūřè	**Bàtūřìyā**	**Tǔřàwā**	'European'
(cf. **Tūřai** 'Europe')			
Bàyařabè	**Bàyařabìyā**	**Yařabāwā**	'Yoruba'

The singular is composed of a set L tone **bà-** prefix followed by the stem indicating the ethnic group, language, geographical location, etc., plus a suffix.

(See Newman 1984 and Newman 2000: chap. 24 for details, including exceptions to the general rules outlined here.) Masculine singular ethnonyms usually replace the stem-final nucleus with a tone-integrating suffix **-ē**) with HL tones, i.e. the initial H spreads left over the stem, and any preceding coronals automatically palatalize, e.g.

Bàhaushè 'Hausa man'	=	(**bà**)^{L}+(**haush**+**è**)^{HL}	(< **Hausa** 'Hausa-area')
Bàkatsinè 'Katsina man'	=	(**bà**)^{L}+(**katsin**+**è**)^{HL}	(< **Kàtsinà** 'Katsina')
Bàtūřè 'European man'	=	(**bà**)^{L}+(**tūř**+**è**)^{HL}	(< **Tūřai** 'Europe')

Some masculine ethnonyms simply retain the stem-final vowel or variant thereof, occasionally as an alternative to the final **-è** form, e.g. **Bàkanò = Bàkanè** 'Kano man' (< **Kanò** 'Kano'), **bàhagò** 'left-handed man' (< **hagu** 'left', with low-level /**u**/ → /**ō**/ adjustment), **bàfādà = bàfādè** 'courtier' (< **fādà** 'palace'). A handful of ethnonyms add a H tone suffix **-ī**, usually preserving the lexical stem tones and final consonant if any, e.g. **Bàdàurī** 'Daura man' (< **Dàurā** 'Daura'), **bàdũniyī** 'worldly man' (< **dūniyà** 'world'), **Bàgòbiřī** 'Gobir man' (< **Gòbiř** 'Gobir'), **Bàgwārī** 'Gwari man' (< **Gwāri** 'Gwari'), **Bàmasàřī** 'Egyptian man' (< **Masàř** 'Egypt'), **Bàzazzàgī** 'Zaria man' (< ***Zagzàg** 'Zaria').

The corresponding feminine singular adds **-ā** to the masculine stem, producing the following surface outputs:

canonical final **-è** + **-ā** → **-ìyā**, e.g. **Bà'amiřkè/Bà'amiřkìyā** 'American man/woman', **Bàhaushè/Bàhaushìyā** 'Hausa man/woman', **bàfādè/bàfādìyā** 'courtier (m./f.)', **Bàlāřabè/Bàlāřabìyā** 'Arab man/woman', **Bàtūřè/Bàtūřìyā** 'European man/woman'

-ò + **-ā** → **-ùwā**, e.g. **Bàkanò/Bàkanùwā** 'Kano man/woman', **bàhagò/bàhagùwā** 'left-handed man/woman'

Some final **-ī** ethnonyms simply replace the stem-final vowel with **-ā** to form the feminine, e.g. **Bàdàurī/Bàdàurā** 'Daura man/woman', **Bàgòbiřī/Bàgòbiřā**

'Gobir man/woman', **Bàmasàřī/Bàmasàřā** 'Egyptian man/woman', **bàzawàrī/bàzawàrā** 'divorcee (m./f.)' (note too **Bàfillācè/Bàfillātà** 'Fulani man/woman'). (The feminine ethnonym **Bàgòbiřā** 'Gobir woman' is also used as a common noun to denote a type of Mercedes car with a grill similar to Gobir-style facial markings.) In Western Hausa **-ā** is the regular feminine suffix, e.g. **Bàkatsinè/Bàkatsinà** 'Katsina man/woman', **Bàsakkwacè/Bàsakkwatà** 'Sokoto man/woman'.

Plural ethnonyms usually attach a Class 12 tone-integrating **-āwā**)^{H} or **-āwā**)^{LLH} suffix, i.e. without the **bà-** prefix. Trisyllabic LLH plurals are typically built on source stems with an initial heavy syllable, and stems without these syllabic properties inflect with the all H plural variant. Examples:

LLH plural: **bàfādè/fādāwā** 'courtier(s)', **Bàhaushè/Hàusāwā** 'Hausa person(s)', **Bàkuřdè/Kùřdāwā** 'Kurd(s)', **bàƙauyè/ƙauyāwā** 'villager(s)', **Bàtūřè/Tùřāwā** (also all H **Tūřāwā**) 'European(s)'

All H plural: **Bàgòbiřī/Gōbiřāwā** 'Gobir person(s)', **Bàgumalè/Gumalāwā** 'Gumel person(s)', **Bàkanò/Kanāwā** 'Kano person(s)', **Bàyařabè/Yařabāwā** 'Yoruba person(s)'

The **bà-** singular = **-āwā** plural correspondence is given to lexical exceptions, and there are singular ethnonyms with plurals other than **-āwā**, e.g. **Bàbarbarè/Barèbarī** (= Class 7 plural) 'Kanuri(s)', **Bàfillācè/Filànī** 'Fulani(s)', **bàhagò/bàhàgwai** (Class 10) 'left-handed person(s)' (with **bà-** prefix retained in the plural). Conversely, there are **-āwā** plurals without a matching **bà-** singular, e.g. **ànnabì/annabāwā** 'prophet(s)', **talàkà/talakāwā** 'commoner(s)', **yārì/yārāwā** 'head jailor(s)', **mùtumìn Řāshà/Řāshāwā** 'Russian(s)'.

An additional means of expressing ethnonyms—sometimes as an obligatory alternative to a **bà-** formation—is to use a genitive phrase composed of either **mùtumìn** m./**mùtūnìyař** f./**mutànen** pl. 'man/woman/people of', or **ɗan** m./**'yař** f./**'yan** pl. 'son/daughter/children of', followed by the place name (**ɗan**

etc. can also be followed by **ƙasař** 'country of'). Examples (continents, countries):

mùtumìn/mùtūnìyař/mutânen Afìřkà 'African(s)', **mùtumìn/mùtūnìyař/mutânen Kyanadà** 'Canadian(s)', **mùtumìn/mùtūnìyař/mutânen Gānà** 'Ghanaian(s)', **mùtumìn/mùtūnìyař/mutânen Zambìyà** 'Zambian(s)', **ɗan/'yař/'yan Amìřkà** 'American(s)', **ɗan/'yař/'yan Ingìlà** 'English', **ɗan/'yař/'yan (ƙasař) Ìtāliyà** 'Italian(s)', **ɗan/'yař/'yan Nìjâř** 'person(s) from Niger', **ɗan/'yař/'yan Nìjēřiyà** 'Nigerian(s)'

The same phrasal construction is also used with some major towns and cities in the Hausa-speaking area, e.g. **ɗan/mùtumìn Bauci** 'Bauchi person', **ɗan/mùtumìn Kàdūna** 'Kaduna person', **ɗan/mùtumìn Malumfāshi** 'Malumfashi person'.

Plurals based on eponymous personal names, common nouns or locations, and indicating 'group followers, clans', use the all H **-āwā** suffix (some are also toponyms), e.g.

Ādamāwā = name of region (< **Ādamù** 'Adam'), **Gōbiřāwā** = ward in Kano City (< **Gòbiř** = Gobir area), **Jāhunāwā** = Jahunawa clan (< **Jāhùn** = Jahun area), **Mūsāwā** 'followers of Musa (**Mūsā**)', **Nā'ibāwā** = town (< **nā'ìbī** 'deputy'), **Sanūsāwā** 'followers of the former Emir of Kano Sanusi (**Sànūsi**)', **Tamburāwā** = town near Kano City (< **tamburà** pl. 'royal drums'), **Wudilāwā** = ward in Kano City (< **Wùdil** = Wudil area), **Yōlāwā** (with initial **/y/**) = Yolawa clan (< **'Yōlà** = Yola area)

Some ethnonyms can also function as adjectival modifiers, in which case they often have a specialized meaning and are sometimes collocational, e.g. **bà'azbinèn dōkì** 'Azben horse' (cf. **Bà'azbinè** 'Azben man'), **bàbarbarìyař wuƙā** 'type of knife from Borno' (cf. **Bàbarbarìyā** '(Kanuri) woman from Borno').

4. Nominal Compounding

Nominal compounding in Hausa is a rich morphological process (Ahmad 1994, Newman 2000: chap. 16). Compounds are internally complex single words made up of two or more recognizable lexical elements, which function as indivisible morphosyntactic units. From a syntactic point of view, Hausa compound formations behave mainly as nouns, e.g. (clause subject) **gidan-saurō yā yi tsàdā** 'the mosquito net is expensive' (= house.of-mosquito). There are some compound adjectives, however, e.g. **mōtōcī ruwan-azùrfā** 'metallic/silver cars' (= colour.of-silver), and adverbs, e.g. **wàshègàrī sukà tāshì** 'the following day they left' (= clear + town). Compounds are the output of various combinations of syntactic categories, following normal word-order rules (see §11).

The key features of compounds include lexical integrity, i.e. the members which constitute the compound remain non-changeable and non-substitutable, in addition to varying degrees of non-compositional meaning, i.e. some compounds are semantically transparent, whereas others are semantically opaque. With some structural subtypes, the input elements of the compound remain unchanged, whereas other compound types have their own phonological characteristics. See also Galadanci (1972, 1969), Gouffé (1965, 1975a, 1981a), Rufa'i (1979), and Wysocka (1989). As with English, the system is scalar, ranging from phrases to fused compounds. The orthographic representation of Hausa compounds is also erratic and they are indicated here with linking hyphens for the sake of clarity and consistency.

4.1. Structure and phonology

A nominal compound may be endocentric, in which case it has the same syntactic function as its head. Endocentric compounds typically have the structure [noun or (de)verbal noun + **-n/-r̃** linker 'of' + noun or adverb], in which case they are left-headed, e.g. (see below for gender assigment):

[N-of-N]N

[[**àbōki-n**]N-[**aƙzìkī**]N]N	'business-partner, colleague' (friend-of-wealth)
[[**rìga-ƙ**]N-[**nōnò**]N]N	'brassière' (shirt-of-breast)

See also:

àbōkin-wàsā 'playmate' (friend.of-play), **bàtūƙèn-gōnā** 'agricultural extension worker' (European.of-farm), **cīwòn-cikì** 'stomach-ache' (illness.of-stomach), **fìtilàƙ-ƙwai** 'hurricane lamp' (lamp.of-egg), **hùlaƙ-kwānò** 'crash helmet' (hat.of-metal bowl), **idòn-sanì** 'acquaintance' (eye.of-knowing), **kàren-mōtà** 'truck driver's mate' (dog.of-car), **makaƙantaƙ-àllō** 'Koranic school' (school.of-wooden slate), **mân-fētùƙ** 'petrol' (oil.of-petrol), **taurin-kâi** 'stubbornness' (hardness.of-head)

An especially productive type of N-of-N compound is formed with the word **ɗan** 'son of' (f. **'yaƙ**, pl. **'yan**), indicating a person associated with a profession, activity, or place of origin. Examples:

ɗan-Adàm 'human being' (son.of-Adam), **ɗan-gàrī** 'townsman, local' (son.of-town), **ɗan-giyà** 'heavy drinker' (son.of-beer), **ɗan-iskà** 'irresponsible/flakey person' (son.of-wind), **ɗan-kàsuwā** 'businessman, trader' (son.of-market), **ɗan-Kàtsinà** 'Katsina man' (son.of-Katsina), **ɗan-lùwāɗì** 'homosexual' (son.of-sodomy), **ɗan-sàndā** 'policeman' (son.of-stick), **ɗan-wàsā** 'player' (son.of-playing), **'yaƙ-ƙauyè** 'village woman' (daughter.of-village), **'yaƙ-ƙwàyā** 'drug-user (f.)' (daughter.of-pill/drug), **'yan-sìyāsà** 'politicians' (children.of-politics), (with numeral) **'yan-biyu** 'twins' (children.of-two)

Occasionally, the second noun can also be overtly plural, e.g. **'yan-jàƙìdū** 'newspaper reporters' (children.of-newspapers, cf. **ɗan-jàƙīdà** sg.). The formative **ɗan** can also be prefixed to other structural subtypes of compound, e.g. **ɗan-fàsà-ƙwàuri** 'smuggler' (son.of-break-shin), **ɗan-gudùn-hijiƙā**

'refugee' (son.of-running.of-flight), **ɗan-à-cāɓà** 'motor-bike carrier/courier' (son.of-one-crash). Some of the **ɗan** etc. compounds have more specialized and sometimes opaque meanings, usually denoting nonpersonal referents, and the second component can be adverbial (see also below), e.g. **ɗan-itàcē** 'fruit' (son.of-tree), **ɗan-kunne** 'earring' (son.of-on ear), **ɗan-tsakà** 'clitoris' (son.of-in middle), **'yan-bakà** 'tribal markings near mouth' (children.of-on mouth), **'yaɽ-shàrā** 'type of open-sided gown' (daughter.of-sweeping), **'yaɽ-rāni** 'smallpox' (daughter.of-in dry season).

[VN-of-N]$_N$

[[**cî-n**]$_{VN}$-[**râi**]$_N$]$_N$	'boredom' (eating-of-mind)
[[**sô-n**]$_{VN}$-[**kâi**]$_N$]$_N$	'selfishness' (loving-of-self)

See also:

bîn-mātā 'womanizing' (following.of-women), **ɓācìn-râi** 'sadness' (spoiling.of-mind), **cîn-àmānà** 'treachery' (eating.of-trust), **gudùn-dūniyà** 'humility' (running from.of-world), **jân-rà̀gō** 'snoring' (pulling.of-ram), **jūyìn-mulkì** 'coup d'état' (changing.of-rule), **shân-dà̀bgē** 'luxurious living' (drinking.of-chicken stew), **tāshìn-hankàlī** 'disturbance' (rising.of-sense), **zuwàn-kâi** 'ejaculation' (coming.of-self)

[N-of-Adv]$_N$

[[**jirgi-n**]$_N$-[**samà**]$_{Adv}$]$_N$	'aeroplane' (vehicle-of-above)
[[**fitsāri-n**]$_N$-[**kwànce**]$_{Adv}$]$_N$	'bed-wetting' (urinating-of-lying down)

Also: **jirgin-ruwa** 'ship, boat' (vehicle.of-in water), **kīshìn-zūci** 'ambition, drive' (desire.of-in heart), **mūgùn-dawà** 'wart-hog' (evil one.of-in bush).

[VN-of-Adv]$_N$

[[**hànge-n**]$_{VN}$-[**nēsà**]$_{Adv}$]$_N$	'foresight' (espying-of-afar)
[[**gudù-n**]$_{VN}$-[**dawà**]$_{Adv}$]$_N$	'diarrhoea' (running-of-in bush)

Also: **sāƙàř-zūci** 'deep thought' (weaving.of-in heart), **yîn-hannu** 'handmade' (making.of-by hand).

Right-headed compound nouns with the fixed internal structure [adjective (often a colour term) + linker **-n/-ř** + noun] are also common, e.g.

[Adj-of-N]$_N$

[[**baƙi-n**]$_{Adj}$-[**ƙarfè**]$_N$]$_N$	'iron' (black-of-metal)
[[**fara-ř**]$_{Adj}$-[**hùlā**]$_N$]$_N$	'civilian' (white-of-cap)

Note also:

baƙař-fātà 'black-skinned person' (black.of-skin), **baƙin-jinī** 'unpopularity' (black.of-blood), **farin-cikì** 'happiness' (white.of-stomach), **farař-ƙasā** 'whitewash' (white.of-earth), **jan-aikì** 'hard work' (red.of-work), **mūgùn-bàkī** 'curse' (evil.of-mouth), **mūgùn-ɗā** 'thief' (evil.of-son), **mūgùwař-'yā** 'prostitute' (evil.of-daughter) (pl. **miyàgun-'yā'yā** or **miyàgun-yârā**)

Occasionally, the leftmost or rightmost component is an ideophone, e.g. **ƙyàlƙyàl-banzā** 'glossy fabric' (glittering-useless), **ganin-ƙwaf** 'curiosity' (looking.of-**ƙwaf** which describes look of curiosity), **gàrin-buɗus** 'finely ground flour' (flour.of-**buɗus** which emphasizes fineness).

Some nominal compounds have distinctive phonological features, usually involving tone and/or vowel length depending upon the subtype. One major group of phonologically-marked compounds has L tone(s) on the first word and a short final vowel on the second word (often a noun).[2] The leftmost constituent is typically a verb, but there are some noun- and adjective-initial examples. The common verb-headed subtype is exocentric and has the structure V$_{[L\ tone]}$ + X, where X is a direct object noun or complement of a prepositional **dà** 'with' phrase, or an adverbial complement of some kind. Examples:

[2]The final short vowel on the rightmost noun is presumably a retention of the historically original short vowel.

[V[L tone] + X]N

Grade 0 (**Ci** monoverbs lengthen the vowel), e.g.

bā̀-tòyi 'spirit that spits fire' (give-burn, cf. **bā** 'give', **tòyī** 'something burnt'), **bì-bango** 'leak down wall' (follow-wall, cf. **bi** 'follow', **bangō** 'wall'), **cì-rāni** 'dry-season migrant work' (eat-dry season, cf. **ci** 'eat', **rānī** 'dry season'), **shā̀-jini** 'type of herbal medicine' (drink-blood, cf. **shā** 'drink', **jinī** 'blood'), **rìgā̀-kafì** 'prevention' (precede-securing, cf. **rigā** 'precede', **kafì** 'securing')

Grade 1 (verb-final short **-a** before direct object noun, otherwise **-ā**), e.g.

àmsà-kuwwà 'echo' (answer-shouting, cf. **amsā̀** 'answer', **kuwwā̀** 'shout(ing)'), **dǔbà-gàri** 'sanitary inspector' (inspect-town, cf. **dūbā̀** 'inspect', **gàrī** 'town'), **fàsà-ƙwàuri** 'smuggling' (break-shin, cf. **fasā̀** 'break', **ƙwàurī** 'shin'), **gìgìtà-bāmi** 'puzzle' (confuse-novice, cf. **gīgìtā** 'confuse', **bāmī** 'novice'), **hànà-sallà** 'baseball cap' (prevent-prayer, cf. **hanā̀** 'prevent', **sallā̀** 'prayer'), **kòmā̀-bāya** 'retrograde step' (return-behind, cf. **kōmā̀** 'return', **bāya** 'behind'), **ràbā̀-daidai** 'equal share' (divide-exactly, cf. **rabā̀** 'divide', **daidai** 'exactly')

Note too irregular (but common) **dàfā̀-dukà** 'jollof rice; Peugeot wagon' (cook-all, cf. **dafā̀** 'cook', **dukà** 'all') with a long final vowel on the verb, and **gā̀gàrà-gā̀sa** 'outstanding' (defy-competition, cf. **gā̀sā** 'competition'), where the verb appearing as gr1 in the compound only occurs as gr2 **gā̀garā̀** 'defy' synchronically.

Grade 3 verbs also lengthen their final vowel, e.g.

tàfì-dà-mālàminkà 'textbook with footnotes' (go-with-your teacher, cf. **tàfi dà** 'go with'), **tùmā̀-dà-gayyà** 'biting black ant' (jump-with-annoying act, cf. **tùma** 'jump', **gayyā̀** 'annoying act')

Grade 5 verbs occur with the apocopated monosyllabic form, e.g.

ɓàd-dà-kàma 'disguise' (lose-appearance, cf. **ɓad dà** 'lose', **kàmā** 'appearance'), **fìd-dà-sartsè** 'type of shrub' (remove-splinter, cf. **fid dà** 'remove', **sartsè** 'splinter')

[N/Adj[L tone] + linker + N]N

Some nominal compounds with the structure [noun or adjective + linker + noun] have the same special phonology—LL on the first element and a short final vowel on the compound, e.g. **gàshìn-bàki** 'moustache' (cf. **gāshì** 'hair', **bàkī** 'mouth'), **fàrìn-shìga** 'novice, newcomer' (cf. **fārì** 'beginning', **shìgā** 'entry'), **jàn-bàki** 'lipstick' (cf. **jā** 'red', **bàkī** 'mouth'), **sàbòn shìga** 'recruit, newcomer' (cf. **sābō** 'new', **shìgā** 'entry').

Some compounds are sentential, made up of an Imperative verb followed by an overt object or complement (as above). Examples (length of final vowel variable):

bà-ta-kāshi 'fight' (give-her-shit), **bàř-ni-dà-mūgù** 'adolescent pimples' (leave-me-with-ugliness), (reduplicative) **jìta-jìta** 'rumour' (hear it-hear it), **mālàm-bǔɗā-manà-littāfì** 'butterfly' (teacher-open-for us-book), **shìga-dà-àlwàlařkà** 'station-wagon taxi' (enter-with-your ablutions)

An Imperative form verb—typically though not exclusively in initial position—can be followed by another verb in the Imperative or Subjunctive TAM, often without an object. Examples:

mulkìn-kà̀mā-kàryā 'totalitarian rule' (rule.of-take-break), **tsùgùni-tà̀shi** 'struggle' (squat-get up), **zàri-rù̀gā** 'rugby' (grab-run), **fà̀ɗi-kà-mutù** 'chinaware' (fall-you-die), **jā-ìn-jā** 'dispute' (pull-I-pull), **ɗan-sà̀ri-kà-nōƙè** 'guerrilla fighter' (son.of-strike-you-pull back)

(The final **-i** on these Imperative forms is probably an archaic Imperative suffix.)

Other sentential compounds consist of a TAM + finite verb (+ object), e.g. (Subjunctive TAM) **à-ci-bàlbàl** 'oil-lamp' (one-eat-**bàlbàl** which describes a flickering flame), **kù-tarè** 'thief' (you-intercept), (Perfective) **dà-nā-sanì** 'regret' (if only-I had-known), **kā-fi-mālàm** 'herbal drug' (you-exceed-teacher), (Rhetorical) **ƙàƙà-nikà-yi** 'dilemma, Catch 22' (how-I-do). A few compounds simply consist of the basic finite verb without any overt TAM, followed by a noun object, with lexical tone and vowel length preserved, e.g. **sâ-hannū** 'signature' (put-hand).

A subset of compounds are phrasal, often involving coordinate units linked with **dà** 'and, with', e.g. **cî-dà-cètō** 'fraud by trusted person' (eating-and-rescuing), **màcè-dà-gōyō** 'fastener (on garment)' (woman-with-baby on back), **yāƙì-dà-jāhilcì** 'adult literacy programme' (war-with-ignorance). The linking element can be the negative existential **bâ** 'there is not, without', e.g. **kànàři-bâ-kējì** 'modern prostitute' (canary-there is not-cage), **Lādì-bâ-ɗuwǎwū** 'Mini Morris car' (Ladi-there is not-buttocks). Others involve direct juxtaposition of coordinate nouns, some of which display the distinctive initial LL tones plus short final vowel pattern, e.g. **bindigǎ-dāɗī** 'trigger-happy' (gun-enjoyment), **kàmǎ-sautì** 'homophone' (likeness-sound, cf. **kàmā** 'likeness', **sautì** 'sound'), **mǎtǎ-maza** 'hermaphrodite' (women-men, cf. **mātā** 'women', **mazā** 'men'), **tābǎ-gǎrī** 'snuff' (cigarette-powder). Note too the following loanwords from English where the component parts are juxtaposed: **cājì-ōfìs** 'charge-office', **dǎřaktǎ-janàř** 'director general', **fasà-ōfìs** 'post office'.

There are also a small number of "short form" **ma**-prefixed agentials which are compound formations, e.g. **macì-na-wùyā** 'kingfisher' (eater-that of-difficulty), **magǎ-takàřdā** 'scribe' (one who sees-paper), **mashǎ-ruwā** 'rainbow' (drinker-rain). See also compound **masò** (lit. liker) used in compass directions, the comparative/superlative quantifier **mafì** (exceeder), and the link element **maràs** (one who lacks).

A number of high-frequency items, mainly nouns, which were originally compounds are now monomorphemic single words (written without a hyphen). Examples:

àbinci 'food' (thing.of eat), **ɗan'uwā** 'brother, cousin, close friend' (son.of mother), **jàgōrà** 'guide, leader' (pull cane), **ƙishirwā** 'thirst' (craving water, cf. **ƙishì** 'craving', **ruwā** 'water'), **màigidā** 'household-head' (possessor of house), **sàɗakà** 'concubine' (put in room), **shēkaranjiyà** adv. 'the day before yesterday' (day before + yesterday), **shùgàbā** 'leader, head' (enter in front, cf. **shìga** 'enter', **gàba** 'in front'), **ùbangijì** 'master, God' (father.of home), **uwařgidā** 'senior wife' (mother.of home), **'yammātā** 'girls, young women' (children.of women)

As with common nouns, some of these fused compounds, especially those denoting persons, can undergo further derivation or inflection. Examples:

(sg./pl.) **sàɗakà** > **sàɗàkū** or **sāɗakōkī** 'concubine(s)', **shùgàbā** > **shùgàbànnī** 'leader(s)', **jàgōrà** 'guide, leader' > **jāgōrancì** 'guidance, leadership' and **jàgòrantà** 'to guide, lead', **màigidā** 'household-head' > **magìdàncī** 'householder', **'yan'uwā** 'brothers' > **'yan'uwancì** and **'yàn'ùwàntakà** 'brotherhood' (note too that **jàgōrà** and **shùgàbā** also have long final vowels like most common nouns).

A number of simplex words are (compound) loanwords from English:

biřkìlà 'bricklayer', **cìngâm** 'chewing-gum', **faskìlà** 'first-class (ticket)', **hedìgêl** 'headgirl', **hedìmastà** 'headmaster', **hēlùmà** 'headman', **iyàkwàmandà** 'air commander', **kābòyī** 'cowboy', **làmbàwân** 'first-class (degree)' (< 'number one'), **lāsìfīkà** 'loudspeaker', **sùkùddìřēbà** 'screwdriver', **wanwê** 'one-way street'.

4.2. Compound gender and number

With compound NPs of the form N.of-N (left-headed) or Adj.of-N (right-headed), the compound takes the gender of the head N(oun). Examples:

[[**fìtilàř**]f-[**ƙwai**]m]f
lamp.of-egg 'hurricane lamp'

[[**farař**]f-[**ƙayà**]f]f
white.of-thorn 'gum arabic tree'

[[**cîn**]m-[**àmānà**]f]m
eating.of-trust 'treachery'

[[**kàren**]m-[**mōtà**]f]m
dog.of-car 'truck driver's mate'

[[**jàn**]m-[**bàki**]m]m
red.of-mouth 'lipstick'

[[**kāmùn**]m-[**ƙafà**]f]m
holding.of-foot 'lobbying'

Although grammatical gender shows up on gender targets, e.g. **fìtilàř-ƙwai** [**cè**]f 'it's a hurricane lamp', the gender of the enclitic linker and definite determiner is usually locally determined by the rightmost noun, e.g. **kàren-mōtàřsà** 'his (driving) mate' (with fem. **-ř** linker), **ìnā fìtilàř-ƙwân**? 'where's the hurricane lamp?' (with masc. **-n** determiner). The fused simplex word **ɗ'an'uwā** m. 'brother, cousin, close friend' (son.of mother), however, takes the masculine **-n** linker even though the final component **'uwā** 'mother' of the compound is feminine, e.g. **ɗ'an'uwantà** 'her brother'.

Some compounds, like common nouns, get their gender by semantic analogy with the intrinsic gender of an already existing generic referent. Examples:

à-ci-bàlbàl f. 'oil lamp' (one-eat-flickering, cf. **fìtilà** f. 'lamp')
gàidà-yâya m. 'type of dish' (greet-elder sister, cf. **kwānò** m. 'dish, bowl')
hànà-sallà f. 'baseball cap' (prevent-prayer, cf. **hùlā** f. 'cap')
ƙyàlƙyàl-banzā m. 'glossy material' (glittering-useless, cf. **yādì** m. 'material, fabric')

As with common nouns denoting human referents, overt gender on compounds correlates with natural gender (not phonological shape). Examples:

(male = masc. gender) **àbōkin-ařzìkī** m. 'business-partner, colleague', **ɗ'an'uwā** m. 'brother, cousin, close friend', **ɗ'an-bindigà-dāɗī** m. 'gunman', **kàren-mōtà** m. 'truck driver's mate'

(female = fem. gender) **kànàři-bâ-kējì** f. 'modern prostitute', **uwařgidā** f. 'senior wife', **'yař-ƙauyè** f. 'village woman', **'yař-ƙwàyā** f. 'drug-user (f.)'

Some compounds are sex-neutral epicine, e.g. **barbarař-yânyāwà** m./f. 'mixed race person', **ɓàtà-gàri** m./f. 'criminal, undesirable element', **dàřaktà-janàř** m./f. 'director general', **farař-hùlā** m./f. 'civilian', **idòn-sanì** m./f. 'acquaintance', **shùgàbā** m./f. 'leader, head', **tàttàɓà-kunne** m./f. 'great grandchild', **dùbà-gàri** m./f. 'sanitary inspector'. In cases where gender cannot be assigned on semantic grounds, e.g. with verb-headed compounds, the compound will take default masculine gender, e.g. **ɓàd-dà-kàma** m. 'disguise' (lose-appearance), **kàu-dà-bàřa** m. 'charm against attack' (avert-aim), **fàsà-ƙwàuri** m. 'smuggling' (break-shin), **tsài-dà-màganà** m. 'hair under lower lip' (stop-talk).

Most compounds, unless fused single words or **ɗan**-compounds as above, do not have morphological plurals, though plurality shows up on agreement targets, e.g. [**wannàn**]$_{sg}$ **idòn-sanì** 'this acquaintance' vs. [**waɗànnân**]$_{pl}$ **idòn-sanì** 'these acquaintances', [**wani sābon**]$_{sg}$ **gidan-saurō** 'a new mosquito net' vs. [**wasu sàbbin**]$_{pl}$ **gidan-saurō** 'some new mosquito nets'. A few compound nouns with the structure N.of-N pluralize internally by marking plurality on the leftmost noun, e.g. **àbōkin-ařzìkī/àbôkan-ařzìkī** 'business-partner(s)', **àbōkin-zamā/àbôkan-zamā** 'live-in partner(s)', **rìgař-ruwa/rīgunân-ruwa** 'raincoat(s)'. Note too **tāshìn-hankàlī/tàshe-tàshen-hankulà** 'disturbance(s)' where both elements pluralize. Some Adj.of-N compounds pluralize the initial adjective, e.g. **baƙař-fātà/baƙàƙen-fātà** 'black-skinned person(s)', **farař-hùlā/farà̀en-hùlā** 'civilian(s)', and some loose compounds pluralize both components, e.g. **bàbbař-rìgā/mânyan-rīgunà** 'full gown(s)', **mūgùn-ɗā/mūgà̀yen-'yā-'yā** 'thief/thieves'.

*4.3. **Ban**-compounds*

The formative **ban** 'giving (of)' (cf. **bā** 'give') appears as the initial member in a number of common nominal compounds where the second element is a noun, and the compound itself usually has an abstract meaning.[3] Examples:

[3]Etymologically, **ban** could derive from a fused Imperative phrase **bà-ni** containing either a 1sg pronoun, i.e. 'give me!' (Jaggar 1992a: 36), or an archaic 3m pronoun, i.e. 'give him!'

ban-dâriyā 'amusement' (**ban**-laughter), **ban-gàskiyā** 'trust, honesty' (**ban**-truth), **ban-girmā** 'respect, deference' (**ban**-importance), **ban-hannū** 'handshake' (**ban**-hand), **ban-haushī** 'irritation, anger' (**ban**-anger), **ban-kāshī** 'argument' (**ban**-shit), **ban-kwānā** 'goodbye' (**ban**-day), **ban-mâmākì** 'surprise' (**ban**-surprise), **ban-shà'awâ** 'interest' (**ban**-interest), **ban-tàusàyī** 'pity, sympathy' (**ban**-pity), **ban-tsòrō** 'fear' (**ban**-fear)

Ban-compounds occur in a variety of predicate constructions, and often correspond to predicative adjectives in English. These include: (1) following an Imperfective TAM + **dà** possessive phrase, e.g. **wannàn làbārì yanâ dà ban-dâriyā** 'this story is amusing' (lit... is with **ban**-laughter); (2) following **mài/mâsu** 'possessor(s) of', e.g. (equational) **àbù nē mài ban-shà'awâ** 'it's an interesting thing'. They can also occur in phrasal verbs headed by **yi** 'do', e.g. **mun yi ban-kwānā** (**dà ita**) 'we said goodbye (to her)', **yā yi ban-hannū dà nī** 'he shook my hand'.

5. Frozen Reduplicated Nouns

Hausa has a large number of remnant reduplicated nouns, occasionally adjectives, which are the output of erstwhile derivational rules—and so are handled here with other derived nouns—but which synchronically are simple lexical forms. These fully frozen items entail either: (1) reduplication of the final two syllables or final syllable of the underlying non-occurring stem; or (2) complete reduplication of the stem. See Newman (2000: chap. 62:§3), from where much of this discussion is taken.

5.1. Reduplication of stem syllable(s)

Many of these vestigial forms are historically derived by left-to-right reduplication of the last two syllables of the source stem, which can itself be

(Newman 2000: chap. 5:§4), or could represent a frozen verbal noun + linker formation (Abraham 1959b: 35).

disyllabic, and deletion of the stem-final, originally short vowel, e.g. **awarwarō** < *__awaro__ + __waro__ 'metal bracelet', **dûddufà** < *__dufà__ + __dufà__ 'white ibis'. Semantically, this derivational word class contains, inter alia, a number of nouns denoting animals, birds, insects and plants, and the rule has various segmental and tonal consequences for the vowel nucleus and coda consonant in the reduplicated antepenultimate CVC syllable.

Following final vowel syncope, long vowels automatically shorten in the resulting closed syllable, with /**ē**/ and /**ō**/ also centralizing to /**a**/, e.g.

bâlbēlà	<	***bēlà + bēlà**	'cattle egret'
dâddōkà	<	***dōkà + dōkà**	'waterbuck'
kwâřkwāsà	<	***kwāsà + kwāsà**	'driver ant'

The CV__C__ coda consonant either undergoes homorganic assimilation to the following consonant if nasal, or rhotacizes if a coronal obstruent, or if velar or labial geminates with a following consonant. Examples:

ka__n__kanā [kaŋkanā]	<	***kana + kana**	'water-melon'
gwa__ř__gwādā	<	***gwāda + gwāda**	'male lizard'
kwâ__ř__kwatà	<	***kwatà + kwatà**	'louse, lice'
fi__f__fikè	<	***fikè + fikè**	'wing'
ga__g__gāfā	<	***gāfa + gāfa**	'bateleur eagle'

Tone is normally reduplicated together with the segmentals. A H-L on the CVC reduplicate surfaces as a Fall, and a L-H simplifies to H. Examples:

(all H)			
awarwarō	<	***awaro + waro**	'metal bracelet'
furfurā	<	***fura + fura**	'grey hair'
gaggāfā	<	***gāfa + gāfa**	'bateleur eagle'
(F-H-L)			
bâlbēlà	<	***bēlà + bēlà**	'cattle egret'
dûddurù	<	***durù + durù**	'small stream'

tsâttsēwà < ***tsēwà + tsēwà** 'swift, swallow'
(H-L-H)
bambàmī < ***bàmi + bàmi** 'upper part of deleb palm'
jinjìrī < ***jìri + jìri** 'baby'
(with /**r**/ → /**n**/ replacement)
tsattsàgī < ***tsàgi + tsàgi** 'type of shrub'

Reduplicates with L-L-H tones derive from source nouns which originally ended in L-L tones and which, subsequent to final vowel lengthening, changed to final L-H via the rule of "Low Tone Raising" (§2:5). Examples:

hùnhùnā < ***hùnhùnà** < ***hùnà + hùnà** 'fungus, mildew'
gàngàmō < ***gàngàmò** < ***gàmò + gàmò** 'turmeric'
wàlwàlā < ***wàlwàlà** < ***wàlà + wàlà** 'cheerful disposition'

There are also a few miscellaneous lexical tone patterns on CVC reduplicates which are not derivable by any tone-copying rule, e.g. (L-H-L) **kàřkāzà** 'industrious person', **kyànkyasò** 'cockroach', **ƙànƙanè** 'small', (L-H-H) **dàddawā** 'locust-bean cake', **kùnkurū** 'tortoise', **sànsanī** 'war camp'.

Another subclass of reduplicates involves rightwards copying of the second (final) syllable of the underlying stem, with a long vowel, and a fixed L-H-L tone melody on the output. Some are descriptive nouns/adjectives denoting often negative-defective physical or mental traits, and they inflect for number with a Class 10 **-ai** suffix, and gender, e.g. **dàƙīƙì** m., **dàƙīƙìyā** f., **dàƙìƙai** pl. 'stupid (person)', **jòlōlò** m., **jòlōlùwā** f., **jòlòlai** pl. 'tall and lanky (person)'. Further (msg.) examples are:

bùshāshà 'luxurious living', **bùzūzù** 'dung beetle', **dòsōsò** 'ugly looking', **hùlūlù** 'immoral', **jàrīrì** 'infant', **tsòlōlò** 'tall and skinny'. Note too common **shāshàshā** 'stupid (person)', and **sūsùsū** 'silly (person)' with H-L-H tones.

There is also a small category of reduplicated nouns with a fully-specified, tone-integrating final **-è** and H-H-L tones, e.g. (many are paired items) **diddigè** 'heel', **fiffikè** 'wing', **giɽgijè** 'rain cloud', **shisshikè** 'pillar', **zuzzugè** 'bellows'.

5.2. Full reduplication (X x 2)

Fully reduplicated frozen nouns, some of them denoting insects, display a variety of tone patterns. Examples:

Stem tones copied (with final short vowel): **gizò-gizò** 'spider', **ƙōƙì-ƙōƙì** 'praying mantis', **tàlotàlo** 'turkey'
Heterotonic (C-final): **bàlàm-balam** 'balloon', **nyàm-nyam** 'cannibal'

One subclass of segmentally identical quadrisyllabic reduplicates has LL-HL tones with final **-a**(**a**) on each component, the vowel length being determined by weight polarity—(1) short **-a** if the preceding syllable is heavy, and (2) long **-ā** if it is light. Semantically, nouns in this group typically have the meaning of 'associated with/like X', where X = source (often concrete) noun, and the gender of the reduplicate is essentially unpredictable. Examples:

1. **bằbà-bābà** m. 'type of indigo' (< **bābā** 'indigo'), **bồkò-bōkò** m. 'fraudulent behaviour' (= final **-o** < **bōkồ** 'fraud, western education'), **hàntà-hantà** f. 'talking nasally' (< **hancì** 'nose'), **làngà-langà** m. 'metal strips for bales' (?< **làngà**(**a**) 'metal dish'), **rằnà-rānà** m./f. 'daytime activity' (< **rānā** 'day'), **zàngà-zangà** f. 'demonstration' (?< **zangồ** 'camping area')
2. **jìnằ-jinằ** f. 'weed with red juice' (< **jinī** 'blood'), **ƙàsằ-ƙasằ** m./f. 'corn sweepings' (< **ƙasā** 'earth, ground'), **màzằ-mazằ** m./f. 'courageous, masculine, energetic person' (< **mazā** 'males'), **màmằ-ramằ** f. 'jute' (< **ramằ** 'Indian hemp'), **rùwằ-ruwằ** f. 'unripe corn/peanuts' (< **ruwā** 'water'), **wùtằ-wutằ** f. 'red weed' (< **wutā** 'fire')

Some of these reduplicates can also function as adjectives or adverbs, e.g.

wannàn aikĩ rànà-ránà nē	'this work is daytime work'
yā yi hàntà-hantàř màganà	'he made a nasal noise/utterance'
sunà fitôwā dàmfà-damfà	'they are coming out in a crowd'

6. Derived Adjectives

This section describes derivational rules of affixation, reduplication, and compounding which are restricted to generating adjectives only (see also Newman 2000: chap. 4). There are nine major categories of derived adjectives: past participial adjectives (§6.1), diminutive ideophonic adjectives (§6.2), "negative-defective" adjectives (§6.3), augmentative adjectives (§6.4), intensive sensory adjectives (§6.5), compound adjectives (§6.6), and fully-reduplicated adjectives (§6.7). Some agential formations (§6.8) and ethnonyms (§6.9) can also function as adjectives. (See **§4** for the morphology of simple adjectives and **§9**:3 for adjectival modification of nouns.)

6.1. Past participial adjectives (-aCfCfē)^{LHH})

The vast majority of resultative past participial adjectives (PPAs) are derived from both transitive (mainly) and intransitive verbs. (Exceptions are **làfiyayyē** 'healthy' < **lāfiyà** 'health' and **gàntàlallē** 'aimless' < **gàntàlī** 'aimless wandering'.) PPAs replace the final vowel of the underlying verb with a fixed LHH tone-integrating (msg.) suffix **-aCfCfē**, where CfCf is a geminate copy of the final consonant of the source verb which palatalizes if coronal, e.g. LHH **cìkakkē** 'full, filled, complete, sufficient' (< **cikà** 'fill'), LHH **ìsasshē** 'enough, sufficient' (< **ìsa** 'be enough'). The rule for forming the feminine is regular, changing masculine **-ē** to **-iyā**, e.g. **cìkakkiyā**, and the Class 9 plural attaches a tone-integrating LH suffix **-ū** to the stem, e.g. LLH **cìkàkkū**. Monoverbs insert an epenthetic **-y-** glide before the PPA suffix, e.g. **fiyayyē** m., **fiyayyiyā** f., **fiyàyyū** pl. 'important' (< **fi** 'exceed, surpass'), **jàyayyē** m., **jàyayyiyā** f.,

jàyàyyū pl. 'stretched, pulled' (< **jā** 'pull'). See also Carnochan (1957), Parsons (1963), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 3).

Table 5. Past participial adjectives

Verb stem	Masculine **-aCfCfē**)^{LHH}	Feminine **-iyā**	Plural **-u**)^{LH}	
bi 'follow'	**bìyayyē**	**bìyayyiyā**	**bìyàyyū**	'disciplined'
dafà 'cook'	**dàfaffē**	**dàfaffiyā**	**dàfàffū**	'cooked'
ɾubùtā 'write'	**ɾùbùtaccē**	**ɾùbùtacciyā**	**ɾùbùtàttū**	'written'

Other examples are:

àmìntaccē m., **àmìntacciyā** f., **àmìntàttū** pl. 'trustworthy' (< **àmintà dà** 'trust')
fìtaccē m., **fìtacciyā** f., **fìtàttū** pl. 'outstanding, superior' (< **fìta** 'go out')
gyàrarrē m., **gyàrarriyā** f., **gyàràrrū** pl. 'repaired' (< **gyārà** 'repair, fix')
kwàɾàɾɾàɓaɓɓē m., **kwàɾàɾɾàɓaɓɓiyā** f., **kwàɾàɾɾàɓàɓɓū** pl. 'decrepit, dilapidated' (< **kwaɾaɾɾàɓē** 'become decrepit, dilapidated')
màtaccē m., **màtacciyā** f., **màtàttū** pl. 'dead' (< ***mat-**, cf. **mutù** 'die')
nìƙaƙƙē m., **nìƙaƙƙiyā** f., **nìƙàƙƙū** pl. 'ground' (< **niƙà** 'grind')
tàɓaɓɓē m., **tàɓaɓɓiyā** f., **tàɓàɓɓū** pl. 'deranged (touched)' (< **taɓà** 'touch')
Note too **gàjìyayyē** m., **gàjìyayyā** f. (f. = **-ā** not **-iyā**), **gàjìyàyyū** pl. 'tired, destitute' (< original ***gàjiyà** 'be tired').

PPAs, like simple adjectives, may attributively premodify (with the **-n**/**-ɾ̃**/**-n** genitive linker) or postmodify a head noun. Examples:

wani cìkakken bàyānì	'a full explanation'
wata cìkakkiyaɾ̃ tukunyā	'a full cooking pot'
wasu cìkàkkun tukwānē	'full cooking pots'
wata mōtà kwàɾàɾɾàɓaɓɓiyā	'a dilapidated car (old banger)'
bà ɾùbùtaccen harshè ba nè	'it's not a written language'

PPAs can also occur as modifiers in equational predicates:

sū ƙwàràrrū nè	'they are expert'
kwalàben nàn fàsàssū nè	'these bottles are broken'

Post-head PPAs can also be part of a modifying participial adjectival phrase, e.g. **kējì [gìnannē jìkin bangō]** 'a cage built into the wall', **littāfì [nàɗaɗɗē à takàřdā]** 'a book wrapped up in paper', though this usage is considered marginal by some speakers who prefer a relative clause or stative construction.

*6.2. Diminutive ideophonic adjectives (**C1īC2īC2ī**)^{LHL})*

These adjectives denote the physically diminutive attributes of persons, places or objects, e.g. 'small, tiny, teeny, short, skinny, slim, narrow, slender, light, etc.'. They are also typically used as expressions of contempt, e.g. to belittle the size of something or someone. Diminutive adjectives are highly expressive phonaesthetic-ideophonic words, and are formed as follows. The masculine singular has the shape **C1īC2īC2ī** (**C2** and /ī/ are copied) with LHL tones, e.g. **sìřīřì** m. 'tall and skinny (person), long and narrow (place)'. The feminine replaces the stem-final masculine **-ī** vowel with the **-ìyā** suffix, e.g. **sìřīřìyā** f. The plural formation is **CiCī** x 2)$^{H\text{-}H}$, and is formed by reduplication—with a shortened medial vowel /**i**/, producing an iambic light-heavy structure—together with assignment of a set all H tone melody, e.g. **sīřī-sīřī** pl. (also Class 2 **sīřàřā** and Class 10 plural **sìřàrai**). Other examples are:

fìtītì m., **fìtītìyā** f., **fitī-fitī** pl.	'skimpy'
mìnīnì m., **mìnīnìyā** f., **minī-minī** pl.	'tiny and round'
mìtsītsì m., **mìtsītsìyā** f., **mitsī-mitsī** pl.	'miniscule'
tsìgīgì m., **tsìgīgìyā** f., **tsigī-tsigī** pl.	'stumpy'

Many diminutive adjectives have related all H tone, segmentally identical, ideophonic formations, some of which can also be used as (msg. only)

adjectives, e.g. **sīr̃īr̃ī = sìr̃īr̃ì** m., **mītsītsī = mìtsītsì** m., **tsīgīgī = tsìgīgì** m. There is also one common diminutive adjective—**mitsilī** 'tiny'—with a **CiCiCī** shape with all H tones, which forms its feminine **mitsilā** by adding **-ā**, and its plural **mitsil-mitsil** by fully reduplicating the CVCVC- base. Note too **tsigil**, pl. **tsigil-tsigil** 'very small'.

Diminutive adjectives can either pre- or postmodify their NP heads, though the heavier reduplicated plurals are usually posthead. They often co-occur additionally with the (m./f./pl.) **ɗan/'yar̃/'yan** diminutive premodifier. As posthead modifiers, they are often expanded and reinforced with a prepositional phrase consisting of **dà** 'with' plus independent pronoun (coreferential with the head). Examples:

wani (ɗan) fìtītìn yārò̀	'a wee small boy'
wata àlbasà ('yar̃) mìnīnìyā (dà ita)	'a tiny round onion'
wasu yârā ('yan) tsigī-tsigī (dà sū)	'some wee tiny children'

6.3. "Negative-defective" adjectives (CV(V)-$C_iVV_jC_iVV_j$)

This a small group of trisyllabic words whose reduplicated final and penultimate syllables are segmentally identical, i.e. $C_iVV_jC_iVV_j$ (where C_i and V_j = identical). These frozen reduplicated forms have no related stems synchronically, and so are not strictly speaking "derivative", but they are handled here because they are partially analogous in shape to the derivational output of the above diminutive adjective rule, e.g. with respect to segmental-copying and tones, and also because of their highly expressive meanings. Although many of them function primarily as nouns, some of them do have adjectival usages. These items form their feminines in a regular fashion, many operate Class 10 final **-ai** plurals, and the masculine singular usually has LHL tones. They typically denote negative-defective physical or mental traits. Examples:

dàƙīƙì m., **dàƙīƙìyā** f., **dàƙìƙai** pl.	'dull, senseless (person)'
dò̀sōsò̀ m., **dò̀sōsùwā** f., **dò̀sò̀sai** pl.	'ugly, grubby (person)'

gàɓūɓù m., **gàɓūɓùwā** f., **gàɓùɓai** pl.	'stupid (person)'
jòlōlò m., **jòlōlùwā** f., **jòlòlai** pl.	'tall and lanky (person)'
làɓūɓù m., **làɓūɓùwā** f., **làɓùɓai** pl.	'shapeless, soggy, newborn'
tsòlōlò m., **tsòlōlùwā** f., **tsòlòlai** pl.	'tall and skinny (person)'

All three syllables can be segmentally identical with HLH tones:

shāshàshā m./f., **shàshàshai** pl.	'witless, foolish (person)'
sūsùsū m., **sùsùsai** pl.	'silly (person)'

When functioning as adjectives, they may attributively premodify (with the linker) or postmodify a head noun, in which case they can be reinforced with a **dà** + pronoun prepositional phrase. Examples:

wani làɓūɓùn tuwō	'some soggy *tuwo* (food)'
wani sūsùsun yārò	'a silly boy'
wasu shàshàshan sàmàrī	'some idiotic youths'
wata yārinyà tsòlōlùwā (dà ita)	'a tall skinny girl'

6.4. Augmentative adjectives (-ī)^{H}, -ēCfè)^{HL}, etc.)

So-called "augmentative" adjectives are highly expressive, phonaesthetic modifiers used to describe excessive meanings. They often relate echoically to the physical size or shape of persons, locations or things, and correspond to English 'gigantic, enormous, gargantuan, humongous, etc.'. Augmentatives are often collocational with their heads, and occur almost exclusively as adjectives. In terms of their phonology and semantics, they overlap considerably with ideophones (**§15**:7). See Abraham (1934: 44-45), Mijinguini (1986), Parsons (1963: 192-95), and especially R. M. Newman (1988) and Newman (2000: chap. 11).

Augmentative adjectives are all polysyllabic, and are built on bases of the shape CVVC-/CVCC- (monosyllabic) or CVCCVC- (disyllabic), i.e. with heavy initial syllables. With a few exceptions, e.g. **shimfiɗēɗè** m. 'extensive' (cf.

shimfiɗā 'spread out'), **shamɓařēřìyā** f. 'buxom, bosomy' (cf. **shamɓàřā** 'spread'), the underlying bases do not occur independently. Some augmentative adjectives have related ideophonic adverbs (**§15**:7) and exclamatory (**§11**:9.1) forms.

There are three morphological subtypes with fixed tone patterns and final vowels: (1) those ending in **-ī**)^{H}, e.g. **gungumī** m. 'very tall and broad (person, tree)' (= the "A-type"); (2) those with the suffix **-ēCƒè**)^{HL}, e.g. **fiřɗēɗè** m. 'huge (animal)' (= the "B-type"); and (3) those with a suffix **-ī**)^{LHLH}, e.g. **fànkankàmī** m. 'very broad' (= the "C-type"). Speakers sometimes differ with regard to the preferred patterns.

6.4.1. A-type (CVCCVC- + -ī)^{H})

This subtype, available to (fictional) augmentative roots with a heavy initial CVC syllable, is formed by adding a masculine tone-integrating **-ī**)^{H} suffix to a consonant-final base, e.g. **sangamī** 'enormous'. (A-type augmentatives also operate quadrisyllabic B-types, e.g. **sangamī** = (B-type) **sangamēmè**.) The corresponding feminine is formed according to regular rules of feminine inflection by simply replacing the final **-ī** with **-ā**, e.g. **sangamī** m. → **sangamā** f. A-type, like B-type, plurals are of the form **-ā** x 2)$^{H\text{-}L}$, i.e. the entire segmental CVCCVC- base is reduplicated, a suffix **-ā** is attached to each component and a fixed H-L tone melody is imposed on the output (the first component is all H tone, the second all L), e.g. **sangamī** m. → **sangamā-sàngàmà** pl. (The plural output is phonotactically unusual in tolerating final LL tones and a long final vowel.) Examples:

fankamī (= B-type **fankamēmè**) m., **fankamā** f., **fankamā-fànkàmà** pl. 'very broad'

gandamī (= **gandamēmè**) m., **gandamā** f., **gandamā-gàndàmà** pl. 'long and strong (e.g. knife, sword)'

gungumī m., **gungumā** f., **gungumā-gùngùmà** pl. 'tall and broad (e.g. person, tree)'

santalī (= **santalēlè**) m., **santalā** f., **santalā-sàntàlà** pl. 'tall, svelte and curvaceous (e.g. woman)'

shařtaɓī (= **shařtaɓēɓè**) m., **shařtaɓā** f., **shařtaɓā-shàřtàɓà** pl. 'long and sharp'

zungurī (= **zungurērè**) m., **zungurā** f., **zungurā-zùngùrà** pl. 'tall, long (e.g. person, car)'

6.4.2. B-type (CVVC- or CVCC- + -ēCf̀è)^{HL})

This is the most common subclass of augmentative adjective and is formed by attaching a masculine tone-integrating suffix **-ēCf̀è**)^{HL} (where C_f = a copy of the final consonant of the base), e.g. **fīřďēďè** m. 'huge (animal)'. The feminine forms are regular, i.e. final L **-è** → **-ìyā**, e.g. **fīřďēďè** m. → **fīřďēďìyā** f. The B-type plurals are formed, as the A-type, by base-reduplication and suffixation of **-ā**, i.e. **-ā** x 2)$^{H\text{-}L}$ (palatal coronals depalatalize before the suffix), e.g. **fīřďēďè** m. → **fīřďā-fīřďà** pl. Further examples are:

mākēkè m., **mākēkìyā** f., **mākā-màkà** pl. 'long and wide (building, farm)'
ribďēďè m., **ribďēďìyā** f., **ribďā-rìbďà** pl. 'huge'
rūshēshè m., **rūshēshìyā** f., **rūsā-rùsà** pl. 'enormous'
zabgēgè m., **zabgēgìyā** f., **zabgā-zàbgà** pl. 'tall, beautiful (esp. woman)'

Some CVCC- bases appear to infix a **-VC-** element before the masculine and feminine augmentative suffixes, where the V is a copy of the base vowel and the C is usually a sonorant, often /**m**/. Examples (the infix is not always present in the plural):

fankamēmè m., **fankamēmìyā** f., **fankamā-fànkàmà** pl. 'very broad'
fīřďimēmè (= **fīřďēďè**) m., **fīřďimēmìyā** f., **fīřďā-fīřďà** pl. 'huge (animal)'
luntsumēmè m., **luntsumēmìyā** f., **luntsumā-lùntsùmà** pl. 'plump, ripe (fruit, girl)'
santalēlè m., **santalēlìyā** f., **santalā-sàntàlà** pl. 'thin, svelte, curvaceous'

shamɓa̱r̃ēr̃ȅ m., **shamɓar̃ēr̃ìyā** f., **shamɓar̃ā-shàmɓàr̃ȁ** pl. 'buxom'
tanka̱m̱ēmȅ m., **tankamēmìyā** f., **tankamā-tànkàmȁ** pl. 'enormous'
zungu̱ṟērȅ m., **zungurērìyā** f., **zungurā-zùngùrȁ** pl. 'long, tall (person, car)'

Some CVCCVC- bases where the final consonant is /**r**/ allow an alternative expanded **-m-** variant without the copy vowel, e.g. **famfaṟm̱ēmȅ = famfarērȅ** m. 'spacious', **zunguṟm̱ēmȅ = zungurērȅ** m. 'tall, long'.

6.4.3. C-type (X-CVC x 2-ī)^{LHLH})

This independent subtype is a more restricted four- or five-syllable augmentative formation with a masculine tone-integrating X-CVC x 2-**ī**)^{LHLH} suffix. The heavy antepenult CVC syllable is a copy of the following CVC sequence and the internal vowels in the output are often identical, e.g. **wàng̱aṉgàmī** m. 'extensive', **bùgùẕuṉzùmī** m. 'big and awkward'. Coronals palatalize before the **-ī** and the final C in the reduplicated antepenultimate CVC undergoes regular changes, e.g. assimilation, in position before the abutting C, e.g. **kùduḏdùs̱ẖī** (< ***kùdus̱dùs̱ī**) 'short and stout', **shìnkiṉkìm̱ī** (< ***shìnkim̱kìm̱ī**) 'feeble-minded'. C-type augmentative adjectives are also used to denote shortness or feebleness, unlike most of the A- and B-types. The feminine is straightforwardly formed by replacing the masculine final **-ī** with **-ā**, e.g. **shìnkinkìmā** f., and the plural is formed with a Class 10 suffix **-ai**)^{LH}, e.g. **shìnkìnkìmai** pl. Further examples (often denoting animate referents) are:

cȁkur̃kùr̃ī m., **cȁkur̃kùr̃ā** f., **cȁkùr̃kùr̃ai** pl. 'short and slight'
fànkankàmī (= A-type **fankamī** = B-type **fankamēmȅ**) m., **fànkankàmā** f., **fànkànkàmai** pl. 'broad and flat'
kùduddùshī m., **kùduddùsā** f., **kùdùddùsai** pl. 'short and stout'
wàngangàmī (= A-type **wangamī** = B-type **wangamēmȅ**) m., **wàngangàmā** f., **wàngàngàmai** pl. 'extensive'

Note too the following near canonical C-type augmentatives, both principally nominal, where the antepenult syllable is heavy **-Cā-** but not a copy: **kìdāhùmī**

m., **kìdāhùmā** f., **kìdàhùmai** pl. 'country yokel', **zàƙāƙàřī** m., **zàƙāƙàřā** f., **zàƙàƙàřai** pl. 'meddlesome (person), know-it-all'.

6.4.4. Syntactic functions

Some speakers can use A-type augmentatives as prehead (with the linker) or posthead modifiers. Examples:

gà wata santalař yārinyà = gà wata yārinyà santalā!
'there's a tall shapely girl!'
gà wani gandamin takòbī = gà wani takòbī gandamī!
'there's a strong sword!'

This adjectival usage is marginal for many speakers, however, for whom the A-types behave syntactically more like heads of elliptical NPs, e.g. **gà santalā**! 'there's a tall shapely one!', **gà gandamī**! 'there's a strong one!'. B- and C-type augmentatives, on the other hand, function exclusively as NP modifiers. They usually premodify their heads (with the linker), but can occur posthead. Examples:

wani řingimēmèn kâi 'a massive great head'
wata gabjējìyař sàndā 'a bloody great stick'
wani fiřďēďèn dōkǐ = wani dōkǐ fiřďēďè 'a gigantic horse'
wani shìnkinkìmin mùtûm = wani mùtûm shìnkinkìmī
'a feeble-minded man'
wasu càkùřkùřan mutànē = wasu mutànē càkùřkùřai
'short and slight people'

If used postnominally, both A- and B-type adjectives can be, and often are, extended with the emphatic **dà** + independent pronoun phrase, e.g. **wata yārinyà santalā = santalēlìyā dà ita** 'a really shapely girl'. Fully reduplicated plurals of A- and B-type augmentatives are generally placed, as phonologically

heavy items, in the posthead slot, e.g. **wasu mōtōcī zungurā-zùngùrà̀ (dà sū)** 'some stretch limos (long cars)', **wasu dawākī fiřďā-fiřďà̀ (dà sū)** 'some enormous horses'.

6.4.5. Reduplicated augmentative adjectives

There are two adjectival formations related in morphosyntax and meaning to prototypical augmentatives, both of which involve reduplication (full in the case of the plural forms). The first type is the output of a -CVC x 2)^{L} rule for the (m./f.) singular, i.e. the final CVC syllable of the underlying base, which usually has identical vowels, is reduplicated and assigned an all L tone melody, e.g. **fànkànkàm** m./f. 'wide, extensive' (cf. B-type augmentative **fankamēmè** and fictional base ***fankam-**). The plural involves full reduplication of the base and an overall H-L tone pattern (the first component has all H and the second all L tones), e.g. **fankam-fànkàm** pl. (Some of these reduplicated formations have related ideophonic-adverbial usages, see **§15**:7). Examples:

bùgùzùnzùm m./f., **buguzum-bùgùzùm** pl.	'fat and ungainly'
(cf. C-type **bùgùzunzùmī**)	
cà̀kùřkùř m./f., **cākuř-cà̀kùř** pl.	'short and slight'
(cf. C-type **cà̀kuřkùřī**)	
dànƙwàlƙwàl m./f., **danƙwal-dànƙwàl** pl.	'large and round (hen)'
(cf. B-type **danƙwalēlè**)	

The second ideophonic-like type is intrinsically plural and has the invariant quadrisyllabic form CVCVV x 2)$^{H\text{-}L}$, i.e. a fully reduplicated structure, with usually identical vowels and an iambic light-heavy structure, and with all H tone on the first and all L on the second reduplicate. Examples:

buzū-bùzù̀ pl.	'hairy and dishevelled (beard, hair)'
ɓalō-ɓàlò̀ pl.	'large and round (kolanut)'
darā-dàrà̀ pl.	'bulging (eyes)'
horō-hòrò̀ pl.	'very wide (nostrils)'
tsalā-tsàlà̀ pl.	'long and skinny (legs)'

These reduplicated augmentatives, like A- and B-type plural reduplicates, function syntactically as posthead attributive modifiers, optionally reinforced with a **dà** + coreferential pronoun prepositional phrase. Examples:

nā sàyi wata kàzā dànƙwàlƙwàl	'I bought a big fat hen'
yanà dà cikì bùndùndùm	'he has a big pot-belly'
yanà dà idānū ƙwalā-ƙwàlà	'he has bulging, protruding eyes'
wasu ƙuràrrajī hulū-hùlù (**dà sū**)	'some big pimples'

6.5. *Intensive sensory adjectives (CVC-X-ā)^{LHH})*

These three-syllable adjectives are derived from, and often intensify the meaning of, a lexical subset of "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality" (ANSQs, §2.6). See also Newman (2000: chap. 2). (In the glosses below I have used the adverb 'very' to capture the intensifying entailment which is present for many, though not all, speakers.) In the masculine singular, the base CVC- is prefixally copied before the ANSQ base (X) itself, and a fixed tone-integrating suffix **-ā**)^{LHH} is added. Thus, from the source ANSQ **zāfī** 'heat', we get LHH **zàzzāfā** 'very hot' < **zàf-zāf-ā**, with automatic CVVC → CVC shortening in the initial closed syllable and assimilation/gemination of coda C_2 with C_3. The masculine and feminine forms fall together, and the isomorphic feminine singular vacuously replaces the final vowel of the masculine with the inflectional suffix **-ā**, e.g. **zàzzāfā** (m.) → **zàzzāfā** (f.). The distinction is overtly realized on gender targets, e.g. the enclitic linker in **zàzzāfa<u>n</u> ruwā** m. 'very hot water' vs. **zàzzāfa<u>r</u> ƙasā** f. 'a very hot country'. Plural intensive sensory adjectives attach a Class 2 tone-integrating suffix **-àC$_f$ā**)^{HLH} to the base, where C_f is a copy of the base-final ANSQ consonant, e.g. HLH **zāfàfā** (= **zāf-àfā**). Other examples (there are speaker differences in acceptability) include:

fàffāɗā, pl. **fāɗàɗā**	'very broad'	(< **fāɗī** 'width, breadth, area')
kàkkausā, pl. **kausàsā**	'very rough'	(< **kaushī** 'roughness')
ƙàƙƙarfā, pl. **ƙarfàfā**	'very strong'	(< **ƙarfī** 'strength')

tsàttsaurā, pl. **tsauràrā**	'very tight, strict'	(< **tsaurī** 'hardness, tightness')
zàzzāƙā, pl. **zāƙàƙā**	'very sweet'	(< **zāƙī** 'sweetness')

There are also two nouns with the equivalent semantics, but not the canonical final **-ī** HH ANSQ morphology, which operate common derivative intensive adjectives: **kyàkkyāwā** (pl. **kyāwàwā**) 'very beautiful' (< **kyâu** 'beauty'), and **mùmmūnā** (pl. **mūnànā**) 'very ugly, evil, serious' (< **mūnì** 'ugliness, evil').

Intensive sensory adjectives can function either as pre- or posthead attributive modifiers, or predicatively. Examples:

yanà dà kàkkausař muryà	'he has a rough-sounding voice'
kûřkukù mài tsauràran màtàkan tsàrō	'maximum security prison'
(lit. prison with strict.of steps.of security)	
wata yārinyà kyàkkyāwā	'a really beautiful girl'
wannàn yārinyà kyàkkyāwā cè	'this girl is really beautiful'

Adjectival notions can also be expressed with posthead **mài** (pl. **màsu**) + ANSQ phrases, for which corresponding intensive sensory adjectives are not always available, e.g. **takàřdā mài sulɓī** 'a smooth piece of paper' (cf. **sulɓī** 'smoothness'), **hanyōyī màsu santsī** 'slippery roads' (cf. **santsī** 'slipperiness').

6.6. Compound adjectives

Ahmad (1994: 115ff.) distinguishes two categories of exocentric compound adjectives formed with the genitive linker: (1) those denoting non-primary colour terms, containing the noun **ruwan** 'colour (water).of' plus a concrete noun, e.g. **ruwan-gōřò** 'orange-coloured' (colour.of-kolanut); and (2) a small class describing mainly physical and mental conditions, typically comprising a verbal form (verb or verbal noun) of some kind and usually with a noun object, e.g. **dūkàn-iskà** 'mentally ill' (beating.of-spirit/jinn). Examples:

1. **ruwan** + noun
   ruwan-azùřfā 'metallic' (colour.of-silver), **ruwan-hōdà** 'pink' (colour.of-powder), **ruwan-ƙasā** 'brown' (colour.of-earth), **ruwan-tòkā** 'grey' (colour.of-ashes), **ruwan-zīnāřè** 'gold-coloured' (colour.of-gold)

2. verbal element (+ noun)
   awòn-igiyà 'very long/tall' (measuring.of-rope), **ɗinkìn-kèke** 'machine-sewn' (sewing.of-machine), **gàmà-gàri** 'common, everyday' (unite-town), **tàßā-kà-lāshè** 'insufficient (e.g. tasty food)' (taste-you-lick), **tāshìn-ƙauyè** 'ill-mannered, boorish' (growing up.of-village), **wankan-tařwaɗā** 'medium-complexioned' (washing.of-mudfish)

Compound adjectives, like similarly heavy reduplicates, only occur as posthead attributive or predicative modifiers, and are gender/number-neutral. Examples:

wata mōtà ruwan-azùřfā	'a metallic-coloured car'
wasu sàmàrī tāshìn-ƙauyè	'some ill-mannered youths'
wannàn sūnā gàmà-gàri nè	'this name is common'

6.7. Fully-reduplicated adjectives (stem-V x 2)

There are two types of adjectival formation which involve shortening of the final vowel and full reduplication—reduplicated denominal "X-like", "X-y" adjectives and "X-ish" adjectives.

6.7.1. Reduplicated denominal adjectives ("X-like", "X-y")

This reduplication and final vowel shortening rule is used by mainly singular (m. or f.) concrete nouns to derive adjectives with the meaning "characterized by/like X" (where X represents the source noun). Examples:

gàri-gàri	'powdery' (< **gàrī** 'flour')
gishiri-gishiri	'salty' (< **gishirī** 'salt')

ƙōfà-ƙōfà	'door-like (opening)' (< **ƙōfā̀** 'door(way)')
ruwa-ruwa	'watery' (< **ruwā** 'water')
tsakuwà-tsakuwà	'grainy, stony (e.g. rice)' (< **tsakuwā̀** 'stone, gravel')
yā̀shi-yā̀shi	'sandy' (< **yā̀shī** 'sand')

Items in this class are gender-number invariant and typically function, like other reduplicates, as attributive posthead modifiers. Examples:

shìnkāfā tsakuwà-tsakuwà	'grainy, stony rice'
madařā ruwa-ruwa	'skimmed milk'

Some typically eventive-dynamic nouns retain their nominal status following application of the rule. Examples:

barci-barci 'a nap' (< **barcī** 'sleep(ing)'), **kàřā̀tu-kàřā̀tu** 'a bit of studying' (< **kàřā̀tū** 'studying'), **ƙò̀ƙari-ƙò̀ƙari** 'a bit of an effort' (< **ƙò̀ƙarī** 'effort'), **màganà-màganà** 'a brief discussion' (< **màganā̀** 'discussion'), **musù-musù** 'a slight argument' (< **musū̀** 'argument'), **zìyāřà-zìyāřà** 'a quick visit' (< **zìyāřā̀** 'visit')

Semantically, this subset could be viewed as similar to either reduplicated ("type of") nouns with LL-HL tones, e.g. **bò̀kò-bōkò** 'fraud' (< **bōkò̀** 'fraud, western education', §5.2), or comparable to the attenuated "X-ish" adjectives described below.

6.7.2. Reduplicated adjectives ("X-ish")

Some adjectives, both simple and derived, and typically denoting colours or physical attributes, allow fully-reduplicated forms with a short final vowel on each component, including the inflected feminine and plural forms. These fully-reduplicated adjectives have a detensified/attenuated meaning, equivalent to English "X-ish". Examples (simple):

bàbba-bàbba m./f., **mânya-mânya** pl. 'biggish'
(< **bàbba** m./f., **mânyā** pl. 'big')
baƙi-baƙi m., **baƙa-baƙa** f., **baƙàƙe-baƙàƙe** pl. 'blackish, grey'
(< **baƙī** m., **baƙā** f., **baƙàƙē** pl. 'black')
dōgo-dōgo m., **dōguwa-dōguwa** f., **dōgwà̰ye-dōgwà̰ye** pl. 'tallish'
(< **dōgō** m., **dōguwā** f., **dōgwà̰yē** pl. 'tall')
ɗanye-ɗanye m., **ɗanya-ɗanya** f., **ɗànyu-ɗànyu** pl. 'rawish'
(< **ɗanyē** m., **ɗanyā** f., **ɗànyū** pl. 'raw, fresh')
fari-fari m., **fara-fara** f., **farà̀re-farà̀re** pl. 'whitish, off-white'
(< **farī** m., **farā** f., **farà̀rē** pl. 'white')
gàjēre-gàjēre m., **gàjēra-gàjēra** f., **gàjèru-gàjèru** pl. 'shortish'
(< **gàjērē** m., **gàjērā** f., **gàjèrū** pl. 'short')
jāja-jāja m./f. (with reduplicated base), **jājà̰̀ye-jājà̰̀ye** pl. 'reddish'
(< **jā** m./f., **jājà̰̀yē** pl. 'red')
shūɗì-shūɗì m., **shūɗìya-shūɗìya** f., **shûɗɗa-shûɗɗa** pl. 'light blue, bluish'
(< **shūɗì** m., **shūɗìyā** f., **shûɗɗā** pl. 'dark blue')

The same rule can be used for some derivative adjectives, e.g. (past participial) **sò̰yayyiya-sò̰yayyiya** f. 'slightly roasted' (< **sò̰yayyiyā** f. 'roasted'), **tàɓɓe-tàɓaɓɓe** m. 'a bit crazy' (< **tàɓaɓɓē** m. 'crazy'), (**ma**-agential) **mahàukàta-mahàukàta** pl. 'a bit mad' (< **mahàukàtā** pl. 'mad').

Like other heavy reduplicated adjectives, members of this set usually function as posthead modifiers, and speakers will often insert an additional diminutive modifier (m./f./pl.) **ɗan/'yaƙ/'yan** in position before the attenuated adjective, e.g.

wata rìgā ('yaƙ) fara-fara	'an off-white gown'
wasu rīgunà ('yan) jājà̰̀ye-jājà̰̀ye	'some reddish gowns'
wani mùtûm (ɗan) mahàukàci-mahàukàci	'a slightly crazy man'
nāmà̰ ɗanye-ɗanye	'rawish meat'
wani dōkḭ̀ baƙi-baƙi	'a blackish horse'

There is also a related set of reduplicated adjectives which, though derived from source nominals, denote semantically attenuated colours and so are included here, e.g. (invariant) **ƙasa-ƙasa** 'brownish' (< **ƙasā** 'earth, land'), **tòka-tòka** 'greyish' (< **tòkā** 'ashes'). Compound colour adjectives simply copy the second member of the compound to create the attenuated form, e.g. **ruwan-ƙasa-ƙasa** 'brownish' (< **ruwan-ƙasā** 'brown'), **ruwan-hōdà-hōdà** 'pinkish' (< **ruwan-hōdà** 'pink'). Also handled here, on morphosemantic grounds, are Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality (ANSQs) which can also undergo the same rule, e.g.

sanyi-sanyi	'coldish' (< **sanyī** 'cold')
tauri-tauri	'kind of tough' (< **taurī** 'toughness')
zāfi-zāfi	'warmish' (< **zāfī** 'heat')
zāƙi-zāƙi	'sweetish' (< **zāƙī** 'sweetness')
ɗùmi-ɗùmi	'lukewarm' (< tonally irregular **ɗùmī** 'warmth')

The invariant outputs remain syntactically nominal, however (though adjectival in English), e.g.

àbinci yā yi sanyi-sanyi 'the food has gone a bit cold'
(lit. food 3m.PF do coldish(ness))
dà zāfi-zāfi yâu 'it's warmish today' (there is warmish(ness) today)
māgànī mài ɗāci-ɗāci 'kind of bitter medicine'

*6.8. Agential adjectives (**ma**-X-**ī**)*

Some deverbal agential formations (§3.1.1) of the (msg.) shape **ma**-X-**ī** with H-(L)-L-H tones can also act, sometimes principally or exclusively, as adjectival modifiers, e.g. **mahàukàcin kàrē** 'a mad dog' (cf. **gà mahàukàcîn** 'there's the madman'), **mawùyàcin àl'amārī** 'a difficult matter' (= adjectival only). Agential adjectives occur prehead (with the linker) or posthead. Examples:

wani malàlàcin yārò = wani yārò malàlàcī	'a lazy boy'
wata maƙētacìyař yārinyà = wata yārinyà maƙētacìyā	'a wicked girl'

wasu makwàɗàitan mutânē = wasu mutânē makwàɗàitā
'some greedy people'

Note too the adjectives **madàidàicī** 'average, medium-sized', **mafàɗâcī** 'vicious', **matàƙàicī** 'restricted'. The **ma-** agential adjective **marìgâyī** 'deceased, late' (< **rìgāyà** 'precede') is unusual in that it occurs in direct apposition with its juxtaposed head, even if in prehead position, e.g. **marìgâyī Sarkin Kanò = Sarkin Kanò marìgâyī** 'the late Emir of Kano'.

*6.9. Ethnonymic adjectives (**bà-**)*

Some ethnonyms formed with the singular prefix **bà-**, and used to denote a person's ethnicity, origin, profession, social status, etc. (§3.2), can also be used as adjectives, sometimes with a fixed extended meaning. Examples (usually prehead):

bàfādìyař màganà 'sycophantic talk'
(cf. **wata bàfādìyā** 'a female courtier')
bàfařanshìyař miyà 'French dressing'
(cf. **Bàfařanshìyā** 'French woman')
bàgidājèn mùtûm 'a simpleton of a man'
(cf. **bàgidājè** 'simpleton' < pl. **gidâjē** 'houses')
bàhàgwan ɗàlìbai 'left-handed students'
(cf. **bàhàgwai** 'left-handed people')
bàlāřabìyař shèkarà 'the Arabic/Muslim year (354 days)'
(cf. **ita Bàlāřabìyā cè** 'she's an Arab woman')
gìdâdâwan mutânē 'unsophisticated people'
(cf. **wasu gìdâdâwā** 'some country bumpkins')

Chapter 6
Tense, Aspect, Mood (TAM) System

1. An Overview of the TAM System

A key feature of Hausa tense-aspect syntax is the fact that, with the exception of the Imperative, the verb as such does not inflect for tense, aspect, and modality, nor for person/number. (The Imperative itself is considered along with other simple sentence types in §**11**:4.) Instead, the inflectional categories of subject-agreement plus tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are represented in an obligatory second-position string of affixes and clitics, here referred to as the "person-aspect complex" (PAC), e.g. **yârā [sun]**$_{PAC}$ **dāwō** 'the children [3pl.PF]$_{PAC}$ have returned' (see also Newman 2000: chap. 70). (With Imperfective TAMs the verb occurs as part of a nonfinite VP, but the TAM is still marked on the PAC.) The preverbal PAC (= INFL in modern syntactic theory) consists of two elements—a subject-agreement pronoun (SAP) which reads the features of person, number and singular gender off its coreferential subject-controller (= syntactic agreement), and a TAM-marker. The PAC **su-kàn** 'they-HAB', for example, is made up of the 3pl SAP **su** + Habitual TAM **-kàn**. The controlling 3rd person subject may be overtly expressed together with the PAC, e.g. (lexical NP subject) **àbōkīnā [yanà] kòyon Hausa** 'my friend [3m.IMPF] is learning Hausa', or it can be a null argument, e.g. Ø **[yanà] kòyon Hausa** 'Ø [3m.IMPF] is learning Hausa'. Since there is no syntactic requirement that verbal sentences contain overt subjects, Hausa is thus analyzable as a "null-subject" language.

For various treatments of the Hausa TAM system, see: Bagari (1987: chap. 2), Gouffé (1963/66, 1964, 1966/67, 1967/68, 1968/69), Jungraithmayr (1968/69), Klingenheben (1928/29), Newman & Schuh (1974), Parsons (1960b, 1981: 292-99), Schubert (1971/72), Schuh (n.d.), Wolff (1993: chap. 3), Zima (1967, 1969, 1976), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 70).

The prototypical order of elements in the PAC is a SAP attached to a following TAM-marker (= single orthographic word), e.g. (all 3pl) Habitual **su-kàn**, Imperfective **su-nà**. Exceptions are the two-word periphrastic-like Future construction, e.g. [**zā sù**] **tàfi yànzu** 'they will go now', and the cognate Allative paradigm, e.g. [**zâ su**] **gidā** 'they're off home', where this linear order is reversed. The tone on the SAP is H, i.e. polar to a following L tone TAM-marker, e.g. H-L **su-nà** (Imperfective), H-L **su-kàn** (Habitual). If the SAP is not followed by any overt TAM-marker, it takes a default L tone, e.g. (Subjunctive) **sù**, (Future) **zā sù**.

Some of the inflectional affirmative PAC strings are clearly segmentable, e.g. Imperfective **su-nà**, Habitual **su-kàn**, and the SAP in these TAMs can be omitted in certain environments, e.g. (with overt subject) **Audù** [Ø-**nà**]$_{\text{IMPF}}$ **zuwà masallācī kullum** 'Audu goes to the mosque all the time' (see relevant §§ below for details). Some PACs, on the other hand, are polysynthetic, involving an adjustment of the tone or vowel length on the SAP, e.g. singular forms of the Perfective **nā** (1sg), **tā** (3f), etc. In the Subjunctive, e.g. (3f) **tà**, the TAM-marker is phonologically zero.[1]

The normative configuration is schematized as follows:

S

	Subject	PAC	VP
overt	**Audù**	**yā**	**fìta**
	Audu	3m.PF	go out
	'Audu went out'		
null	Ø	**yanà**	**kōyà minì Hausa**
		3m.IMPF	teach to.1sg Hausa
		'he is teaching Hausa to me'	

[1]See Newman & Schuh (1974) and Wolff (1993: chap. 3) for the historical background to the evolution of the Hausa tense-aspect and mood system.

There are 16 formally distinct TAM paradigms, 11 affirmative and five negative, and they are organized into three syntactically-determined categories—general, focus and negative (see relevant §§ below for complete sets). The general system subsumes affirmative verbal clauses, e.g. [**nā**]$_{PF}$ **sàmu aikì** 'I've got a job', [**yanà**]$_{IMPF}$ **kàřàtū** 'he is studying', [**mù**]$_{SJN}$ **tàfi yànzu** 'let's go now', and *yes-no* questions have the same syntax as declaratives, e.g. [**zā kì**]$_{FUT}$ **zō**? 'will you come?'. Each paradigm comprises eight subject-agreement pronouns, all of them variants of the eight core forms operating in the non-TAM pronoun categories (independent, object pronouns, etc., **§10**),[2] plus the 4pl Impersonal subject pronoun 'one, they' which is used in tensed clauses without an overt subject (§17).

The focus category includes affirmative TAMs occurring in syntactic contexts where constituents are frontshifted to the focus position to the left of the TAM and verb, e.g. focus, relativization, *wh*-interrogation (**§12**), and *wh*-ever constructions (**§14**:3.3.4). Some specific TAMs, e.g. the Focus Imperfective and Rhetorical, are restricted to focus environments only. The Focus Perfective, Habitual, Future and Allative all occur in both focus and general contexts (= narrative sequences for the Focus Perfective). The Potential and Subjunctive cannot be used in focus environments, where the regular Future is used instead. Examples of various TAMs in focus environments are:

Audù nē [**ya**]$_{FOC\text{-}PF}$ **tàfi kàntī**	'it's *Audu* who's gone to the shop'
Audu COP(m) 3m.FOC-PF go to shop	
gà mōtàř dà [**sukà**]$_{FOC\text{-}PF}$ **sàyā**	'here is the car that they bought'
PRESENT car.DD(f) REL 3pl.FOC-PF buy	
wà [**kakè**]$_{FOC\text{-}IMPF\text{-}1}$ **nēmā**?	'whom are you looking for?'
who 2m.FOC-IMPF-1 look for.VN	
kai nè [**kakè**]$_{FOC\text{-}IMPF\text{-}1}$ **biyàn àlbâshī**?	'is it *you* who pays the wages?'

[2]Newman & Schuh (1974: 9) reconstruct the following subject-agreement pronoun paradigm for Proto-Hausa: (1sg) *__nì__, (2m) ***kà**, (2f) ***kì**, (3m) ***sì**, (3f) ***tà**, (1pl) *__mù__, (2pl) ***kù**, (3pl) ***sù**. Cf. the proto-paradigm for the H tone "strong object pronouns"—(1sg) *__ni__, (2m) ***ka**, (2f) ***ki**, (3m) ***si**, (3f) ***ta**, (1pl) *__mu__, (2pl) ***ku**, (3pl) ***su** (Newman 1979b: 183).

wǎ [**yakè**]$_{\text{FOC-IMPF-2}}$ **dà mōtǎ nân**?	'who has a car here?'
kōmè [**kikè**]$_{\text{FOC-IMPF-1}}$ **sô zân bā kì**	'whatever you want I'll give you'
abūbuwàn dà [**sukǎ**]$_{\text{RHET}}$ **iyà fǎruwā nân gàba**	
'the things that can happen in future'	
wǎ [**zâi**]$_{\text{FUT}}$ **iyà yîn wannàn**?	'who will be able to do this?'
yā sǎmu dàbāřàř dà [**zā tà**]$_{\text{FUT}}$ **yi**	'he's got a plan that will work'
ìnā [**zâ ka**]$_{\text{ALLAT}}$?	'where are you off to?'
hakà [**mukàn**]$_{\text{HAB}}$ **yi à nân gàrîn**	'that's what we do in this town'

The basic syntactic cut is between Imperfective TAMs and other non-Imperfective TAMs, i.e. the Perfective, Focus Perfective, Negative Perfective, Future, Potential, Habitual, Rhetorical, and Subjunctive TAMs. Imperfective TAMs take either verbal predicates with a nonfinite VP, or non-verbal stative predicates. Nonfinite VPs can contain a verbal noun (VN), e.g. **Audù** [**yanǎ**]$_{\text{3m.IMPF}}$ [**kintsǎwā**]$_{\text{VN}}$ 'Audu is getting ready', **mè** [**yakè**]$_{\text{3m.FOC-IMPF}}$ [**dāmùnkì**]$_{\text{VN}}$? 'what's bothering you?', [**bā tǎ**]$_{\text{NEG 3f.IMPF}}$ [**sô**]$_{\text{VN}}$ 'she doesn't want (it)' (see also §**8** for verbal nouns and infinitive phrases). Non-verbal Imperfective TAM sentences can contain a locative predicate, e.g. [**bā yǎ**]$_{\text{NEG 3m.IMPF}}$ [**nan**] 'he's not here/around', a stative predicate, e.g. [**yanǎ**]$_{\text{3m.IMPF}}$ [**zàune**]$_{\text{STAT}}$ **à ƙōfǎ** 'he's sitting by the door', or a possessive HAVE predicate, e.g. [**yanǎ**]$_{\text{3m.IMPF}}$ [**dà mātā huƈu**] 'he has four wives' (lit...with wives four).

Other non-Imperfective TAM forms are used in predicates containing a finite VP headed by a finite verb (V), e.g. (Perfective) **nā** [**shā**]$_{\text{V}}$ **ruwā** 'I've drunk some water', (Focus Perfective) **gǎ rìgâř dà na** [**sàyā**]$_{\text{V}}$ 'here's the gown that I bought', (Negative Future) **bà zân** [**sàyi**]$_{\text{V}}$ **wannàn ba** 'I won't buy this one', (Habitual) **hakà akàn** [**yi**]$_{\text{V}}$ 'that's what one does', (Subjunctive) **kà** [**gai dà**]$_{\text{V}}$ **gidā** 'greet the (members of the) household', (Rhetorical) **wǎ yakǎ** [**iyà**]$_{\text{V}}$ **hakà**? 'who could possibly do this?'.

A subset of the non-Imperfective TAMs can also express modality, e.g. commitment to factuality, probability, uncertainty, obligation, permission,

responsibility, etc. The Subjunctive, for example, is essentially a modal category, but varying degrees of modality can also be expressed by the Future, Potential and Rhetorical TAMs (see relevant §§ below).

With the exception of the Future, e.g. (3pl) **zā sù** (= orthographic **za su**), and Allative **zâ su** (= **za su**), the SAP and following TAM-marker are normally written as single words, e.g. (Focus Perfective) **sukà** (= orthographic **suka**), (Focus Imperfective) **sukè** (= **suke**), (Habitual) **sukàn** (= **sukan**), etc. Evidence from modal particle and quantifier placement shows that the PAC constitutes a separate lexeme (and not a clitic-like element), e.g. [**sun**]$_{PAC}$ **kùwa** [**zō**]$_{V}$ 'they certainly came', [**yā**]$_{PAC}$ **ɗan** [**tàimàkē**]$_{V}$ **nì** 'he helped me a little'.

The negative sub-system comprises all negative verbal clauses, both general and focus. The initial negative marker occurs immediately before the PAC and to the right of an overt subject (see relevant §§ below for details). Examples:

Negative Perfective:
lēbuřōrîn bà sù gamà aikìn ba 'the labourers haven't finished the work'
labourers.DD(pl) NEG 3pl.PF finish work.DD(m) NEG
su-wànē nè bà sù gamà aikìn ba? 'who (pl) haven't finished the work?'
3pl-who COP(pl) NEG 3pl.PF finish work.DD(m) NEG
Negative Imperfective:
bā nầ sôn wannàn 'I don't want this one'
NEG 1sg.IMPF want.VN.of this one
ita cè bā yầ sô '*she* is the one he doesn't like'
3f COP(f) NEG 3m.IMPF like.VN
Negative Future:
bầ zā sù zō ba 'they won't come'
NEG FUT 3pl come NEG
don mè bầ zā sù zō ba? 'why won't they come?'
why NEG FUT 3pl come NEG

To form the negative, some TAM paradigms simply use the general forms bracketed by the discontinuous negative functors **bà(a)**...**ba** (where **bà(a)** =

short **bà** or long **bầ** depending upon the speaker), e.g. (Negative Future) **bà(a) zā sù zō ba** 'they will not come' (cf. Future **zā sù zō** 'they will come'), (Negative Habitual) **bà(a) sukàn zō kullum ba** 'they don't always come' (cf. Habitual **sukàn zō kullum** 'they always come'). Other negative sets use TAMs which are formally distinct from the corresponding general and focus forms, e.g. **yârā [sunầ]**IMPF **kàřầtū** 'the children are studying', **ìnā yârā [sukề]**FOC-IMPF **kàřầtū**? 'where are the children studying?', **yârā [bā sầ]**NEG-IMPF **kàřầtū** 'the children are not studying'. If the leftmost negative marker in the split **bà(a)...ba** configuration is the short **bà** variant, it phonologically fuses with the following SAP, e.g. Negative Perfective **bà-kà...ba** (2m), **bà-tà...ba** (3f), etc. The initial long vowel **bầ** variant is a separate element, e.g. (Negative Habitual) **bầ sukàn...ba**, and use of the **bầ...ba** negative pairing—the same markers used to negate non-tensed equational constructions—is possible with the Future, Allative, Habitual and Potential TAMs. Table 6 presents the various TAM categories, affirmative and negative paradigms, exemplified with the third person plural forms (see relevant §§ below for the full paradigms).

Table 6. Hausa tense, aspect and mood paradigms (affirmative and negative)

	General	Focus	Negative
Perfective	**sun**	**sukà**	**bà sù...ba**
Imperfective (+ verbal pred.)	**sunầ**	**sukề** (FOC-IMPF-1)	**bā sầ**
Imperfective (+ non-verbal pred.)	**sunầ**	**sukè** (FOC-IMPF-2)	**bā sầ** Neg-HAVE **bâ su**
Subjunctive	**sù**		**kadà sù**
Habitual	**sukàn**	**sukàn**	**bà(a) sukàn...ba**
Potential	**sâ**		**bà(a) sâ...ba**
Rhetorical		**sukầ**	
Future	**zā sù**	**zā sù**	**bà(a) zā sù...ba**
Allative	**zâ su**	**zâ su**	**bà(a) zâ su...ba**

In Hausa orthography, the negative markers are written as separate words (contracted NEG-PAC variants such as 1sg Negative Perfective **ban** excepted),

e.g. (Negative Perfective) **ba su zo ba** 'they did not come', (Negative Future) **ba za su zo ba** 'they will not come', (Negative Imperfective) **ba sa zuwa** 'they are not coming', etc.[3] (See §**11**:5-6 for negation of verbal and non-verbal sentences.)

2. Tense and Aspect

The cover-term "tense-aspect" is used throughout this book since it is not always possible to maintain a rigorous distinction between "tense", a temporal deictic category which locates a given situation in relation to a specified time-point (usually the moment of speaking), and "aspect", which expresses "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976: chap. 1). Aspect thus refers to the manner in which a temporal event is viewed by the speaker, indicating that a situation has been completed, is in the process of being completed (durative), or has yet to begin. (The lexicalization of such distinctions, i.e. the inherent property of a situation, is sometimes referred to as "Aktionsart".) The two categories in fact overlap considerably, and the tense-aspect system entails a complex interaction of completive, durational and temporal components.

The basic binary distinction in Hausa, as in many languages with aspectual systems, is between the Perfective (§3) and Imperfective (§6) TAMs. Comrie (1976) defines "perfectivity" as viewing a situation externally, with no reference to its internal temporal shape, whereas "imperfectivity" allows the internal viewing of a situation and explicitly encodes its internal temporal structure. The Perfective thus denotes single phase completeness and encapsulates the beginning and end of the situation (= completed action), while the Imperfective denotes incompleteness and concentrates on the intervening phase, leaving the endpoint unspecified (= incompleted action).

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[3]See Newman (1971a) for an account of the historical development of the Hausa negative markers, and also Eulenberg (1971).

Hausa differs from tense-dominated languages like English in that the relevant time-reference point can be other than the actual "here and now" moment of speaking. For example, a Future TAM may be used with reference to past time, denoting an event/action projected to take place after the specified past time-point, e.g. (time-point established by a deictic time adverb) **jiyà wàřhakà** [**zâi**]FUT.3m **dāwō kè nan** 'yesterday at this time he was about to/was going to return' (yesterday at this time FUT.3m return it is), where the event time is posterior to the reference time. And the Imperfective TAM sentence [**yanâ**]3m.IMPF **cîn àbinci** (3m.IMPF eat.VN.of food) is translatable as either 'he *is* eating' or 'he *was* eating' depending on the contextual time reference, though the default would be the time of speaking. Similarly, the Perfective is used in an antecedent open conditional clause to describe an anterior event already completed in relation to the consequent matrix clause event, even if the absolute time-reference is in the future and not the moment of speaking, e.g. **ìdan** [**kin**]2f.PF **kāwō aikìn gôbe, zân dūbâ shi** 'if you bring (lit. have brought) the work tomorrow, I'll look at it' (= future open conditional).

3. Perfective

Table 7 gives the affirmative Perfective paradigm as used in general (non-focus) contexts, exemplified with the finite form of the verb **tàfi** 'go':

Table 7. Perfective

sg.		pl.	
1	**nā tàfi**	1	**mun tàfi**
2m.	**kā tàfi**	2	**kun tàfi**
2f.	**kin tàfi**		
3m.	**yā tàfi**	3	**sun tàfi**
3f.	**tā tàfi**		
		4	**an tàfi**

3.1. Forms

The Perfective consists of fused SAP + TAM forms, producing an PAC with a single bimoraic syllable (CVV or CVC) and a H tone. The plural forms, segmentable as **mu-n**, **ku-n**, **su-n**, **a-n**, all contain an archaic Chadic **-n** pluralizing suffix; and the final **-n** of the 2f form **kin** (**ki-n**) derives from an old 2f Afroasiatic marker ***-m** (Newman 1980a, Newman & Schuh 1974).

3.2. Functions

Semantically, the Perfective (= "Completive" (Newman 2000: chap. 70), "General Past", etc.) expresses notions of anteriority, completion, result-state, temporal limitation, etc., with the beginning and end of the situation perceived externally in its totality, regardless of any internal temporal contrasts. Outside the specific domain of integrated narrative sequences and focus constructions, where the more restrictive Focus Perfective is employed (§4), the canonical use of the Perfective is to report anterior, completed past-time events in non-complex, often monoclausal, affirmative statements, where the deictic notion "past" is relative to a given time-point. Unless there is a context to the contrary, the reference time defaults to the moment of speaking, and, depending on the context, the Perfective TAM can be translated by both a simple past ('ate', etc.) or present perfect ('has eaten', etc.) in English (see also Jungraithmayr & Munkaila 1985, and Schubert 1971/72). Examples:

nā ci gōřò	'I ate/have eaten a kolanut'
1sg.PF eat kolanut	
sun isō	'they (have) arrived'
3pl.PF arrive	
kin gamà aikìn?	'have you finished/did you finish the work?'
bằƙī sun zō	'the guests have come/came'

A string of past-event clauses, including conjoined and complement clauses, can be expressed with Perfective TAMs, e.g. in reportatative journalistic contexts (more specific punctual events use the Focus Perfective):

wani ɗan-jàřīdǎ [**yā**]$_{3m.PF}$ **faɗà wà gidan řēdiyòn BBC cêwā hařkōkin cìnikī** [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **tsayà cik à yawancin ƙasâř.** [**An**]$_{4pl.PF}$ **tsai dà yawancin hařkōkin cìnikī** [**an**]$_{4pl.PF}$ **kuma rufè shāgunǎ**

'A reporter [3m.PF] has told BBC radio that trading [3pl.PF] has ground to a halt in most of the country. Most trading [4pl.PF] has been stopped and shops [4pl.PF] have been closed'

řàhòtànnîn [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **nūnà cêwā tàshe-tǎshen hankulàn àddīnì** [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **jāwō mutuwàř mutǎnē dà dāmā**

'the reports [3pl.PF] indicate that the religious disturbances [3pl.PF] caused the deaths of many people'

bài fitō fīlī [**yā**]$_{3m.PF}$ **bayyànà tàkàřdûn dà yakè màganǎ à kâi ba, àmmā jàřìdū** [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **shā bugà shařhì à kân**...

'he didn't come out and [3m.PF] reveal the documents he was referring to, but newspapers [3pl.PF] have published many comments on...'

[**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **yùnƙurà** [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **tàfi** [**mun**]$_{1pl.PF}$ **sǎmi kuɗī** [**mun**]$_{1pl.PF}$ **ci àbinci** [**mun**]$_{1pl.PF}$ **mōrè**

'[3pl.PF] they have made an effort and [3pl.PF] have gone and [1pl.PF] we have got some money and [1pl.PF] have eaten and [1pl.PF] have enjoyed ourselves'

The Perfective also functions to express "stage-directions":

yârā [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **tāshì** [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **fìta**	'the children get up and leave'
[**tā**]$_{3f.PF}$ **kàrɓā** [**tā**]$_{3f.PF}$ **cê**...	'she accepts (it) and says...'

The Perfective has "relative tense" functions, i.e. it can be used in contexts where the established time-point is other than the time of speaking. If the event

time expressed by the Perfective is anterior to a time point in the *future*, for example, it translates as an English future perfect 'will have'. Examples:

gõbe wàřhakà sun isō
'by this time tomorrow they will have (have) arrived'
dà kin ga gidan sarkī, kin kai wurîn
'as soon as you see the emir's palace you will have (have) reached the place'

The Perfective can also express imminent future events involving motion-verbs:

tõ nā tāshì	'OK, I'm off' (...have left)
tõ mun gudù kè nan	'OK, we're away then' (...have run away)

If the event time is anterior to an already established *past time* locus, the Perfective functions like an English pluperfect, and typically follows a punctual narrative-tracking Focus Perfective TAM, e.g.

mukà jē bìkin wani àbōkinmù...shī kè nan, mun jē can wani ƙauyè...
'we went to the party of a friend of ours...OK, we had gone far away to a village...'

The Perfective fulfills a similar relative tense function in subordinate conditional clauses, where it is used to describe an anterior event already completed in relation to the matrix clause event, even if the absolute time-reference is in the future, i.e. not the moment of speaking, and where English typically uses a simple present. Examples (open conditionals):

ìdan sun tàimàkē nì, zân iyà zuwà jāmi'à
'if they help (have helped) me, I'll be able to go to university'
kanà iyà shìgā ìdan kā biyā nì kuɗîn
'you can go in if/when you pay (have paid) me the money'

The Perfective also regularly occurs with temporal and causal subordinators:

bāyan sun dāwō gidā, sai sù hūtầ
'after they return/have returned home, they rest'
bāyan nā fārà aikǐ sǒsai, sai akà tūrầ ni Kanǒ
'after I had started the job proper, I was transferred to Kano'
nā ji dāɗī don an biyā nì àlbâshī
'I was happy because I'd been paid my wages'

It is also used in counterfactual-conditional and concessive clauses, where the more specific Focus Perfective TAM would be incompatible with the irrealis semantics. Examples:

(in) dầ nā ci jařřàbâwā dầ nā shìga jāmi'ầ
'if I had passed the exam I would have entered university'
kō yā matsầ mîn, bà zân bā shì kuɗîn ba
'even if he pressures me, I won't give him the money'
kanầ iyà gānề shi kō yā canzà muryàřsà
'you can recognize him even if he changes his voice'

Note too the future-time irrealis use of **dà (zārař)** 'as soon as' + Perfective, e.g. **dà (zārař) kin jē tashầ, kì sàyi tikitì** 'as soon as you get to (have got to) the station, buy a ticket'.

In addition to expressing completed anterior action with active verbs, the Perfective is also used with stative verbs denoting aspectually stative, present context situations. (Stative notions can also be expressed adverbially by "adverbial statives", §15:2.1.5.) These stative verbs include entry-into-a-state and performative verbs, and are again translatable with an English present tense (see also Schuh 1998: 154ff. on stative verbs in Miya). Examples:

yârā sun gàji	'the children are tired'
children 3pl.PF be tired	

kin gānè shi?	'do you recognize him?'
2f.PF recognize 3m	
nā ƙi	'I refuse'
kā ji kō?	'you understand/hear or what?'
mun san sù	'we know them'
nā fàhintà	'I understand'
yā yi yawà	'it's too much'
nā rantsè zân fàɗi gàskiyā	'I swear I'll tell the truth'
nā fī tà tsawō	'I'm taller than her'
(lit. 1sg.PF exceed 3f height)	
nā sābà dà ganinsà	'I'm used to seeing him'
nā kusa gamà aikìn	'I'm close to finishing the work'
tā ìsa aurē	'she's ready for marriage'

Complement-taking verbs (**§13**) often occur with an empty 3m Perfective TAM **yā** which expresses an existing and ongoing state, where English would normally use a present tense verb. Examples:

yā kyàutu kà dāwō gòbe 'it's better you return tomorrow'
yā wàjabtà gà Mùsùlmī dà yà yi sallà kullum
'it is incumbent on a Muslim to pray every day'
yā yìwu sun rìgā sun zō 'it's possible they have already come'
yā kàmātà mutànen nàn sù gyārà halinsù
'it is appropriate/fitting these men improve their behaviour'

The Perfective can also map generic timeless propositions with no reference to a specific time-point, including proverbs. Examples:

kògin Kwārà yā rātsà ƙasař Nìjâř yā shìga Nìjēřiyà ta arèwa
'the river Niger passes through Niger and enters northern Nigeria'
banzā tā kòri wòfī 'like thwarted like'
(lit. worthless(ness) 3f.PF drive away useless(ness))

4. Focus Perfective

Table 8 gives the affirmative Focus Perfective paradigm, exemplified with the finite form of the verb **tàfi** 'go':

Table 8. Focus Perfective

sg.		pl.	
1	**na tàfi**	1	**mukà tàfi**
2m.	**ka tàfi**	2	**kukà tàfi**
2f.	**kikà tàfi**		
3m.	**ya tàfi**	3	**sukà tàfi**
3f.	**ta tàfi**		
		4	**akà tàfi**

4.1. Forms

The SAP in the Focus Perfective paradigm has a short vowel (light CV syllable) with a H tone, i.e. polar to the bound **-kà** TAM-marker. (The TAM-morpheme itself is a reflex of the historically original Proto-Chadic ***-kà/kə̀** Perfective marker which has been lost in the singular except for 2f **ki-kà**.)

4.2. Functions

Although the precise semantic differences between the affirmative Perfective and Focus Perfective TAMs remain to be worked out, a key distinguishing deictic characteristic is that the Focus Perfective (= Newman's 2000: chap. 70 "Preterite") is exploited to map specific/definite events or situations which have been realized in the past. This includes syntactic focus contexts in which constituents are frontshifted, e.g. in focus, relativization, *wh*-interrogation, and

wh-ever constructions, where the Focus Perfective obligatorily replaces the (general) Perfective.[4] Examples (see **§12** for details):

shī nè mukà ganī 'it's *him* we saw'
3m COP(m) 1pl.FOC-PF see
bà màtařsà cē ta mutù ba, tsōhuwařsà cē
NEG wife.of.3m COP(f) 3f.FOC-PF die NEG mother.of.3m COP(f)
'it wasn't his *wife* that died, it was his mother'
gà rìgâř dà na sàyā 'here's the gown that I [1sg.FOC-PF] bought'
sà ta indà na gayà makà 'put it where I [1sg.FOC-PF] told you'
yàushē ka isō? 'when did you [2m.FOC-PF] arrive?'
nawà nē kikà bā shì? 'how much did you [2f.FOC-PF] give him?'
kōmè sukà gayà minì, bàn dàmu ba
'whatever (it is) they [3pl.FOC-PF] said to me, I wasn't worried'

Because the Focus Perfective is used to express specific, punctual events, it is also the main marker of foregrounded material in historical narrative sequences, where it tracks single-occurrence, chronologically-sequenced events in the past and so often corresponds to the simple past in English, e.g. (a fragment from a personal "brush-with-death" narrative):[5]

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[4]My choice of the semantic cover-term FOCUS to designate both the Focus Perfective and Focus Imperfective (§§7, 8) TAMs differs from the conventional, but I believe misleading, labels "Relative Perfective/Completive, etc." and "Relative Imperfective/Continuative, etc."—so called because they replace the corresponding general TAMs in relative clauses. Use of the unitary term FOCUS, in preference to "relative", has the advantage of capturing a specific semantic feature which encompasses a set of related focus constructions, and also avoids potential confusion with the notion "relative tense".

[5]The functional restriction of the Focus Perfective TAM to focus environments and narrative discourse is not accidental. Bagari (1976, 1987: 81ff.) proposes that the Focus Perfective serves to encode a situation which is "presupposed" in the sense that the speaker presupposes that the completed (perfective) situation is specifically known to the hearer. In the same vein, Schuh (n.d.:14) claims that the Focus Perfective is used when the speaker has a specific time and/or place in mind when the actualized event took place, and also presupposes that the hearer shares this assumption, much like the "Definite Past" in English—cf. McConvell's (1977) use of the term "Definite Perfect". Use of the definite/specific Focus Perfective, serves, therefore, to narrow down the temporality of the discrete, actualized events of the historical narrative, all of which have a clear and specific end result (= telic). See also Jaggar (1998) for claims that the semantic specificity of the Focus Perfective explains its functional distribution in narrative discourse as well as focus environments.

...**mukà būďè ƙōfàř mōtàř, mukà yi saurī, sai wani mùtûm ya būďè mîn...mukà yi saurī, mukà jē, mukà būďè**...

'...we [1pl.FOC-PF] opened the car door and [1pl.FOC-PF] moved quickly, then some man [3m.FOC-PF] opened (it) for me...and we [1pl.FOC-PF] moved quickly and [1pl.FOC-PF] went and [1pl.FOC-PF] opened (it)...'

...**tò indà màtsalàř ta fārà tāshì shī nè bāyân dà sukà cînyē macìjîn sai waďànnân mutânē sukà fārà jîn wani àbù nâ muřďâ musù cikin cikkunànsù...dàgà nan kuma sai sukà shìga yîn amai**...

'...OK where the problem [3f.FOC-PF] started was that after they ate up the snake then these men [3pl.FOC-PF] started to feel something twisting the inside of their stomachs...then they [3pl.FOC-PF] started to vomit...

wâshêgàrī sai sukà tāshì sukà bař gàrîn

'then next day they [3pl.FOC-PF] got up and [3pl.FOC-PF] left the town'

A number of complex subordinators formed with the relativizer **dà**, including adnominal relative formations, regularly initiate past-time narrative sequences and so use narrative-tracking Focus Perfective TAMs, e.g. **bāyân dà** 'after', **kō dà** 'as soon as', **(lōkàcîn) dà** 'when', **sā'àd/sā'àn dà (= sâddà/sândà)** 'when'. These subordinators contribute to the cohesion of the narrative discourse, often reaffirming or repeating a preceding or presupposed event. The correlative endpoint conjunction **sai** 'then' is regularly used in the subsequent Focus Perfective clause. Examples:

lōkàcîn dà sukà dāwō sai mukà gayâ musù lâbārìn

'when they returned then we told them the news'

kō dà mukà fàhìnci bâ zâi yìwu ba, sai mukà dànganà

'as soon as we realized it wouldn't be possible, then we resigned ourselves'

dà gàrī ya wāyè, sai sukà tāshì

'when dawn broke, they then left'

sâddà ta bař makařantā sai ta yi aurē

'when she left school she then got married'

bāyân dà sukà dāwō dàgà Amìřkà, sai sukà yi màganà dà 'yan-jàřìdū
'after they returned from the USA, they then talked with journalists'

The Focus Perfective can also be used in open conditionals to describe an event already completed or state obtaining in relation to the consequent matrix clause event, e.g. **ìdan kikà kintsà, sai mù tàfi** 'if you're ready (have got ready), let's go', as a near synonymous alternative to the Perfective, i.e. **ìdan kin kintsà, sai mù tàfi**.

A common narrative strategy uses an initial circumstantial clause with a backgrounding Imperfective TAM, followed by a Focus Perfective for simultaneous climactic effect:

inà zàune inà kallon talàbijìn, sai akà ɗâukē manà wutā
'I was sitting watching television, when the lights went out on us'
àkwai wata mōtà tanà gàba, sai ya zō ya ficè mu
'there was a car in front, then he (the other driver) came and overtook us'

Alternatively, the Focus Perfective can set a time-frame during which another narrative event simultaneously takes place:

sâddà mukà gan shì, yanà zàune bàkin hanyà
'when we saw him, he was sitting by the side of the road'
yàyîn dà mukà isō, anà ruwā 'when we arrived, it was raining'

The Focus Perfective can also follow a clause with a Future TAM to express an imminent "future-in-the-past" construction, typically delimited by the phrasal restrictor **kè nan** 'that is'. Examples:

zân fìta kè nan sai akà fārà ruwā
'I was about to go out when it started raining'
zâi yi màganà dà 'yan-jàřìdū kè nan sai 'yan-sàndā sukà isō
'he was on the point of talking to journalists when the police arrived'

5. Negative Perfective

Table 9 gives the Negative Perfective paradigm, exemplified with the finite verb **tàfi** 'go':

Table 9. Negative Perfective

sg.		pl.	
1	**bàn tàfi ba**	1	**bà mù tàfi ba**
2m.	**bà kà tàfi ba**	2	**bà kù tàfi ba**
2f.	**bà kì tàfi ba**		
3m.	**bài tàfi ba**	3	**bà sù tàfi ba**
3f.	**bà tà tàfi ba**		
		4	**bà à tàfi ba**

5.1. Forms

There is only one negative paradigm for both the (general) Perfective and Focus Perfective sets. The Negative Perfective surrounds the finite clause subject-agreement pronoun and predicate with the discontinuous clausal negative markers **bà**...**ba**, the initial **bà** following any overt subject NP, the second **ba** usually occurring in clause-final position. The Negative Perfective has different subject-agreement pronouns from those occurring in the affirmative sets—they have a light (CV) syllable and a default L tone with a Ø TAM-marker. (This set is a reflex of the historically basic, unmarked proto-paradigm or "Grundaspekt", see Newman & Schuh 1974). The initial short-vowel, L tone negative morpheme **bà** cliticizes to the following SAP (written separately in the orthography), e.g. **bà-kà** (2m), **bà-tà** (3f), etc., and the 1st and 3rd person masculine singular forms contract to **bàn** (< **bà-nà**) and **bài** (< **bà-yà**) respectively.

5.2. Functions

The Negative Perfective is used to express negative assertions in main clauses (including *yes-no* questions):

Hàlīmà bà tà kāwō kuɗī ba 'Halima didn't bring the money'
Halima NEG 3f.PF bring money NEG
bàn gamà aikìn ba 'I haven't finished the work'
NEG.1sg.PF finish work.DD(m) NEG
hař yànzu bà kà gamầ ba? 'haven't you finished yet?'
bài kàmātà kà yi hakà ba 'it is not fitting that you do that'
bàn dầmu dà nà sầdu dà ita ba 'I'm not bothered about meeting her'
yârân bà sù zō ba jiyà 'the children didn't come yesterday'
(Notice that time-adverbs can follow the second **ba.**)
...**sukà fāɗầ cikin rāmì, sai mōtàř ta kafề, àmmā bà tà jūyầ ba**
'...they fell into a hole, then the car got stuck, but it didn't roll over'

Examples of the Negative Perfective in contexts which would, if affirmative, require a Focus Perfective TAM (i.e. focus, *wh*-questions, relative clauses) are:

Audù nē bài zō ajì ba 'it's *Audu* who didn't come to class'
àkwai wandà bà kà sanì ba à nân?
'is there anyone that you don't know here?'
ìnā waɗàndà bà sù ci ba? 'where are the ones who didn't pass?'
su-wầ bà sù kāwō aikìnsù ba? 'who haven't brought their work?'

In a chain of coordinate negative clauses, the closing negator **ba** appears at the end of, and scopes, the entire conjoint sentence, and non-initial clauses can take either the Perfective or Focus Perfective TAM if syntactically required. Examples:

bà mù jē mun kàlli fîm ba 'we didn't go see the film'
NEG 1pl.PF go 1pl.PF see film NEG
bà tà tāshì [tā]$_{PF}$ **zō ba** 'she hasn't got up and come'
Mammàn nē bài zō ajì [ya]$_{FOC\text{-}PF}$ **ɗàuki jařřàbâwā ba**
'it was *Mamman* who didn't come to class and take the exam'

A Perfective TAM clause can be bracketed and scoped by the negative equational markers **bầ** (**wai**)...**ba** 'it's not (the case) that...' to reinforce a negative assertion:

bầ wai màtātā [**tā**]$_{PF}$ **tàfi yājì ba** 'it's not that my wife has left in a huff'
bầ wai [**nā**]$_{PF}$ **yi niyyàř kōmầwā ba** 'it's not the case that I plan to return'

The Negative Perfective can also express context-sensitive past perfect and future perfect meanings:

sâddà sukà tầru bà mù isō ba 'when they met we hadn't arrived'
kā san in bābù kuɗī, lōkàcin Bellò zâi zō, àmmā bàn sayầ masà kōmē ba
'you know that if there's no money, Bello's turn will come, but I will not have (have not) bought anything for him'

It also regularly occurs in subordinate clauses:

yā gayầ minì bà sù isō ba 'he told me they hadn't arrived'
ìdan bà mù sầmu gidā ba, zā mù shā wàhalầ
'if we don't get a house, we'll be in trouble'
kù tāshì tun bà sù gan kù ba 'leave before they see you'
inầ jîn yunwầ don bàn ci àbinci ba 'I'm hungry because I haven't eaten'
(in) dầ bài ɓad dà kàmā ba, dầ bài tsērè ba
'if he hadn't disguised himself, he would not have escaped'

6. Imperfective

Table 10 gives the affirmative Imperfective paradigm, illustrated with the nonfinite verbal noun **zuwầ** 'coming':

Table 10. Imperfective

sg.		pl.	
1	**inà zuwà**	1	**munà zuwà**
2m.	**kanà zuwà**	2	**kunà zuwà**
2f.	**kinà zuwà**		
3m.	**yanà zuwà**	3	**sunà zuwà**
3f.	**tanà zuwà**		
		4	**anà zuwà**

6.1. Forms

The Imperfective person-aspect complex is morphologically divisible and consists of a H polar tone, light (CV) syllable SAP, attached to an overt inflectional L tone **-nà** TAM-marker, e.g. (1sg) **i-nà** (= ['nnà]), (3f) **ta-nà**, etc. As is the case with some other PACs containing a consonant-initial TAM-marker, the 3rd person SAP is deletable with an expressed subject, e.g. **Audù (ya)nà kintsàwā** 'Audu is getting ready'.

6.2. Functions

The affirmative Imperfective, as well as the Focus Imperfective and Negative Imperfective TAMs, occurs with both verbal and non-verbal predicates.

6.2.1. Verbal predicates

In verbal constructions, where the verb would appear in its finite form with other TAMs, the Imperfective occurs with either: (1) a nonfinite verbal noun, e.g. [**yanà**]$_{\text{IMPF}}$ [**zuwà**]$_{\text{VN}}$ 'he is coming' (in some cases the form used is identical to the finite verb); or (2) a dynamic-activity noun, e.g. [**sunà**]$_{\text{IMPF}}$ [(**yîn**)]$_{\text{VN}}$ **màganà** 'they are talking' (with optional verbal noun **yîn** 'doing').

When occurring with predicates containing a verbal or dynamic noun, the Imperfective encompasses the tense-aspect dimensions of both durativity (action-in-progress) and habituality, and is used to highlight the internal time-structuring

of the situation relative to a given time-point. (The Imperfective is also variously known as the "Continuative", "Progressive", and (Newman 2000: chap. 70) "Continuous".) The default time locus is the speech time (= English present progressive "is X-ing"), but a context-sensitive past construal (= past progressive "was X-ing", usually with a past-time adverb), or future interpretation ("will be X-ing", usually with a future-time adverb) is possible. Whereas the Perfective encapsulates the beginning and end of a single-phase situation (= completed action), the Imperfective denotes an ongoing situation with changes of phase, leaving the endpoint unspecified (= incompleted action). Examples of the Imperfective expressing durativity are:

inȁ kallon wȁsan ƙwallō 'I'm watching the (soccer) game'
1sg.IMPF watch.VN.of game.of ball
à lōkàcîn inȁ kallon wȁsan ƙwallō
at time.DD(m) 1sg.IMPF watch.VN.of game.of ball
'at the time I was watching the (soccer) game'
kinȁ jî? 'are you listening?'
kanȁ aikȉ gȍbe? 'are you/will you be working tomorrow?'
inȁ kar̃àntà jàr̃īdàr̃ 'I'm reading the newspaper'
yanȁ kintsȁwā 'he is getting ready'
anȁ kirànkà 'you're being called'
inȁ zuwȁ 'I'm coming/on my way'
(= imminent future event with **zō** 'come')
tanȁ dafà àbincin rāna 'she's cooking lunch'
(also = habitual 'she cooks lunch', see below)

In narrative sequences, the durative Imperfective often occurs in circumstantial clauses where it expresses an ongoing activity which overlaps with the backbone Focus Perfective-tracked narrative events (the switch to a focus TAM in narrative only applies to the Perfective). Examples:

sai mukà jē mukà tsayȁ à bȁkin hanyȁ, duk gàbanmù <u>yanȁ</u> fāɗùwā
'then we went and stopped by the side of the road, our hearts fluttering'

yanà shìgā cikin gidā sai 'yan-sàndā sukà kāmà shi
'he was entering the house when the police arrested him'
Note too: **yanà tàfiyà yanà shân sìgārì sai ya ga wani mùtûm**
'he was going along smoking a cigarette when he saw a man'
where the sequence of Imperfective TAMs expresses a chain of simultaneous events.

The Imperfective also regularly indicates non-durative iterative-habitual actions, present or past time. Examples:

yârân sunà jìfàn birai dà duwàtsū
'the children throw stones at the monkeys'
yanà zuwà ōfis dà sāfe 'he comes to the office in the morning'
dâ yanà zuwà ōfis dà sāfe
'(formerly) he used to come to the office in the morning'

It is also used to express timeless generic situations:

à ƙasař Hausa dàminā tanà zuwà bāyan bazarā
'in Hausaland the rainy season comes after the hot season'
dūniyà tanà jūyàwā sàu ɗaya kōwàcè rānā
'the earth revolves once every day'

The 3rd person sg./pl. subject-agreement pronoun can be dropped in the Imperfective if the coreferential subject NP is overtly expressed (Jaggar 1985: 114ff., Tuller 1986, 1989). Examples:

yârân [Ø-**nà**] **jìfàn birai dà duwàtsū**
'the children throw stones at the monkeys'
Mūsā [Ø-**nà**] **dafà àbinci** 'Musa is cooking the food'
manòmîn [Ø-**nà**] **hùɗař dōyà** 'the farmer is banking up yams'

SAP-deletion is also possible in successive same-subject coordinate clauses with a durative sense, in which case the non-initial clause has no overt subject. Deletion of both SAPs seems to be especially common if the initial predicate is not complex (heavy). Examples:

Audù [Ø-**nà**] **can** [Ø-**nà**] **fāmā dà wāshìn wuƙā**
'Audu was there struggling to sharpen the knife'
ɗàlìbai [Ø-**nà**] **nan** [Ø-**nà**] **zàngà-zangà**
'the students are there demonstrating'

In a sequence of tightly conjoined, typically habitual clauses, the Imperfective TAM is usually replaced by the default Neutral L tone TAM-less SAP in all non-initial finite verb clauses (§12). Examples:

[**yanà**]$_{\text{IMPF}}$ **tāshì dà àsùbâ**, [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **yi wankā**, [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **tàfi sallà**
'he gets up at dawn, washes and goes to pray'
maƙèran Tamburāwā [**nà**]$_{\text{IMPF}}$ **zuwà Kanò kōwàcè ran Jumma'à** [**sù** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **kai kāyan ƙīrà kàsuwā** [**sù** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **sayař**
'the blacksmiths of Tamburawa go to Kano every Friday and take metal products and sell'

With Imperfective TAMs, the predicate head can also be a dynamic-activity noun preceded by the general verb **yi** 'do' which optionally surfaces in the verbo-nominal form **yîn** ('doing.of' < **yî** + **-n** linker). Their cooccurrence with Imperfective TAMs and the optional deletion of the semantically redundant **yîn** verbal noun is attributable to the fact that these action-in-progress dynamic nouns, e.g. 'sing, play, dance, sleep, cry, smile, laugh, pray, think, work, etc.', are aspectually durative and non-telic (with no inherent endpoint). Examples (with **yîn** in parentheses):

kanà (**yîn**) **azùmī**? 'are you fasting?'
(lit. 2m.IMPF (doing.of) fast)

Audù nà (yîn) sallà yànzu 'Audu is praying at the moment'
munà (yîn) màganà 'we are talking'
yârā sunà (yîn) wàsā 'the children are playing'
tanà (yîn) àl'ādà 'she is menstruating' (lit. 'custom, habit')
dâ sunà (yîn) baƙin cikì gàme dà wannàn
'they used to be unhappy about this'
anà (yîn) sallamà 'someone is asking permission to enter'
yànzu Mòhammèd yanà (yîn) mālantà à Jāmi'àř Màidugùři
'now Mohammed is teaching at the University of Maiduguri'
sunà (yîn) tàfîye-tàfîye 'they are travelling around'
sunà (yîn) kàɗe-kàɗe 'they are drumming'
(The last two dynamic nouns are deverbal repetitive-frequentative formations.)

6.2.2. Non-verbal stative predicates

Non-verbal stative constructions—often expressed by copular verbs cross-linguistically—describe a state of affairs and use an Imperfective TAM with one of four possible predicate types (see **§11**:6.2 for more details). These are:

1. Possessive HAVE ('with X') sentences consisting of an Imperfective TAM + preposition **dà** 'with' + noun (concrete or abstract), e.g. **Audù nà [dà kuɗī]** 'Audu has money' (Audu IMPF with money), **yanà [dà nauyī]** 'it is heavy' (3m.IMPF with heaviness).
2. Imperfective TAM + stationary locative predicate, e.g. (adverb or prepositional phrase) **yanà [ciki]** 'it's inside', **sunà [kân kujèrā]** 'they're on top of the chair', **tàkàřdûn sunà [nân]** 'the papers are here'.
3. Imperfective TAM + deverbal stative adverb, e.g. **yanà [zàune]** 'he's sitting down', **Bintà tanà [rìƙe dà jàkā]** 'Binta is holding a bag'.
4. Equational-like expressions consisting of an Imperfective TAM + complement (often human-denoting) common noun or adjective, e.g. (affirmative only) **inà [yārò] à lōkàcîn** 'I was a boy at the time', **yanà [ƙàramī]** 'he is small'.

7. Focus Imperfective-1

Table 11 gives the Focus Imperfective-1 paradigm with the nonfinite verbal noun **zuwà̀** 'coming':

Table 11. Focus Imperfective-1

sg.		pl.	
1	**nakè̀ zuwà̀**	1	**mukè̀ zuwà̀**
2m.	**kakè̀ zuwà̀**	2	**kukè̀ zuwà̀**
2f.	**kikè̀ zuwà̀**		
3m.	**yakè̀ zuwà̀**	3	**sukè̀ zuwà̀**
3f.	**takè̀ zuwà̀**		
		4	**akè̀ zuwà̀**

7.1. Forms

The Focus Imperfective-1 set has the same H (polar) tone, light syllable (CV) subject-agreement pronoun as the Imperfective, again deletable with an overt subject, followed by a L tone, heavy (CVV) syllable TAM-marker **-kè̀**, e.g. (1sg) **na-kè̀**, (3f) **ta-kè̀**, etc. The **-kè̀** TAM-morpheme corresponds to **-kà** in WH (Gouffé 1966/67), and is minimally distinct from the *short* vowel Focus Imperfective-2 **-kè** allomorph used with *non*-verbal predicates (see R. M. Newman 1976 for details).

7.2. Functions

The **-kè̀** Focus Imperfective-1 substitutes for the (general) Imperfective with verbal and dynamic-activity predicates in the same syntactically-conditioned affirmative focus environments—focus, relativization, *wh*-interrogation, and *wh*-ever constructions—as activate the Focus Perfective TAM (§4). Examples (with verbal noun, verbal and dynamic noun predicates, see **§12** for details):

aikī <u>nakè̀</u> nēmā 'it's *work* I'm looking for'
work 1sg.FOC-IMPF-1 look for.VN

wā (ya)kè kōyař dà Hausa bana?	'who is teaching Hausa this year?'
who (3m)FOC-IMPF-1 teach Hausa this year	
gā yārinyàř dà nakè sô	'there is the girl I love'
mè kikè dafàwā?	'what are you cooking?'
kōmè kikè sô zân bā kì	'whatever you want I'll give you'
wàcē cè (ta)kè (yîn) sùřūtù?	'who is chattering?'
barcī yakè (yî)	'he's *sleeping*'

The **-kè** Focus Imperfective-1 TAM, in addition to the **-kè** Focus Imperfective-2 TAM (§8), can also be used with non-verbal predicates containing a locative prepositional phrase headed by a genitive (noun.of) preposition. Examples:

su-wā sukè(e) cikin kàntī?	'who are in the shop?'
mōtàtā cè takè(e) gàban gidā	'it's *my car* that's in front of the house'
kā ga mōtàř dà takè(e) gìndin waccàn kūkà?	
'do you see the car that is under that baobab tree?'	

Some speakers allow the long **-kè** allomorph with stative and stationary locative predicates, though the **-kè** Focus Imperfective-2 form is probably more common here (§8). Examples:

wā yakè(e) zàune cân?	'who's sitting over there?'
jàkâř dà takè(e) ƙùnshe dà miyàgun ƙwāyōyī	
'the bag that contained drugs'	
yârân dà sukè(e) makařantā yànzu	'the children who are at school now'
yāròn dà yakè(e) can Ingìlà	'the boy who is there in England'

The subject-agreement pronoun (any person) is commonly dropped with overt subjects in syntactic contexts requiring a **-kè** Focus Imperfective-1 TAM. Examples:

yārinyàř dà [Ø-kè] sônkà	'the girl who likes you'
girl.DD(f) REL [Ø-FOC-IMPF-1] like.VN.of.2m	

àbîn dà [Ø-kè] dāmǔnā shī nè...	'what's bothering me is...'
kē dà [Ø-kè] cêwā bà hakà ba nè?	'you who are saying this is not so?'
wà [Ø-kè] zuwà?	'who's coming?'

Note that the overt subject does not have to be in position *immediately* before the TAM for SAP-drop to apply, e.g. **Audù nē [Ø-kè] zuwà nân kullum** 'it's *Audu* who comes here regularly'.

8. Focus Imperfective-2

Table 12 gives the SH Focus Imperfective-2 paradigm, exemplified with the non-verbal possessive ('be with') predicate **dà mōtà** 'with car':

Table 12. Focus Imperfective-2

sg.		pl.	
1	**nakè dà mōtà**	1	**mukè dà mōtà**
2m.	**kakè dà mōtà**	2	**kukè dà mōtà**
2f.	**kikè dà mōtà**		
3m.	**yakè dà mōtà**	3	**sukè dà mōtà**
3f.	**takè dà mōtà**		
		4	**akè dà mōtà**

8.1. Forms

The Focus Imperfective-2 set has the same H (polar) tone, monomoraic (CV) subject-agreement pronoun as the Imperfective, followed by a L tone, *light* (CV) syllable TAM-marker **-kè**, e.g. (1sg) **na-kè**, (3f) **ta-kè**, etc. If the SAP is omitted with an overt subject, the TAM-marker lengthens to **/-kè̀/**, making it identical with the Focus Imperfective-1 marker, e.g. **Mūsā nè̀ [ya-kè̀] dà sābuwař mōtà** → **Mūsā nè̀ [Ø-kè̀] dà sābuwař mōtà** 'it's *Musa* who has a new car'. (Cf. the Focus Imperfective-1 TAM in **Mūsā nè̀ [(ya)kè̀] sayař dà mōtōcī** 'it's *Musa* who is selling cars', i.e. with a verbal predicate.)

8.2. Functions

The general rule is that the **-kè** Focus Imperfective-2 allomorph replaces the general Imperfective in affirmative focus constructions (focus, *wh*-questions, relative clauses) containing *non-verbal* predicates (see R. M. Newman 1976). The predicate can be headed by a core preposition, e.g. **à** 'in, at, on, etc.', or **dà** 'with' (= possessive HAVE). Examples:

hōdàř kǒkên, wàddà takè à nànnàďe cikin řōbà...
powder.of cocaine RELPRO(f) 3f.FOC-IMPF-2 at wrap.STAT in condom
'the cocaine, which was wrapped up in a condom...'

su-wà sukè gàrē shì?	'who are with (supporting) him?'
wà yakè dà mōtà nân?	'who has a car here?'
mătařsà cē takè dà faďà	'it's his *wife* who is quarrelsome'

The **-kè** Focus Imperfective-2 is also used if the non-verbal predicate is extracted and frontshifted under focus:

à zàune sukè	'they're *sitting down*'
at sit down.STAT 3pl.FOC-IMPF-2	
bà à tsàye takè ba	'she's not *standing up*'
can yakè	'he's *over there*'
dà gàngan kakè	'you're *joking*'
à cikin àkwătì yakè	'it's *in the box*'

It also occurs in *wh*-questions and relative clauses:

ìnā yârân sukè yànzu?	'where are the children now?'
nā san indà takè	'I know where she is'

With stative and stationary locative (including genitive preposition-headed) predicates, the **-kè** Focus Imperfective-2 variant is the norm in SH:

ɓàrâyī dà sukè tàfe dà wuƙā 'thieves who carry a knife'
thieves REL 3pl.FOC-IMPF-2 travel.STAT with knife
jàkā cè yakè rìƙe dà ita 'it's a *bag* he's holding'
mutânên dà sukè masallācī 'the people who are at the mosque'
yārinyàř dà takè gidā yànzu 'the girl who is at home now'
su-wâ sukè cikin kàntī? 'who are in the shop?'

The **-kè** Focus Imperfective-2 form is used in relative clauses which contain embedded non-verbal equational, existential and presentative clauses:

yārinyàř [dà takè ita 'yař sakandàřề cē]
girl.DD(f) REL 3f.FOC-IMPF-2 3f daughter.of secondary COP(f)
'a girl who is a secondary school student'
kadà kà sàyi mōtàř [dà takè tsōhuwā]
'don't buy a car that [3f.FOC-IMPF-2] is old' (= predicative adjective)
ďākìn [dà yakè àkwai zāfī dà yawâ] 'a room which is too hot'
(lit...REL 3m.FOC-IMPF-2 there is heat much)
irìn shaƙiyyancìn [dà yakè gâ shi yā cī wà mālàminsà àmānâ]
'the kind of shameless behaviour whereby [3m.FOC-IMPF-2] there he is he has betrayed his teacher's trust'
Note too: **lōkàcîn [dà nakè mālàmī]**
'when (the time that) I [1sg.FOC-IMPF-2] was a teacher'
(= simple adnominal relative clause)

It also occurs as a dummy 3m pro-relative element in some complex subordinators:

[kō dà yakè] hakà nē, bàn yàřda ba
even though so COP(m) NEG.1sg.PF agree NEG
'even though that is so, I don't agree'
[tun dà yakè] kin kāwō takàřdâř, sai mù dūbâ
'since you've brought the paper, let's look (at it)'

[duk dà yakè] an yi ruwā jiyà, sun yi aikì à gōnā
'even though it rained yesterday, they worked on the farm'

Examples of SAP-deletion with the TAM-marker then surfacing as long **-kè**, whatever the predicate type, are:

nī [Ø-kè] dà wannàn 'this is *mine*'
(1sg FOC-IMPF-1 with this)
lōkàcîn dà Nìjēřiyà [Ø-kè] dà kudī 'when Nigeria was rich'
(...FOC-IMPF-1 with money)
gāwàwwakîn dà [Ø-kè] à wàřwàtse bàkin hanyà
'the corpses that were scattered by the roadside' (...FOC-IMPF-1 at scattered...)

9. Negative Imperfective (*bā...*) and Negative-HAVE Imperfective (*bâ...*)

Standard Kano Hausa has two negative sets in the Imperfective, the choice of which is determined by the predicate type. If the predicate is possessive **dà**-headed, then the special Negative-HAVE paradigm is used, exemplified in the frame **[dà mōtà]** 'with (has) car' in Table 13. In all other contexts, the Negative Imperfective is selected, illustrated with the verbal noun **zuwà** 'coming' in Table 13.

Table 13. Negative Imperfective and Negative-HAVE Imperfective

	Negative Imperfective	Negative-HAVE Imperfective
1sg.	**bā nà/bân zuwà**	**bâ ni/bân dà mōtà**
2m.	**bā kà zuwà**	**bâ ka dà mōtà**
2f.	**bā kyà zuwà**	**bâ ki dà mōtà**
3m.	**bā yà/bâi zuwà**	**bâ shi/bâ ya/bâi dà mōtà**
3f.	**bā tà zuwà**	**bâ ta dà mōtà**
1pl.	**bā mà zuwà**	**bâ mu dà mōtà**
2pl.	**bā kwà zuwà**	**bâ ku dà mōtà**
3pl.	**bā sà zuwà**	**bâ su dà mōtà**
4pl.	**bā à zuwà**	**bâ a dà mōtà**

9.1. Forms of the Negative Imperfective and Negative-HAVE Imperfective

The Negative Imperfective uses a single H tone, long vowel negative morpheme **bā** plus a long vowel L tone person-aspect complex containing a TAM suffix **-à̄**, e.g. **bā-sà̄ zuwà̄** 'they are not coming' (= orthographically separate words). The **-à̄** morpheme is also the TAM-marker for the Potential (§15). The 2f **kyà̄** and 2pl **kwà̄** forms derive respectively from **ki** [kyi] + **-à̄** and **ku** [kwu] + **-à̄** sequences. The 1sg **bā-nà̄** and 3m **bā-yà̄** negative + PAC sequences optionally contract to **bân** and **bâi.**

With Negative-HAVE **dà**-marked predicates, the required paradigm uses a Falling tone negative marker **bâ** plus a H tone, short vowel enclitic pronoun, e.g. **bâ-su dà kuɗī** 'they don't have any money' (= orthographically separate words), with optional contraction and deletion of the final H tone in the 1sg (**bâ-ni** → **bân**) and 3m (**bâ-ya** → **bâi**). (The quasi-TAM Negative-HAVE configuration is probably an extended usage of the negative existential functor **bâ** plus H tone object pronoun construction.) In some WH dialects, the Negative-HAVE set is used with verbal (noun) predicates, e.g. **bâ ya shân giyà̄** 'he doesn't drink (beer)' (= SH Negative Imperfective **bā yà̄ shân giyà̄**).

9.2. Functions of the Negative Imperfective and Negative-HAVE Imperfective

The Negative Imperfective expresses the continuing non-realization of an event or state—(default) present, past or (less commonly) future time—and it often has a negative progressive value. It functions as the negative for both the (general) Imperfective and Focus Imperfective TAMs in all syntactic contexts with the exception of SH possessive HAVE predicates (see below). Examples:

bā nà̄ jîn yunwà̄	'I'm not hungry'
NEG 1sg.IMPF feel.VN.of hunger	
bā yà̄ wàsā	'he's serious (not playing)'
NEG 3m.IMPF playing	
Audù bā yà̄ nan à lōkàcîn	'Audu wasn't there at the time'

gòbe wàřhakà bā nà̀ nân	'this time tomorrow I won't be here'
ita cè̀ bā nà̀ sô	'it's *her* I don't like'
mùtumìn bā yà̀ ɗàuke dà kōmē	'the man wasn't carrying anything'
'yan-sìyāsàn dà bā sà̀ tsàre	'the politicians who are not imprisoned'
rìgâř bā tà̀ cikin àkwàtì	'the gown isn't in the box'
don mè̀ bā kà̀ azùmī?	'why aren't you fasting?'
àbìn dà bā tà̀ sô kè̀ nan	'that's what she doesn't want'
bā nà̀ aikì̀ gòbe	'I'm not working tomorrow'

It can also express the habitual non-realization of an event/activity (and for some speakers functions as the negative of the Habitual TAM, §10). Examples:

bā nà̀ shân tābà̀	'I don't smoke (tobacco)'
don mè̀ bā kyà̀ zuwà̀ makařantā?	'why don't you go to school?'
shī nè̀ bā yà̀ sallà̀	'*he* is the one who doesn't pray'
bā yà̀ tàfe dà wuƙā	'he doesn't carry a knife'

hakà kuma bā à̀ kāmà kīfī à ràfîn don fa kō...
'so too fish aren't caught in the stream because even if...'
yànzu bā tà̀ màganà̀ in tanà̀ cîn àbinci
'nowadays she doesn't talk when she's eating'
(= simultaneous same-subject Negative Imperfective + Imperfective)

Examples of the SH Negative-HAVE + **dà**-marked predicates, with concrete and abstract noun complements, are:

bân dà kōmē	'I don't have anything'
NEG.1sg with everything	
bâ ka dà bīzà̀?	'don't you have a visa?'
NEG 2m with visa	
mùtumìn dà bâ shi dà aurē	'a man who isn't married'
Kànde bâ ta dà lāfiyà̀	'Kande is sick' (lit...NEG 3f with health)

Gàmbo nề bâ shi dà mōtǎ	'it's *Gambo* who doesn't have a car'
yārònā bâ shi dà ƙarfī	'my boy isn't strong'
(...NEG 3m with strength)	
yārinyàř nân bâ ta dà kunyǎ	'this girl has no shame'
bâ ku dà hankàlī	'you have no sense'

In some dialects the Negative Imperfective paradigm can occur with possessive-HAVE **dà**-predicates, as an alternative to the more common **bâ** + H tone pronoun construction, e.g. **bā yǎ dà nauyī** 'it isn't heavy' (= SH **bâ shi dà nauyī**), **bā tǎ dà mōtǎ** 'she doesn't have a car' (= SH **bâ ta dà mōtǎ**).

10. Habitual and Negative Habitual

The Habitual and Negative Habitual TAMs are illustrated with the finite verb **yi** 'do, make' in Table 14:

Table 14. Habitual and Negative Habitual

	Habitual	Negative Habitual
1sg.	**nakàn/nikàn yi**	**bà(a) nakàn/nikàn yi ba**
2m.	**kakàn yi**	**bà(a) kakàn yi ba**
2f.	**kikàn yi**	**bà(a) kikàn yi ba**
3m.	**yakàn yi**	**bà(a) yakàn yi ba**
3f.	**takàn yi**	**bà(a) takàn yi ba**
1pl.	**mukàn yi**	**bà(a) mukàn yi ba**
2pl.	**kukàn yi**	**bà(a) kukàn yi ba**
3pl.	**sukàn yi**	**bà(a) sukàn yi ba**
4pl.	**akàn yi**	**bà(a) akàn yi ba**

10.1. Forms

The Habitual consists of a H (polar) tone CV subject-agreement pronoun, deletable with an overt subject in the affirmative, attached to a L tone TAM-suffix **-kàn**, e.g. (1sg) **na-kàn** or **ni-kàn**, (3f) **ta-kàn**, etc. (= single orthographic

words). Although described here as a suffix, modal particle placement in such examples as **[ya kồ kàn] jē masallācī kullum** 'and he goes to the mosque regularly' indicates that, for some speakers at least, the **-kàn** element is separable. The Negative Habitual parallels the Negative Future (§13), Negative Allative (§14), and Negative Potential (§15) paradigms in using either **bà...ba** (with initial proclitic **bà-**) or **bầ...ba**, depending upon the speaker, though the initial long vowel **bầ** variant is probably the more common pattern in SH. Some speakers prefer to switch to the Negative Imperfective paradigm to express a negative habitual meaning.

10.2. Functions

The Habitual is used to encode activities/events, present and past, with a habitual, customary time-reference—and so overlaps partially with the Imperfective—but can also express sporadic actions. It is freely used in general and focus (focus, *wh*-question, relative clause) contexts. Examples:

akàn sāmù à kầsuwā 'it's usually found in the market'
4pl.HAB find in market
nakàn jē masallācī kōwàcè Jumma'ầ, àmmā yâu...
1sg.HAB go mosque every Friday but today
'I go to the mosque every Friday, but today...'
dâ yakàn shā giyầ, àmmā yànzu yā dainầ
'he used to drink alcohol before, but now he's stopped'
(= 'used to...' with past-time reference)
sukàn tāshì dà ƙarfề bakwài 'they get up at 7 o'clock'
bầ yakàn ci irìn wannàn àbinci kullum ba
'he doesn't eat this kind of food all the time'
bầ fa nakàn tàfi makaɗantā ba kullum
'I certainly don't go to school always'
(with light modal particle **fa** inserted between negative **bầ** and PAC)

shī nɛ̀ ɗālìbîn dà yakàn yi sǔřūtǔ cikin ajì
'*he* is the student who chatters in class'
hakà mukàn yi à nân gàrîn '*that's* what we do here in this town'
wàcè irìn dàbāřà kukàn yi? 'what kind of plan do you adopt?'

Because the Habitual expresses customary activities which are sporadic and intermittent, it combines freely with time-adverbs expressing irregular frequency:

nakàn jē cōcì lōkàcī lōkàcī 'I go to church from time to time'
takàn shā tābà̀ lōkàcī lōkàcī 'she smokes from time to time'

SAP-deletion is common in the affirmative paradigm with an overt subject:

yāròn dà [Ø-kàn] yi hakà, yā kàmātà à bugà masà tsāwā
'a boy who does this should be scolded'
bàkī [Ø-kàn] yankà wuyà̀ 'think before you speak'
(lit. mouth Ø-HAB cut throat)
nī [Ø-kàn] ɗēbō ruwā 'it's *I* who draws the water'

In coordinate clauses the Habitual is replaced by the default L tone TAM-less Neutral marker (§12) in non-initial clauses:

ran Lahàdì [takàn]$_{\text{HAB}}$ **tāshì dà wuri, [tà** Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **ci adō,**
[tà Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **ɗauki tầsî, [tà** Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **tàfi cōcì**
'on Sunday she gets up early, gets dressed up, takes a taxi, and goes to church'

11. Subjunctive and Negative Subjunctive

Table 15 illustrates the Subjunctive and Negative Subjunctive paradigms with the finite verb **tàfi** 'go':

Table 15. Subjunctive and Negative Subjunctive

	Subjunctive	Negative Subjunctive
1sg.	**ìn/nà tàfi**	**kadà ìn/nà tàfi**
2m.	**kà tàfi**	**kadà kà tàfi**
2f.	**kì tàfi**	**kadà kì tàfi**
3m.	**yà tàfi**	**kadà yà tàfi**
3f.	**tà tàfi**	**kadà tà tàfi**
1pl.	**mù tàfi**	**kadà mù tàfi**
2pl.	**kù tàfi**	**kadà kù tàfi**
3pl.	**sù tàfi**	**kadà sù tàfi**
4pl.	**à tàfi**	**kadà à tàfi**

11.1. Forms

The Subjunctive is morphologically the most simple TAM and consists of a L tone, monomoraic subject-agreement pronoun with no suffix, i.e. the TAM-marker, e.g. [**yà** Ø-TAM], is phonologically null. With the exception of the 1st person singular, where **nà** is a frequent alternative to **ìn** (= syllabic nasal [ˋn]), there is no morphological variation. The Subjunctive is directly negated with the clause-initial prohibitive particle **kadà** 'don't, shouldn't, etc.', followed by the affirmative TAM paradigm. **Kadà** regularly apocopates to **kâr̃** following final vowel deletion, in which case the H tone merges with the following L to produce a Fall, the final /**d**/ rhotacizes to /**r̃**/, and the resulting **r̃** often assimilates to the following conconant (= **kâC**). When attached to the Subjunctive SAP, both **kâr̃** and **kâC** can further simplify tonally to H **kar̃** and **kaC** respectively.

11.2. Functions

The Subjunctive TAM is basically a modal, often non-factual, category which expresses a wide range of context-sensitive, and sometimes overlapping, illocutionary acts, including commands, prohibitions, permission, intentions, instructions, proposals, suggestions, obligations, responsibility, requests, wishes, etc. (see McIntyre 1983). The Subjunctive has both main and

subordinate clause usages. However, as a modal category it is semantically incompatible with focus (focus, *wh*-questions, relative clause) constructions, where the Future is often used as an alternative.

In independent clauses the Subjunctive has a mandatory force and is used to express affirmative commands and prohibitions to a 2nd person singular or plural addressee. It is also used freely, e.g. in a hortative sense, with 1st person, 3rd person and indefinite 4pl referents (cf. the affirmative Imperative which can only be used for 2nd person singular addressees, and which is unmarked for number and gender, §**11**:4). Examples:

kū yârā kù tāshì kù tàfi!
2pl kids 2pl.SJN leave 2pl.SJN go
'you kids, leave (2pl) and be off (2pl) with you!'

don Allàh kà barì! 'for God's sake stop (2m)!'
because of God 2m.SJN stop

kì kāwō àbinci! 'bring (2f) the food!'
(cf. the corresponding Imperative **kàwō àbinci!**)

yà zō mànà 'let him come then'

mù tàfi yànzu 'let's go now'

ìn zō ōfishinkà? 'should I come to your office?'

à shigō dà kāyā 'the stuff should be brought in'

yà mai dà hankàlī 'he ought to take care'

Prohibitive **kadà** + Subjunctive is used to express a negative 'don't, must/should not, etc.', command (any person, direct and indirect), and, unlike the various **BA** negative markers, **kadà** (= **kâř/kâC = kař/kaC**) normally occurs *before* an overt subject. Examples:

kadà mù mântā dà àlƙawàřinmù 'we shouldn't forget our promise'

kadà màlàmai sù yi yājìn aikì 'the teachers shouldn't go on strike'

kâř yârā sù yi hakà 'the children must not do that'

kař kì mântā! 'don't (2f) forget!'

kâk/kak kà zō tùkùna! 'don't (2m) come yet!'

For some speakers, inserting the particle **sai** in clause-initial position acts to weaken the coercive force of the Subjunctive expression:

sai kì shā wannàn māgànī	'you should drink this medicine'
sai kà ragè mîn kuɗîn	'you ought to lower the price for me'
sai mù tàfi	'let's go then'

The Subjunctive also regularly occurs in stereotyped formulaic contexts, where it is used in (semi-) fixed modal expressions to convey good will/wishes and greetings. Examples (usually main clauses):

à dāwō lāfiyà	'may you return safely' (4pl.SJN...)
à gai dà gidā	'greet the family' (4pl.SJN...)
rânkà yà daɗè	'Sir' (life.of.2m 3m.SJN last long)

Many formulaic Subjunctive phrases, including imprecations, are introduced by **Allàh** 'God':

Allàh yà sâ	'may God cause/grant (this)'
Allàh yà kiyàyē	'safe journey' (God 3m.SJN protect (the way))
Allàh yà tsīnè makà!	'God damn you!'

The entire PAC can also be deleted, e.g. **Allàh Ø ji ƙansà = Allàh yà ji ƙansà** 'may God have mercy on him'.

The Subjunctive is common in subordinate clauses. In 'let'-directives, for example, the form **bàri** 'let...' (the Imperative of **barì** 'let, allow') is used to introduce a following 1st/3rd person or 4pl suggestive Subjunctive. Examples:

bàri nà gayà mikì wani àbù	'let me tell you something'
bàri yà bā kà bàyānì	'let him give you an explanation'

It is also used to express non-initial commands in a coordinate chain of 2nd person singular commands where the first is an Imperative, e.g. **tầshi kà kāwō**

mîn àbinci! 'get up and (2m) bring me some food!', **kǎwō aikìnkì kì nūnǎ mîn**! 'bring your work and (2f) show me!'.

The Subjunctive is also used in subordinate complement clauses following matrix verbs expressing a variety of speech acts, including indirect commands, and permissive, prohibitive, intentional, causative, volitional, etc., acts (see **§13** for details). Some of these verbs are implicative, implying the successful realization of the complement event; others are non-implicative, and they often correspond to 'to'-infinitival complements in English. Examples:

nā ùmùřci yāròn yà yi shirū 'I ordered the boy to be quiet'
1sg.PF order boy.DD(m) 3m.SJN do silence
yā bař ɗàlìbai sù shigō ajǐ
3m.PF permit students 3pl.SJN come into class
'he permitted the students to come into class'

nā yàřda kì tàfi 'I agree you should go'
nā shǎwàřcē tà (dà) tà kàrɓi aikìn 'I advised her to take the job'
nā sâ shi yà dafǎ manà àbincin rāna 'I got him to cook lunch for us'
kadà kì mântā kì shārè ɗākìn 'don't forget to sweep the room'
mun tunǎ masà yà mai dà littāfîn 'we reminded him to return the book'
nā yi niyyàř ìn tàfi Ingìlà bàɗi 'I intend to go to England next year'
an gayǎ manà mù wankè mōtàř 'we've been told to wash the car'
munǎ ƙòƙarī mù gamà aikìn dà wuri
'we are trying to finish the work early'

nā shāwō kânsà yà ɗàuki jařřàbâwâř 'I prevailed on him to take the test'
sun ƙi sù yi aikǐ 'they refused to work'
sun gàřgàɗē nì kâř ìn yi hakà 'they warned me not to do that'
nā ròƙē shì yà bā nì kuɗī
'I begged him to give me some money'

munǎ sô mù tàfi yànzu 'we want to go now'
bā nǎ sô kù yi hakà 'I don't want you to do this'
inǎ jiràn tà isō 'I'm waiting for her to arrive'
inǎ sâ râi/inǎ fātā tà zō nân dà mintǐ gōmà

'I expect/hope she will come within the next ten minutes'
an hanà ɗàlìbai sù shìga jāmi'ā
'the students have been prevented from entering the university'

Other verbs which can take same-subject Subjunctive TAM complements include self-inducement "ability" verbs such as **iyà** 'can, be able' and **ìsa** 'be up to, be ready for'. Examples:

nâ iyà nà yi wànnan	'I'll probably be able to do that'
tā ìsa tà yi aurē	'she's ready to marry'

Semantically "negative" emotion verbs, e.g. **ji tsòrō** 'fear', may also control a lower Subjunctive TAM clause introduced by prohibitive (also intrinsically negative) **kadà**, e.g. **nā ji tsòrō kadà ìn fāɗì (à) jaɾřàbâwā** 'I was afraid that I would fail the exam'.

An especially common construction involves a modal expression, denoting obligation, desirability, advisability, etc., followed by a sentential complement containing a Subjunctive TAM. Verbal modal subordinators typically comprise an empty 3m (often Perfective) subject pronoun plus modality verb, often translated by modal and putative auxiliaries in English. Examples:

yā kàmātà/yā fi kyâu mù tàfi yànzu	'we should/we'd better go now'
3m.PF be better/3m.PF exceed good 1pl.SJN go now	
yā càncantà Audù yà sāmu kyàutā	'Audu deserves to get a prize'
yanā yìwuwā sù zō	'it's possible they may come'
bài kàmātà tà dāwō gidā ba gòbe	
'she shouldn't return home tomorrow'	

The Subjunctive also occurs in complement clauses following verbal phrases which consist of an expletive 3m Imperfective subject pronoun plus **dà**

possessive predicate where the abstract predicate noun expresses concepts such as relative difficulty, ease, desirability, importance, etc. Examples:

yanǎ dà wùyā/sauƙī/kyâu/muhimmancì à fàhìnci wannàn
'it is difficult/easy/good/important to understand this'
bâ shi dà wùyā à fàhìnci wannàn 'it is not difficult to understand this'

There are also a variety of modal subordinators which initiate Subjunctive TAM clauses, e.g. **dōlè = tīlàs** 'necessary/must', **sai** 'must', **(dà...) gāra** '(rather than...) better/ought', **bàllē = bàllàntanā** 'still less, let alone' (following a negative). Examples:

dōlè nà tàfi yànzu 'I must go now'
(dà mù zaunǎ nân) gāra mù tāshì '(rather than stay here) we'd better leave'
bài kō kařàntà littāfîn ba, bàllē yà gamà màƙālàř
'he hasn't even read the book, still less finish the essay'
Note too: **kō kì zō kō kâř kì zō, duk ďaya nè**
'whether you come or you don't come, it's all the same'
where the Subjunctive is used in coordinate conditional-concessive clauses introduced by the correlative subordinators **kō...kō** 'whether...or'.

The Subjunctive can also overlap with tense distinctions and is used in subordinate clauses introduced by the temporal subordinators **kǎfin/kǎmin** 'before', **ařa** 'until (future time)', and **saurā** 'before' (lit. remainder). (The subject-agreement pronouns following these particular subordinators could, however, be instances of the Neutral TAM-less paradigm, §12.) Examples:

kà tāshì kǎfin nà dāwō 'leave before I come back'
yā tāshì kǎmin nà dāwō 'he left before I came back'
zân dākàtā ařa sù gamǎ 'I'll wait until they finish'
saurā kàďan ìn mutù 'I nearly died' (lit. remainder little 1sg.SJN die)
saurā mintì gōmà mù tāshì (lit. remainder minute ten 1pl.SJN leave)
'there are ten minutes before we leave = we leave in ten minutes'

It also follows the subordinator **màimakon** 'instead of', e.g. **màimakon kà mayař dà mōtàř, kâ sayař mîn**? 'instead of returning the car, will you sell (it) to me?'.

The Subjunctive is regularly used in subordinate purpose-intention clauses following **dòmin/don, sabòdà** '(in order) to, so that, so as to', and following matrix motion-verbs the subordinators can be omitted. Examples:

inà jirà nē dòmin nà kàrɓi àlbâshīnā 'I'm waiting to collect my wages'
nā zō (don) ìn gayà mikì lâbāřì 'I've come to tell you the news'
tā àikē shì kâsuwā (don) yà sàyi kāyan àbinci
'she sent him to the market to buy food ingredients'

It also occurs in purpose-intention clauses following the complementizer **dà**, e.g. **sarkī yā yi kirà gà mutânē dà sù yi ƙôƙarī**... 'the emir called on people to make an effort...'.

Negative purpose or condition clauses are expressed by the complex subordinator **don kadà** + Subjunctive 'so as not to, in order not to, in case, lest'. Examples:

kà tàfi dà laimà (don) kadà kà jiƙè 'take an umbrella lest you get wet'
mù ragè sùřūtù (don) kâř mù tā dà maƙwàbtā
'we should cut down the noise so as not to wake the neighbours'

On semantic grounds, it is possible to analyze a number of common fixed, verb-based, complex adverbials and prepositions as containing Subjunctive ('one might/could say', etc.) subject pronouns, e.g. **kàmař à cê** 'in short, you might say' (lit. like 4pl.SJN say), **sai kà cê** 'like, as if' (then 2m.SJN say), and **ìn ji** (but not *__nà ji__) 'according to' (1sg.SJN hear). Examples:

...kàmař à cê yā fāɗì '...in short he failed'
yanà màganà sai kà cê ɗan-bōkò 'he talks like a western-educated person'
ìn ji kàkàkîn... 'according to the spokesperson...'

12. The Neutral Ø-TAM Paradigm

In coordinate clause-chaining sequences, if the leftmost clause contains a Future, Allative, Potential, Habitual, Imperfective (with a habitual interpretation) or Rhetorical TAM, all subsequent affirmative clause conjoins use a subject-agreement pronoun set which has traditionally been identified with the homophonous Subjunctive TAM, even though the paradigm in question had little in common with the core modality semantics and functional distribution of the Subjunctive. See, for example, Gouffé (1966/67: 164n, 1967/68), who also identified the Subjunctive with the Negative Perfective paradigm.

More recent treatments consider this phonological identity to be accidental and analyze the sequential PACs with bare subject pronouns as manifestations of an unmarked L tone "Neutral" aspectual paradigm. Wolff (1993: 416ff.), for example, treats the Neutral as a fully-fledged TAM—known as the "Grundaspekt" in West Chadic languages—though Newman (2000: chap. 70) prefers to handle it as basically TAM-less (the analysis followed here). According to these approaches, the TAM-marker on these PACs, i.e. Habitual **-kàn**, Imperfective **-nà** or **-kè(e)**, Future **zā**, Allative **zâ**, Potential **-à**, and Rhetorical **-kà**, is simply dropped in all non-initial conjoins to avoid syntactic redundancy, leaving an agreement-tracking pronoun which then converts to the default L tone. The Neutral TAM-less paradigm occurs in main, including coordinate, clauses. Examples:

[nakàn]$_{\text{HAB}}$ **tāshì dà ƙarfè bakwài [ìn** Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **yi wankā**
[ìn Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **ci àbinci**
1sg.HAB get up at o'clock seven 1sg.NEUT do washing 1sg.NEUT eat food
'I get up at seven o'clock, wash and eat'

kullum [yanà]$_{\text{IMPF}}$ **gyārà ɗākìn [yà** Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **tsabtàcē shi**
[yà Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **shārè**
'every day he tidies up the room and cleans it and sweeps (it)'

[**zā tà**]$_{FUT}$ **kařàntà littāfìn** [**tà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **řubûtà takàřdā**
[**tà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **kai wà mālàmintà**
'she will read the book, write a paper and take (it) to her teacher'

[**zâ ni**]$_{ALLAT}$ **kàsuwā** [**ìn** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **tàfi wurin maƙèrā**
[**ìn** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **sàyi kwānōnī**
'I'm off to market, to go to the blacksmiths, and buy some head-pans'

[**mâ**]$_{POT}$ **gamà aikìn** [**mù** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **tāshì** [**mù** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **tàfi gidā dà yâmma**
'we'll probably finish the work, leave and go home in the afternoon'

wānē nè [**kè**]$_{FOC\text{-}IMPF\text{-}1}$ **ɗaukàn yârā** [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **kai sù gidā**?
'who is it picks up the children and takes them home?'

rìkicī irìn wândà [**yakâ**]$_{RHET}$ **iyà tāsôwā** [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **tādâ manà hankàlī**
'the kind of crisis that could arise and worry us'

Notice that unlike the modal Subjunctive which cannot be used in focus constructions (focus, *wh*-questions, relative clauses), the last two examples show that there is no such restriction on the Neutral Ø-TAM, an important syntactic diagnostic for distinguishing the two paradigms.

The Neutral set is especially common in main clauses following conditionals—open, counterfactual, and conditional-concessive—as well as temporal clauses. The consequent clause, with a context-dependent single event or habitual/customary interpretation, is often introduced by conjunctive **sai** 'then', and the Neutral functions as an alternative to the Future. Examples:

ìdan kā dāwō dà wuri, sai mù jē sìnīmâ
'if you get back in time, then we'll go to the cinema'

ìdan nā jē makařantā dà sāfe, sai nà shā shāyì tùkùna
'if I go to school in the morning, then I drink some tea first'

in dâ zā kì zō bìkī gồbe, dâ sai kì mōrè
'if you were to come to the party tomorrow, then you would enjoy yourself'

kō sun jē aikì, sai sù yi barcī
'even if they go to sleep, (then) they go to sleep'
bāyan kā kāsà gamà aikìn kà cê ìn biyā kà?
'after you've failed to finish the work you say I should pay you?'
kâfin mālàm yà zō ōfìs, sai mù gamà shārè shi
'before the teacher comes to the office, (then) we'll finish sweeping it out'
dà (zārař) cêwā yā shā wùyā, sai yà fashè dà kūkā
'as soon as he has any trouble, then he bursts out crying'

The Neutral TAM-less form regularly functions to express habitual-generic activity in coordinate clauses, again commonly initiated by **sai** 'then'. Examples:

kôgîn yà shìga nân yà fìta cân 'the river meanders here and there'
(lit... 3m.Ø-TAM enter here 3m.Ø-TAM go out there)
wani lōkàcī sai sù fìta, wani lōkàcī sai sù zaunâ à gidā
'sometimes they go out, sometimes they stay at home'

13. Future and Negative Future

Table 16 presents the Future and Negative Future paradigms with the finite verb **gudù** 'run away':

Table 16. Future and Negative Future

	Future	Negative Future
1sg.	**zân/zā nì gudù**	**bà(a) zân/zā nì gudù ba**
2m.	**zā kà gudù**	**bà(a) zā kà gudù ba**
2f.	**zā kì gudù**	**bà(a) zā kì gudù ba**
3m.	**zâi/zā yà gudù**	**bà(a) zâi/zā yà gudù ba**
3f.	**zā tà gudù**	**bà(a) zā tà gudù ba**
1pl.	**zā mù gudù**	**bà(a) zā mù gudù ba**
2pl.	**zā kù gudù**	**bà(a) zā kù gudù ba**
3pl.	**zā sù gudù**	**bà(a) zā sù gudù ba**
4pl.	**zā à gudù**	**bà(a) zā à gudù ba**

13.1. Forms

The subject-agreement pronoun in the Future has the default L tone and is exceptional in that it *follows* the (H tone) TAM-marker **zā**. (The **zā** formative is related, together with the Allative TAM-marker **zâ**, to the motion-verbs **zō** and **zakà** (dial.) 'come/go'.) The **zā** TAM-morpheme and following SAP constitute discrete morphemes (they are written as separate words in the orthography), and a modal particle can be inserted between the two elements, e.g. [**zā fa mù**] **dāwō jībi** 'we will indeed return the day after tomorrow', [**zā mā mù**] **yi makà àbinci** 'and we will make some food for you'. Contraction (= single orthographic words) is common in the 1sg (**zā nì >/= zân**) and 3m (**zā yà >/= zâi**).

There are two synonymous variants of the split negative markers which can be used in the Negative Future (both the affirmative and negative paradigms use the same PACs). The same **bà...ba** markers can be used as occur in the Negative Perfective, where the initial short vowel **bà** cliticizes with the following TAM, e.g. **bà-zā mù tàfi ba tùkùna** 'we won't go yet'. Alternatively, some speakers prefer the **bà̀...ba** negative markers used in non-tensed negative equational constructions, where the initial long vowel **bà̀** is considered a separate constituent, e.g. (with a modal particle intervening) **màtātā bà̀ fa zā tà dāwō ba sai gòbe** 'my wife won't in fact return until tomorrow' (but not ***bà fa zā tà**...).

13.2. Functions

The Future, affirmative and negative, is used to express both tense (future-time) and modal (attitudinal) distinctions, in both general and focus contexts. The following sentences illustrate typical time-oriented uses of the Future, including intentional usages, expressing absolute, after-now future time-reference:

zā tà dāwō nân dà rabìn awà̀	'she'll return in half an hour'
FUT 3f return now with half.of hour	
zâi gamà aikìn gòbe	'he'll finish the work tomorrow'
FUT.3m finish work.DD(m) tomorrow	

bâ wandà zâi cê masà kōmē 'no one will say anything to him'
su-wà zā sù ɗàuki jařřàbâwā? 'who will take the exam?'
wàcē cè yārinyàř dà zā kà àurā?
'which one is the girl you're going to marry?'
bà(a) zā mù iyà zuwà ba 'we won't be able to come'
bà(a) zâi gānè ba 'he won't understand'
bà(a) zân yi wannàn aikì ba 'I won't do this work'
yàushē zā à ɗaurà aurē?
'when will the marriage ceremony take place?'
jirgîn zâi tāshì 'the plane is about to leave'
(= imminent future)
ƙanènā nè zâi yi aurē bana
'it's my *younger brother* who is going to marry this year'

The Future may also be exploited with past-time reference to specify an event/action whose realization is future relative to the established past reference time (= relative tense). Examples:

kōwā yā san shī nè zâi zama sarkī
'everyone knew *he* would (will) become emir'
an gayà minì zā kà zō yâu
'I was told you would (will) come today'
nā shiryà dà ita zā mù hàɗu dà ƙarfè bìyař
'I arranged with her that we would (will) meet at 5 o'clock'

It also has relative future usages, e.g. following subordinate clauses:

dà zārař kā gayà mîn, zân zō 'as soon as you tell me, I'll come'
in kā yàřda, zân kāwō takàřdâř ran Lìtìnîn
'if you agree, I'll bring the paper on Monday'

The Future can also be used in future-in-the-past constructions where the imminent actions described in the projected future clause, often delimited by the restrictor **kè nan** 'that is', are not in fact realized:

zân fìta kè nan sai akà fārà ruwā
'I was about to (will) go out when it started raining'
Audù zâi yi màganà sai wani ya hanà shi
'Audu was about to (will) speak when someone stopped him'

It may also be used in both an open conditional clause and main clause, e.g. **ìdan zā kà tàimàkē mù, zā mù ci nasarà** 'if you'll help us, we'll be successful'.

In addition to its time-oriented functions, the Future is also used to express a range of modal meanings—the concept of "futurity" cuts across tense and modal distinctions. Examples (predictive-putative and generic):

zâi kasàncē yanà dà kudī dà yawà yànzu	'he'll have a lot of money by now'
ƙīlà zā à yi ruwā	'maybe it will rain'
zā kà sàmu bàbban aikì bāyan kā saukè	
'you'll get a good job after you graduate'	
dūtsè zâi nutsè cikin ruwā	'a stone will sink in water'

It also substitutes for the modal Subjunctive in focus environments, e.g. **yanà nēman māgànī wandà zâi (*yà) warkarī dà cīwòn** 'he's looking for some medicine that might cure the illness'.

EXPECT- and HOPE-verbs can take either a Future or Subjunctive TAM complement clause:

inà sâ rài zâi/yà isō gòbe	'I expect he'll arrive tomorrow'
Mūsā yanà fātā zā sù/sù biyā shì	'Musa hopes they will pay him'

The Future can be used in tentative, polite requests to express the notion of willingness or possibility, following the interrogative particle **kō**:

kō zā à iyà dūbà wannàn aikĭ?
'would you (one) be able to look at this work?'
kō zâi yìwu kà bā nì ràncen naiřà dubū?
'would it be possible for you to give me a loan of 1,000 *naira*?'

It is also regularly used to express customary actions, and so partially overlaps with the Imperfective and Habitual:

...**kàshèɡàrī zā à fārà azùmī...kuma zā à ci àbinci tun àsùbâ...sànnan bà zā à ƙārà cîn wani àbù ba sai...**
'...on the following day they (one) will begin fasting...and they will eat right at dawn...then they will not eat anything else until...'

In tightly coordinated, usually same-subject VPs, if the TAM in the initial clause is Future, it is replaced in all subsequent clauses by the default Neutral form (= L tone SAP). Examples:

[**zân**]$_{FUT}$ **tāshì** [**ìn** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **tàfi wurin bābānā** [**ìn** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **gayà masà**
'I'm going to leave, go to my father, and tell him'
mālàm [**zâi**]$_{FUT}$ **ɗàuki tàkàřdunmù** [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **dūbà** [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **gyārà**
'the teacher will take our papers, look at (them), (and) correct (them)'

Note too: **'yan-sàndā** [**zā sù**]$_{FUT}$ 3pl **kāmà ka** [**à** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT.4pl}$ **cī kà tārā** 'the police will arrest you and you'll be fined', with different clause subjects.

14. Allative and Negative Allative

The Allative and Negative Allative paradigms are illustrated in Table 17 with the goal locative **gidā** 'house, home' (= 'I'm going/off home', etc.):

Table 17. Allative and Negative Allative

	Allative	Negative Allative
1sg.	**zâ ni/zân gidā**	**bà(a) zâ ni/zân gidā ba**
2m.	**zâ ka gidā**	**bà(a) zâ ka gidā ba**
2f.	**zâ ki gidā**	**bà(a) zâ ki gidā ba**
3m.	**zâ shi gidā**	**bà(a) zâ shi gidā ba**
3f.	**zâ ta gidā**	**bà(a) zâ ta gidā ba**
1pl.	**zâ mu gidā**	**bà(a) zâ mu gidā ba**
2pl.	**zâ ku gidā**	**bà(a) zâ ku gidā ba**
3pl.	**zâ su gidā**	**bà(a) zâ su gidā ba**
4pl.	**zâ a gidā**	**bà(a) zâ a gidā ba**

14.1. Forms

The Allative is a functionally restricted paradigm which employs a Falling tone TAM-element **zâ**, cognate with the **zā** Future marker, followed by a H tone pronoun, probably identical with the suffixal "intransitive copy pronoun" (e.g. **nā zō ni** 'I've arrived'). As with the Future TAM, the **zâ** morpheme and following pronoun are analyzable as discrete morphemes (they are written as separate words in the orthography), and a modal particle can intervene between the two elements, e.g. [**zâ fa ni**] **gidā** 'I'm off home then'. The 1sg PAC allows deletion of the final vowel (**zâ ni** >/= **zân**), as does the dialectal 3m (**zâ ya** >/= **zâi**). Strictly speaking, the Allative should be analyzed as a special type of non-verbal, quasi-TAM construction since in Standard Hausa it co-occurs with only locative goal predicates (overt or understood), i.e. without any verbal element (Newman 2000: chap. 70). Like the related Future, the Allative is directly negated, i.e. it employs the same PACs with the discontinuous **bà(a)...ba** negative markers, with **bà-...ba** possibly the more common pattern in SH.

14.2. Functions

The Allative typically expresses actions which are future with respect to the moment of speaking, corresponding to an English imminent/ingressive 'be going

to, be off to, be on the way to, etc.' construction with locative goal complements. It occurs freely in general, focus, negative and subordinate environments. Examples:

ìnā zâ ka?—**zâ ni**/**zân kàsuwā**
where ALLAT 2m—ALLAT 1sg market
'where are you off to?—I'm off to market'
ìnā zâ ki?—**gidā zâ ni**
where ALLAT 2f—home ALLAT 1sg
'where are you off to?—I'm off *home*'
zâ mu masallācī ran Jumma'à
'we're going to the mosque on Friday'
Mūsā nè zâ shi jāmi'à 'it's *Musa* who is going to university'
zâ ka makaɾantā yâu?—**ā'à, bà zâ ni ba**
'are you going to school today?—no, I'm not (going)'
zâ mu Kanò/gidā/tàrôn/bìkîn/rawân
'we're heading off to Kano/home/the meeting/the party/the dance'
mùtumìn dà zâ shi ƙasàshen wàje, dōlè yà tàfi dà kuɗī
'a man who is going abroad must take money'
bà mā zâ ni ba kawài... 'and I'm not just going to go...'
ìdan zâ ka lābùɾārɾè, kà zō kà kàrɓi kātìn
'if you're going to the libary, come and get the card'

Like the Future TAM, the Allative has relative tense functions, and can express future-in-the-future and future-in-the-past meanings:

dà kin zō zâ mu kàsuwā 'as soon as you come we'll be off to market'
zâ ta ùnguwā sai ta yi bàƙuwā
'she was about to go visiting (the neighbourhood) when she had a guest'

In conjoined, usually same-subject VPs, if the the initial clause contains an Allative TAM, it is replaced in all subsequent clauses by the default Ø-TAM Neutral form (with a L tone SAP). Examples:

[**zâ ni**]$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ **kàsuwā** [**ìn** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **tàfi wurin maƙèrā** [**ìn** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **sàyi kwānōnī**

'I'm off to market, to go to the blacksmiths (and) buy some head-pans'

In some WH dialects, the Allative serves as the regular affirmative Future, and the verb appears in its nonfinite form, e.g. **zâ ni** [**sàyen**]$_{\text{VN}}$ **nāmà** 'I'll buy some meat' (= SH Future **zân** [**sàyi**]$_{\text{V}}$ **nāmà**), **zâ mu** [**kallon**]$_{\text{VN}}$ **wani fîm** 'we're going to see a film' (= SH Future **zā mù** [**kàlli**]$_{\text{V}}$ **wani fîm**).

15. Potential and Negative Potential

Table 18 illustrates the Potential and Negative Potential paradigms with the finite verb **zō** 'come':

Table 18. Potential and Negative Potential

	Potential	Negative Potential
1sg.	**nâ zō**	**bà(a) nâ zō ba**
2m.	**kâ zō**	**bà(a) kâ zō ba**
2f.	**kyâ zō**	**bà(a) kyâ zō ba**
3m.	**yâ zō**	**bà(a) yâ zō ba**
3f.	**tâ zō**	**bà(a) tâ zō ba**
1pl.	**mâ zō**	**bà(a) mâ zō ba**
2pl.	**kwâ zō**	**bà(a) kwâ zō ba**
3pl.	**sâ zō**	**bà(a) sâ zō ba**
4pl.	**â zō**	**bà(a) â zō ba**

15.1. Forms

The Potential consists of a H (polar) tone CV subject-agreement pronoun fused to a L tone TAM-marker **-à** which coalesces with the SAP vowel to produce a surface Falling tone, e.g. (1sg) **na** + **à** → **nâ**, (3f) **ta** + **-à** → **tâ**. The palatalized

2f **kyâ** and labialized 2pl **kwâ** forms derive respectively from **ki** + **-à̂** and **ku** + **-à̂** sequences.[6] For those speakers who allow a Negative Potential (see below), the **bà**...**ba** markers are normally used, e.g. **bà-sâ zō ba** 'they probably won't come', with phonological fusion of the initial proclitic **bà** and the following SAP, though some speakers use the initial long vowel **bà̄** morpheme, e.g. **bà̄ sâ zō ba**.

15.2. Functions

The Potential is best analyzed, like the Subjunctive, as a modal category, and is less assertive than the Future. It expresses a range of attitudes, including uncertainty, doubt, indefiniteness, probability, vagueness, etc. as to the future realization of an action/event, and so is usually glossed as 'will probably/likely...' or 'may/might...' in English. It occurs in general and negative contexts, but is semantically incompatible with focus constructions. Examples:

yâu dà gòbe kyâ iyà Hausa
today and tomorrow 2f.POT be able Hausa
'in time you'll probably master Hausa'
mài yìwuwā mā yâ ƙubūtō makà
MAI be possible.VN also 3m.POT write IOM.2m
'it's also possible he might write to you'

wata rānā nâ kōyà̂ mikì	'one day I may teach you'
ƙīlà mâ isō cikin lōkàcī	'maybe we'll arrive in time'
yâ yìwu sù zō	'it is possible they might come'

gidā yâ ji
'the household will probably hear (the greetings I pass on)'

yanà̂ dà ƙarfī kâ cê zākì̀	'he has the strength of a lion'

(lit...2m.POT say lion)

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[6]Historically the Potential TAM is probably relatable to the Imperfective—cf. the **-à̂** TAM-marker in the Negative Imperfective (§9)—but was pushed aside by the innovative Imperfective and developed a narrower range of functions (Newman & Schuh 1974: 30-31).

The Potential is common in proverbs and admonitory expressions:

kōmē nīsan darē, gàrī yâ wāyè̀
'however long the night, dawn will break' (i.e. every cloud has a silver lining)
kōwā ya bař gidā, gidā yâ bař shì
whoever 3m.FOC-PF leave home home 3m.POT leave 3m
'if you leave home, things are never the same'
â nè̀mi jinī gà fàrā? 'would one seek blood from a locust?'
(i.e. you can't get blood from a stone)
mwâ ganī! 'we'll see!'
kâ ƙàri kūkā kâ dainà̀! 'you'll cry even more and will stop!'

Examples of the Negative Potential are:

bà tâ kōmà̀ wajensà ba 'she probably won't return to him'
bà nâ tàfi ba 'I probably won't go'
bà â tàru à zama ɗaya ba 'people are not all the same'
(lit. one may not meet and become one)

Some speakers prefer, however, to switch to the Negative Future, probably because of the semantic clash between a specific negative statement and a non-specific modal category.

The Potential can express unrealized future-in-the-past actions, e.g. **nâ sàyi mōtà̀ kè̀ nan, sai wani ya zō ya rànci kuɗīnā** 'I was going to (will probably) buy a car when someone came and borrowed money from me', as well as future-perfect events, e.g. **kà̀fin kà dāwō, nâ shiryà̀ mâ àbincin rāna** 'before you get back, I will probably have (will probably) fixed lunch for you'.

Although the syntactic distribution of the Potential in subordinate clauses is relatively constrained compared to the Future, it can be used in a matrix clause apodosis following open or counterfactual conditionals. Examples:

ìdan kun tàfi Amìřkà hūtū, kwâ ji dāɗī
'if you go on holiday to America, you'll likely have a good time'

ìdan kā tàimàkē mù, mâ ci nasařà̀
'if you'll help us, we'll probably be successful'
dà̀ sun bā shì naiřà̀ ɗàrī, dà̀ yâ kirā musù shī
'if they gave him a hundred *naira*, he might summon him for them'

The Potential can occur in both clauses if the protasis counterfactual has future-time reference, though some speakers prefer the regular Future here. Examples:

dà̀ sâ zō bìkī, dà̀ sâ ji dāɗī
'if they were to come to the party, they would probably enjoy themselves'
dà̀ kwâ tùntùɓē shì, dà̀ yâ tàimàkē kù
'if you were to approach him, he would likely help you'
dà̀ jirgin samàn yâ yi lattì̀, dà̀ mâ fùsātà
'if the plane were possibly to be late, we would be angry'

One subordinate environment where the Potential freely occurs is in lower modal clauses following matrix clause propositional/attitude verbs:

nā zàci kwâ gamà aikìn 'I thought you might finish the work'
yanà̀ jì 'yan-sàndā sâ kāmà ɓàrāwòn
'he feels the police will probably catch the thief'

Because the Potential is essentially a non-specific, modal category, its co-occurrence with specific time-adverbs is only marginally acceptable for some speakers (the straight Future being preferred). Examples:

?**mwâ dāwō dà ƙarfè̀ tařà** 'we'll probably return at 9 o'clock'
(better Future **zā mù dāwō dà ƙarfè̀ tařà**)
?**kyâ zō ajì̀ gòbe**? 'will you probably come to class tomorrow?'
(better Future **zā kì zō ajì̀ gòbe**?)

For the same reason, many speakers are also reluctant to use the Potential, like the Subjunctive, in restrictive focus environments (again the Future is often used instead). Examples:

?**inà nēman màtâr dà nâ àurā** 'I'm looking for a woman to marry'
(better **inà nēman màtâr dà zân àurā**)
?**wà yâ yi wannàn aikì?—Audù nē yâ yi**
'who will do this work?—it is *Audu* who will do (it)'
(better **wà zâi yi wannàn aikì?—Audù nē zâi yi**)
?**nī kaɗai nè nâ zō** 'it is *I* alone will come'
(better **nī kaɗai nè zân zō**)
?**kōmè kâ yi, bàn dàmu ba**
'whatever you're going to do, I'm not bothered'
(better **kōmè zā kà yi, bàn dàmu ba**)

In a conjoined, normally same-subject sequence, a Potential TAM is replaced by the default Neutral form in all non-initial clauses:

mālàm [**yâ**]$_{\text{POT}}$ **gyārà aikìnkù** [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **mayar mukù kâfin kù tāshì**
'the teacher will probably correct your work and return (it) to you before you leave'
[**â**]$_{\text{POT}}$ **kāmà 'yan-fashì** [**à** Ø-TAM]$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **kai sù gàban kōtù**
'the highway robbers will likely be arrested and tried'

16. Rhetorical

The Rhetorical paradigm is illustrated in Table 19 with the finite verb **iyà** 'be able':

Table 19. Rhetorical

sg.		pl.	
1	**nikà iyà**	1	**mukà iyà**
2m.	**kakà iyà**	2	**kukà iyà**
2f.	**kikà iyà**		
3m.	**yakà iyà**	3	**sukà iyà**
3f.	**takà iyà**		
		4	**akà iyà**

16.1. Forms

The affirmative only Rhetorical PAC is made up of a (polar) H tone CV subject-agreement pronoun, deletable with an overt subject, plus a L tone TAM suffix **-kà**, e.g. (1sg) **ni-kà**, (3f) **ta-kà** (= single orthographic words). The Rhetorical TAM-marker shares the morphosyntactic segment /**k**/ with the other Focus TAM categories, e.g. Focus Perfective (**su-kà** etc.), Focus Imperfective (**su-kè(e)** etc.). Historically the Rhetorical was probably the focus counterpart of the Potential (Gouffé 1967/68: 46ff., Gregersen 1967: 47, 50-52), with which it remains in complementary syntactic distribution.

16.2. Functions

The Rhetorical TAM—also known, inter alia, as the "Rhetorical Future" and "Future Relative"—basically conveys the futurative notion of possibility, eventuality, etc., and is regularly used to express self-answering rhetorical questions or statements, including fixed proverbs and compounds. Although its syntactic distribution is restricted and its usage considered somewhat archaic and stylistic—some speakers prefer to substitute the Future—it is still encountered in both spoken and written Hausa.

The key feature of its syntactic distribution in SH is that it occurs almost exclusively in affirmative focus environments, and the agreement-tracking pronoun is frequently dropped with an overt subject. Examples:

rashìn sanì nē kà̀ jāwō irìn wannàn rìkicī
lack.of knowing COP(m) RHET cause kind.of this crisis
'it's *ignorance* that causes this kind of crisis'
shī kaɗai nè̀ kà̀ iyà wannàn 'it is *he* alone who can do this'
3m alone COP(m) RHET can this
abūbuwàn dà kà̀ iyà fàruwā nân gàba
'the things that can happen in future'
mun rasà wandà kà̀ jē
'we have nobody who could possibly go'
wà̀ kà̀ iyà hakà? 'who could possibly do this?'
wà̀ kà̀ jā wà kâi irìn wannàn wàhalà̀?
'who would bring this kind of trouble on himself?'
(Where the rhetorical *wh*-questions imply a strong negative assertion.)

The Rhetorical can also have a context-dependent habitual interpretation, e.g. **masànā hařkōkîn dà kà̀ jē sù dāwō** 'seasoned observers' (lit. observers who go and return). It also occurs in a number of set proverbs, e.g.

rashìn sanì kà̀ sâ màkāhò tākà shìmfiɗà̀ř
'it's ignorance that makes a blind man tread on the mat'
inuwà̀ř giginyà̀, na nēsà kà̀ shā sanyī
'you neglect your family and favour strangers'
(lit. shade.of the deleb-palm, the one at some distance will enjoy (drink) (your) coolness)

Some NP compounds contain Rhetorical TAMs, e.g.

nā shìga hālin ƙà̀ƙà̀-nikà̀-yi 'I was in a predicament/catch 22'
(lit...state.of how-1sg.RHET-do?)
na-bāya-kà̀-shā-kallō 'type of embroidery on back of gown'
(that.of-on back-RHET-undergo(drink)-looking)

It is also used in future reference contingency clauses following the complex conditional subordinator **kō dà** 'in case, in the event that', e.g. **kàrɓi wannàn kuɗī, kō dà akà yi rashìn sā'à** 'take this money, in case of emergency' (...in case 4pl.RHET do lack.of luck).

In a conjoined, same-subject string, the initial Rhetorical TAM is replaced by the default Neutral form in subsequent clauses, e.g. **ìnā [mukà]**$_{\text{RHET}}$ **sàmu gidā [mù** Ø-TAM**]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **fakè**? 'I ask you, where could we find a house to shelter in?'.

17. The (4pl) Impersonal Subject Pronoun

To express impersonal subjects, Hausa has an Impersonal subject pronoun 'one, they' with arbitrary, often human, reference—the 4th person plural (4pl). The 4pl Impersonal contains a basic pronominal element /**a**/. It operates in all TAMs—**an**, **akà**, **anà**, **akè**, **zā à**, etc.—in verbal sentences without overt subjects, e.g. (Perfective) **an gamà aikìn** 'one/they finished the work = the work was finished', i.e. the work was finished by some unspecified and/or unknown person, (Subjunctive) **à dāwō lāfiyà** 'may you (one) return safely', (Negative Imperfective) **bā à yìn hakà** 'one doesn't do that = that is not done'. Impersonal constructions are therefore formally identical to sentences with null subjects, e.g. [Ø]$_{\text{subj}}$ **[sun]**$_{\text{3pl.PF}}$ **gamà aikìn** 'they finished the work'. See also Newman (2000: chap. 38) and Parsons (1981: 11).

Morphosyntactically, the 4pl Impersonal pronoun patterns with plural subject-agreement pronouns. In the Perfective and Focus Perfective paradigms, for example, the Impersonal TAM suffixes the same elements as the plural forms, i.e. (PF) 1/2/3/4pl **mun/kun/sun/an**, (FOC-PF) 1/2/3/4pl **mukà/kukà/sukà/akà**. The Impersonal pronoun can also occur as antedecedent to a reciprocal pronoun which has plural reference, e.g. **[an]**$_{\text{i}}$ **san [jūnā]**$_{\text{i}}$ **à nân**? 'do people know each other here?' (cf. 3pl **sun san jūnā** 'they know each other'), **yā kàmātà [à]**$_{\text{i}}$ **tàimàki [jūnā]**$_{\text{i}}$ 'one should help each other' (cf. 2pl **yā kàmātà kù tàimàki jūnā** 'you (pl) should help each other').

The Impersonal is normally used to express unspecified human subjects, and if it occurs in transitive sentences with objects it corresponds to an agentless passive in English. Examples:

anȁ kiràŋkà	'you're being called'
4pl.IMPF call.VN.of.2m	
à shigō dà ita	'let her be brought in'
4pl.SJN enter with 3f	
bà à dafà àbinci ba?	'hasn't the food been cooked?'
NEG 4pl.PF cook food NEG	
an yi matà mutuwȁ	'she has been bereaved'
4pl.PF do IOM.3f death	
à gaishē kà	'may you be greeted' (= salutation)
mȅ akȅ kāwôwā?	'what's being brought?'
an hàifē shì à Kanȍ	'he was born in Kano'
anȁ cê masà Sābo	'he's called Sabo'
kâr̃ à yi hakà	'that should not be done'
dōlè à yī shì	'it has to be done'

Elsewhere, it often corresponds to generic 'one', i.e. 'people in general'. Examples:

à mai dà hankàlī	'one should be careful'
anȁ azùmī yànzu	'people are fasting now'
zā à yi yāƙȉ	'a war will start' (FUT 4pl do war)
yȁyȁ zā à yi?	'what can one do?'
ìnā zā à tàfi?	'where can one go?'

In numerical operations, addition and subtraction can be expressed by a VP containing a 4pl Impersonal Subjunctive TAM plus a lexical 'add' or 'subtract' verb. Examples:

bìyař <u>à</u> tārà dà bìyař gōmà kè nan 'five add five is ten'
(five 4pl.SJN add five...)
gōmà <u>à</u> ɗēbè bìyař bìyař kè nan 'ten take away five is five'
(ten 4pl.SJN take away five...)

With "weather" predicates the Impersonal pronoun behaves as a non-referential dummy subject, equivalent to expletive 'it' in English. Examples:

<u>an</u> yi ruwā jiyà 'it rained yesterday'
<u>anà</u> dàminā 'it was during the wet season'
<u>an</u> fārà zāfī 'it's started to get hot'

It also regularly occurs in temporal clauses, e.g. expressing time-spans equivalent to 'since':

<u>an</u> yi shèkarà dà yawà tun dà ya dāwō gidā
'it's been many years since he returned home' (4pl.PF do year many since...)
<u>an</u> yi watà shidà bà mù gan shì ba
4pl.PF do month six NEG 1pl.PF see 3m NEG
'it's now six months since we've seen him'
<u>an</u> daɗè dà kafà wannàn kamfànī
'it's some time since this company was founded'
(4pl.PF spend some time with...)
<u>zā</u> <u>à</u> daɗè kàfin à sākè ganin irìn wannàn
'it will be a long time before the likes of this are seen again'
(FUT 4pl spend some time before...)

It also occurs in some fixed, often temporal, phrases:

<u>anà</u> nan...sai 'there they were/so it went on...then' (4pl.IMPF there...)
sai <u>an</u> jimà 'see you later' (until 4pl.PF spend some time)

As a deferential form, the Impersonal is also regularly used in place of a more direct second person pronoun, e.g. with social superiors:

à sàuka lāfiyà	'arrive safely'
à dāwō lāfiyà	'return safely'
an zō lāfiyà?	'did you (one) have a good trip?'
màigidā, zā à fìta nè?	'husband, are you going out then?'

gāfàřtà mālàm, zâi yìwu à dūbà minì wannàn?
'excuse me teacher, would it be possible for you (one) to look at this for me?'
yallàßai, an tāshì lāfiyà?
'sir, have you had a good night's rest (got up in good health)?'

Related to this function, the 4pl Impersonal subject pronoun can also be stylistically used following an overtly expressed subject NP, in which case it conveys a wide range of context-determined attitudes, both positive and negative, e.g. respect, sympathy, sarcasm, criticism, indirectness, obliqueness, etc. Newman (2000: chap. 38) calls it the "oblique impersonal construction" (OIC) and describes it in detail (see also Abdoulaye 1992: 90ff.). The OIC is used with 3rd (normally) and 2nd (but not 1st) person subjects, singular or plural, masculine or feminine, and usually human. Examples:

Mūsā, hař an kammàlà aikìn?
Musa already 4pl.PF finish work.DD(m)
'Musa, have you finished the work already?'
su Hajìyā dà ƙawařtà an tàfi ùnguwā
3pl Hajiya and girlfriend.of.3f 4pl.PF go neighbourhood
'Hajiya and her girlfriend have gone visiting'
ɗàlìbanmù anà fāmā dà aikì
'our students are struggling with the work'
àshē Àlhajì bà à ji dāɗī ba? 'sorry to hear that Alhaji is unwell'
Audù dà Dèlu bā à sôn à ji màganàř aurē
'Audu and Delu don't want to hear about marriage'

su Sāřatù dà Zàinabù anà̀ kūkā?	'are Saratu and Zainabu crying?'
kū yârā kâř à yi sùřūtù	'you kids don't chatter'
ita kùwa, ai an shā wàhalà̀	'as for her, well she has suffered'

The Impersonal is also found in some compound nouns usually consisting of a default Neutral 4pl subject pronoun + VP, e.g. **à-wārè** 'secession' (4pl-separate), **à-kòri-būzū** 'police house-guard' (4pl-chase away-Tuareg), **à-zùngùri-dūniyà̀** 'pointed-toe boots' (4pl-poke-world).

Chapter 7
Verb Grades

1. Introduction: "Verb Grades"

The morphological shape of the finite verb in Hausa is a function of its operational distribution within a system of so-called "verb grades". For various treatments, see: Carnochan (1952), Furniss (1981), Newman (1973, 1975, 1977b), Parsons (1960b, 1962, 1971/72, 1981: 186ff.), Wolff (1993: chap. 5), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 74). Parsons' (1960b) widely accepted verb grade classification set up abstract verbal "bases", stripped of final vowels and tone patterns, and potentially operating seven mutually exclusive grades, the phonological distinctiveness of each grade (gr) being defined in terms of the syntactically-mediated tone pattern and suffixal vowel of the finite verb (= **-aC** in gr5). For example, from the lexical verb base ***yank-** 'cut', we get (citation A-forms) gr1 **yank-à** 'cut up' (= HL tone + final **-ā**), gr2 **yànk-ā** 'cut piece off' (= LH + **-ā**), gr4 **yank-è** 'cut all off' (= HL + **-ē**), gr6 **yank-ō** 'cut and bring' (= HH + **-ō**), and gr7 **yànk-u** 'be well cut up' (= LH + **-u**). Parsons also drew a distinction between "primary" grades 1-3, "secondary" grades 4-5, and made an additional "tertiary" cut to handle third-level derivations involving grades 6 and 7 (see Table 20).

In a radical and important reappraisal of Parsons' verb grade classification, Newman (2000: chap. 74) has proposed an alternative analysis, viewed from an internal-historical and comparative Chadic perspective, and framed around a "vowel-class/extension" model. Newman reanalyzes the basic verbs (Parsons' primary grades 1-3) as involving monomorphemic stems with a lexically specific final vowel—either **-a** or **-i** (the surface C-form for transitive verbs, §1.2)—which is then replaced by a fused, derivational tone-integrating verbal extension (= derived grades 4-7). In earlier versions, Newman (1973, 1975) also had tone

as part of the lexical specification of primary stems, but he now argues convincingly that tone is/was probably syntactically conditioned, with (disyllabic) **i**-verbs surfacing as LH if transitive (e.g. **sàyi** gr2 'buy'), HL if intransitive (e.g. **fādǐ** gr3b 'fall'), and **a**-verbs manifesting the opposite correlation—transitive HL (e.g. **dafà** gr1 'cook') and intransitive LH (e.g. **fìta** gr3 'go out'). One of the (many) advantages of Newman's model is that it accommodates several important subclasses of verb which were excluded in Parsons' incomplete grade system, including H tone (1-syllable) monoverbs with final /**i**/ or /**ā**/, e.g. **ci** 'eat', **shā** 'drink', and HH **CiCā** verbs, e.g. **jirā** 'wait for' (all = new grade 0), in addition to various high-frequency "irregular" verbs, e.g. **fādǐ** 'fall', **mutù** 'die' (= new grade 3b). It is a version of this revised framework which I have followed here.

Syntactically, some grades are exclusively transitive (gr2, gr5), or intransitive (gr3, gr7), whereas others include transitive as well as intransitive verbs (gr1, gr4, gr6). (See **§11** for syntactic classification of verbs.) Stems in both primary (0, 1, 3) and derived (4, 6, 7) grades can also function as sociative verbs, extended with the preposition **dà** 'with'. All the lexico-derivative grades (4-7) have specific semantic correlates, e.g. gr4 = "totality-conclusive", and many have a deictic-directional component, e.g. gr6 = "ventive-centripetal". Grades can combine when phonologically and semantically viable, e.g. **shanyō** 'drink up and come' (= gr4 + gr6), and a given verb can operate any number of grades, subject to grammatical and semantic compatibility. Within any grade, verbs have the potential for operating four distinct (A, B, C, D) sub-forms depending on the syntactic environment. Form B is required when the verb is followed by a personal pronoun direct object, e.g. (gr2-B) **zân sàyē tà** 'I'll buy it'. Form C is used with any other (nominal, sentential) direct object, e.g. (gr2-C) **zân sàyi rǐgâr̃** 'I'll buy the gown'. Form D is used before indirect objects (and requires additional attention, §5), e.g. (gr2-D) **zân sayà wà àbōkīnā rǐgā** 'I'll buy a gown for my friend'. Form A (the isolation/citation "dictionary" form) is an "elsewhere" variant utilized in environments not requiring the B-, C- or D-forms, e.g. intransitive verbs or transitive verbs with the direct object omitted or moved, as in (gr2-A) **ita cè zân sàyā** '*that's* the one I'll buy'.

Table 20. The verb grade system

PRIMARY	Form A (pre-zero)	Form B (pre-d.o. pro.)	Form C (pre-d.o. N)	Form D (pre-i.o.)	
Grade 0 Transitive and intransitive	H **-ā** **shā** H **-i** **ci** HH **-ā** **kirā**	H **-ā** **shā** H **-ī** **cī** HH **-ā** **kirā**	H **-ā** **shā** H **-i** **ci** HH **-ā** **kirā**	H **-ā** **shā** H **-i(i)** **ci(i)** HH **-ā** **kirā**	'drink' 'eat' 'call'
Grade 1 Transitive and intransitive Applicative	HL(H) **-ā** **gyārà** **kammàlā** **kōmà** **dākàtā** **naɗà**	HL(H) **-ā** **gyārà** **kammàlā** **naɗà**	HL(L) **-a** **gyàrà** **kammàlà** **naɗà**	HL(H) **-ā** **gyārà** **kammàlā** **dākàtā** **naɗà**	'repair, fix' 'complete' 'go (back) to' 'wait' 'wind on(to)'
Grade 2 Transitive Partitive	LH(L) **-ā** **sàyā** **tàmbayà** **yànkā**	(L)LH **-ē** **sàyē** **tàmbàyē** **yànkē**	(L)LH **-i** **sàyi** **tàmbàyi** **yànki**	HL(H) **-ā** and/or HH(H) **-ař** D-suffix **sayà, sayař** **tambàyà, tambayař** **yankà, yankař**	 'buy' 'ask' 'cut off part of'
Grade 3 Intransitive Grade 3a Grade 3b	LH(L) **-a** **shìga** **hàƙurà** HH **-a** **tūba** HL **-i, -a, -u** **fāɗì** **ɓatà** **mutù**			HL(H) **-ā** and/or HH(H) **-ař** D-suffix **shigař** **haƙùrā, haƙurař** **tūbař** **fāɗà**	 'enter' 'be patient' 'repent' 'fall' 'become lost' 'die'
SECONDARY					
Grade 4 Transitive and intransitive Totality-conclusive Separative-deprivative Unaccusative	HL(H) **-ē** **sayè** **bincìkē** **ƙwācè** **kařkàɗē** **zubè** **sullùɓē** **hūjè** **tsinkè**	HL(H) **-ē** **sayè** **bincìkē** **ƙwācè** **kařkàɗē**	HL(H) **-ē** HL(L) **-e** **sayè(e)** **bincìkē** **bincìkè** **ƙwācè(e)** **kařkàɗē** **kařkàɗè**	HL(H) **-ē** **sayè** **bincìkē** **ƙwācè** **kařkàɗē** **zubè** **sullùɓē** **hūjè** **tsinkè**	 'buy up/all' 'search all of' 'take away' 'shake off' 'leak away' 'slip away' 'be pierced' 'snap, break'
Grade 5 Transitive Efferential	H **-ař** **sayař** **kařantař**	H **-ař dà** **sayař dà** **kařantař dà** H **-shē** **gaishē** H **-Ø dà** **mai dà**	H **-ař dà** **sayař dà** **kařantař dà** H **-Ø dà** **mai dà**	H **-ař (dà)** **sayař (dà)** **kařantař (dà)**	 'sell' 'educate' 'greet' 'give back'

SECONDARY	Form A (pre-zero)	Form B (pre-d.o. pro.)	Form C (pre-d.o. N)	Form D (pre-i.o.)	
Grade 6 Transitive & intransitive Ventive-centripetal	H **-ō** **ɗaukō** **kirāwō** **dāwō**	H **-ō** **ɗaukō** **kirāwō**	H **-ō** **ɗaukō** **kirāwō**	H **-ō** **ɗaukō** **kirāwō** **dāwō**	'bring' 'call' 'come back'
Grade 7 Intransitive Affected-subject (inc. passive)	(L)LH **-u** **kàřàntu** **àuku**			HH **-ař** D-suffix **aukař**	'be well read' 'happen'

Table 20 above presents the overt morphology and semantics of all eight grades (grades 0-7, forms A-D), with representative tokens of transitive and intransitive 1-, 2- and 3-syllable verbs. (See relevant sections below for detailed discussion.) For analytical purposes, the derivative grades 4-7 are handled together as "secondary" formations. The D-form column includes those grades which operate special extensions, e.g. D-suffixes, before indirect objects.

1.1. Tones

The maximum number of syllable-based tones which need to be specified for the (A-D) sub-forms of any finite verb is three (see **§11**:4 and relevant §§ below for special Imperative tones). In the case of primary verbs in grades 0-3, tones are lexically assigned according to fixed melodies. Secondary grades, including derivative applicative gr1 and partitive gr2 verbs, have tones superimposed on them following attachment of tone-integrating extensions, and the tonal melodies spread from right to left (Newman 1986). Examples (citation A-forms, 1-, 2- and 3-syllable verbs):

Grade 0 basic = all H, final **-i** or **-ā**

yi (H) 'do, make' **jā** (H) 'pull' **biyā** (HH) 'pay'

Grade 1 basic = HL(H), final **-ā**

gyārà (HL) 'repair' **kařàntā** (HLH) 'read'

Grade 1 also contains some derived applicative verbs:

Grade 1 applicative = stem + **-ā**)$^{HL(H)}$

jèfā (LH) 'throw at' + **-ā**)^{HL} → applicative **jēfà** (HL) 'throw on'

àngazà (LHL) 'push' + **-ā**)^{HLH} → applicative **angàzā** (HLH) 'push onto'

Grade 2 basic = LH(L), final **-ā**

sàyā (LH) 'buy' **tàimakà** 'help' (LHL)

Grade 2 also contains some derived partitive verbs:

Grade 2 partitive = stem + **-ā**)$^{LH(L)}$

yankà (HL) 'cut' + **-ā**)^{LH} → partitive **yànkā** (LH) 'cut piece off'

aikàtā (HLH) 'finish' + **-ā**)^{LHL} → partitive **àikatà** (LHL) 'partly finish'

Grade 3 basic = LH(L), final **-a**

nùka (LH) 'become ripe' **zăbură** (LHL) 'spring up'

Secondary grades (all with tone-integrating suffixal extensions):

Grade 4 (totality-conclusive) = stem + **-ē**)$^{HL(H)}$

cìka (LH) 'be filled' + **-ē**)^{HL} → gr4 **cikè** (HL) 'fill up'

kammàlā (HLH) 'finish' + **-ē**)^{HLH} → gr4 **kammàlē** (HLH) 'finish up'

Grade 5 (efferential) = stem + **-ar̆**)^{H}

ci (H) 'eat' + **-ar̆**)^{H} → gr5 **ciyar̆** (HH) 'feed'

àurā (LH) 'marry' + **-ar̆**)^{H} → gr5 **aurar̆** (HH) 'marry off'

tàbbatà (LHL) 'be confirmed' + **-ar̆**)^{H} → gr5 **tabbatar̆** (HHH) 'confirm'

Grade 6 (ventive-centripetal) = stem + **-ō**)^{H}

jā (H) 'pull' + **-ō**)^{H} → gr6 **jāwō** (HH) 'pull here'

kōmà (HL) 'go (back)' + **-ō**)^{H} → gr6 **kōmō** (HH) 'come (back)'

kēwàyā (HLH) 'go round' + **-ō**)^{H} → gr6 **kēwayō** (HHH) 'come round'

Grade 7 (affected-subject) = stem + **-u**)$^{(L)LH}$

shā (H) 'drink' + **u**)^{LH} → gr7 **shȁwu** (LH) 'be drunk up'

gyārȁ (HL) 'repair' + **-u**)^{LH} → gr7 **gyȁru** (LH) 'be (well) repaired'

shimfìďā (HLH) 'spread out' + **-u**)^{LLH} → gr7 **shìmfìďu** (LLH) 'be (well) spread out'

With morphologically complex polysyllabic verbs of more than three syllables, i.e. where syllables outnumber tones, the initial tone simply spreads in a right-to-left direction and docks on the available syllables, thereby creating two homotonic initial syllables. Examples (citation A-forms of derivative 4-syllable verbs, including "pluractionals"):

HHLH **kakkařàntā** 'read repeatedly' < HLH **kařàntā** gr1 'read'

LLHL **tàntàmbayȁ** 'question repeatedly' < LHL **tàmbayȁ** gr2 'question'

LLHL **bìbbìrkiďà** 'roll over and over' < LHL **bìrkiďà** gr3 'roll about'

HHLH **hařhaďìyē** 'swallow many things' < HLH **haďìyē** gr4 'swallow'

HHHH **wulāƙantař** gr5 'belittle' (cf. HHH **fahintař** gr5 'enlighten')

HHHH **tantambayō** 'ask around' < HHH **tambayō** gr6 'ask'

LLLH **bàbbàbbàku** 'be all well roasted' < LLH **bàbbàku** gr7 'be well roasted'

(The only attested 5-syllable verb is **muƙaddasantař** gr5 'appoint as deputy' < **mùƙaddàs** 'deputy'.)

1.2. Verb-final vowel length

Whereas final vowel length in simple nouns (and certain other word classes) is lexical, with verbs it is determined by grade and syntactic environment. Following established practice, Parsons (1960b) adopted the pre-zero A-form as his citation form for verbs, and proposed a final vowel-shortening rule to account

for the (non-pronoun direct object) C-forms of transitive verbs in his grade system, e.g. gr1tr A-form **kāmà̲** 'seize' → C-form **kāmà** + noun direct object, gr4tr A-form **kashè̲** 'kill' → C-form **kashè**, etc. Newman (1973: 307ff.) pointed out, however, that several categories of transitive verb do *not* undergo automatic vowel-shortening in the C-context, e.g. (gr0 **-ā** monoverbs and HH **CiCā** verbs) **zân shā̲ ruwā** 'I'll drink some water', **nā biyā̲ kuɗîn** 'I paid the money', (gr4 **-ē** verbs for some speakers) **yā kwāshè̲ kāyân** 'he removed the loads', (gr6 **-ō** verbs) **kà kāwō̲ kuɗîn** 'bring (pay) the money'. Newman proposed instead that the C-form be treated as the (historically) underlying form. This reassignment of the basic form to the pre-noun d.o. variant eliminated the need for a messy ad-hoc rule to handle the above classes, and also permitted formulation of an exceptionless lengthening rule to predict the invariant long verb-final vowel (heavy syllable) encountered before direct object personal pronouns (i.e. the B-form). Examples (see also Table 20 and individual grade sections below for details):

(gr0 **-i** monoverb) **yā yi̲ aikìn** 'he did the work' → **yā yī shì** 'he did it'
(gr0 **-ā** monoverb = vacuous/no change) **nā jā̲ ruwā/shì** 'I drew water/it'
(gr1tr) **tā dafà̲ àbinci** 'she cooked the food' → **tā dafā̲ shi** 'she cooked it'
(gr6tr = vacuous/no change) **mun sayō̲ mōtàř/tà** 'we bought the car/it'

The non-object A-forms were then describable in terms of a grade-specific long or short final vowel (with **-i** → **-ā** replacement in grade 2).

Following Newman, the C-form is here considered the basic, underlying form for analytical purposes, e.g. for relating and generating the various A-, B- and D-forms of the transitive verb.[1] For citation purposes, however, the isolation A-form is used throughout for both transitive and intransitive verbs, a practice

[1] In Newman's system, the underlying representation of intransitive verbs without any C-form is abstracted from the form of corresponding same-grade transitive verbs. Newman's adoption of the C-form as the basic lexical form also has the comparative/historical advantage of allowing identification of the Hausa basic grades 1-3 as reflexes of lexical final ***-a** and ("schwa-class") ***-ə** verbs which are present in other Chadic languages, e.g. (C-forms with transitive verbs) final **-a** = **shā** gr0 'drink', **gasà** gr1 'roast', **fìta** gr3 'go out', final **-i** (i.e. **-ə** schwa-verbs) = **ci** gr0 'eat', **sàyi** gr2 'buy', **fāɗi** gr3b 'fall'. See also Schuh (1977b).

consistent with the standard convention in dictionaries, grammars and teaching manuals.

2. Primary Grades (Grades 0-3)

The primary grades are grades 0, 1, 2, and 3 (including 3a and 3b). Grade 0 contains basic and usually transitive final **-i** and **-ā** monoverbs, e.g. **ci** 'eat', **shā** 'drink', and HH **CiCā** verbs, e.g. **kirā** 'call'. Grade 1 consists of basic transitive and intransitive final **-ā** verbs, e.g. (disyllabic) **gyārà** 'repair', **kōmà** 'return', and derivative **-ā** applicatives, e.g. **faɗà** 'tell to'. Grade 2 contains basic transitive only final **-ā** verbs, e.g. **sàyā** 'buy' (the original underlying form being the present-day final **-i** C-form **sàyi**), plus derivative partitives, e.g. **yànkā** 'cut off part of'. Grade 3 consists of basic intransitive only final **-a** verbs, e.g. **shìga** 'go in', in addition to some HH grade 3a forms, e.g. **tūba** 'repent', and some HL grade 3b verbs ending in **-i**, **-a**, or **-u**, e.g. **fāɗì** 'fall', **ɓatà** 'get lost', **mutù** 'die'. In the individual sections below, verb grades, both basic and derived, are described together with brief profiles of their Imperative and verbal noun formations (see §8 and §11 for details).

2.1. Grade 0 (basic verbs)

Grade 0	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
Transitive	H **-ā**	H **-ā**	H **-ā**	H **-ā**	
and	**shā**	**shā**	**shā**	**shā**	'drink'
intransitive	H **-i**	H **-ī**	H **-i**	H **-i(i)**	
	ci	**cī**	**ci**	**ci(i)**	'eat'
	HH **-ā**	HH **-ā**	HH **-ā**	HH **-ā**	
	kirā	**kirā**	**kirā**	**kirā**	'call'

Grade 0 is a closed class containing eight high-frequency, semantically disparate monosyllabic verbs ("monoverbs") with a single H tone, morphologically distinguishable in terms of a lexically intrinsic final vowel, either /**i**/ or /**ā**/. Grade

0 also includes four disyllabic HH **CiCā** verbs which are grouped with final **-ā** monoverbs. There are also some phonologically "irregular" monosyllabic verbs (labelled gr0*) which are handled here. See also Newman (2000: chap. 74: §2), and for comparative perspectives on monoradical verbs, see Jungraithmayr & Tourneux (1990), and Vycichl (1990).

*2.1.1. Grade 0 **Ci**-monoverbs*

There are six H tone final **-i** gr0 monoverbs, all of them transitive (some can also be used as intransitives): **bi** 'follow', **ci** 'eat', **fi** 'exceed', **ji** 'hear, feel, understand', **ƙi** 'refuse', and the general verb **yi** 'do, make'. Some of them are probably clipped forms of original (and in some cases still extant) disyllabic gr1 verbs containing a remnant suffix **/-yà(a)/**, e.g. ***biyà**, ***fiyà**, ***jiyà** and ***ƙiyà**. Gr0 **Ci-**monoverbs, in addition to **Cā**-monoverbs and HH **CiCā** verbs, take "weak" L tone clitic direct object pronouns (written below with hyphens between the verb and pronoun), and the short lexical vowel on **Ci-**monoverbs lengthens to an **/-ī/** B-form in the pre-pronoun position. Many SH speakers also lengthen the vowel in the D-form before indirect objects, in line with other verbs/grades which have a long final vowel D-form. Examples:

A-form: **bà mù ji ba** 'we didn't hear (it)', **mun ci** 'we won', **ƙarfè biyu tā yi** 'two o'clock has arrived (done)', **àbîn dà ya fi shī nè**... 'what's best is...'

B-form: **nā jī-kà** 'I hear you', **sun bī-mù** 'they followed us', **mâ yī-shì** 'we'll do it'

C-form: **nā ji màganàřkà** 'I hear what you're saying', **mâ yi aikìn** 'we'll do the work'

D-form: **yā ci(i) minì àmānà** 'he betrayed my trust' (lit. 3m.PF eat IOM.1sg trust), **yā ji(i) minì ràunī** 'he wounded me' (3m.PF feel IOM.1sg wound), **zân yi(i) wà mātātā màganà** 'I'll talk to my wife'

In fast speech the verb **yi** 'do' regularly coalesces with the final vowel of the preceding TAM, e.g. **mè sukà yi**? → **mè sukài**? 'what did they do?'.

*2.1.2. Grade 0 **Cā**-monoverbs and HH **CiCā** verbs*

There are two transitive final **-ā** gr0 monoverbs—**jā** 'pull', and **shā** 'drink'—and four mainly transitive only HH **CiCā** verbs—**biyā** 'pay', **jirā** 'wait for', **kirā** 'call, summon', and **rigā** 'precede'. Related synonymous trisyllabic gr2 verbs with the petrified suffix **-yà(a)** include **jìrāyà**, **kìrāyà**, and **rìgāyà**. Both sets preserve the lexical long final /**ā**/ vowel in all (A-D) contexts:

A-form: **bàn shā ba** 'I didn't drink (it)', **kà shā mù tàfi** 'drink (it) and let's go', **bài biyā ba** 'he didn't pay'

B-form: **nā jā-sù** 'I pulled them', **zân shā-shì** 'I'll drink it', **nā rigā-tà** 'I got there before her'

C-form: **kì jā ruwā** 'draw some water', **nā shā rānā** 'I suffered (drank) the sun', **kà kirā yārònkà** 'call your boy'

D-form: **nā jā wà Audù kûnnē** 'I scolded Audu' (1sg.PF pull IOM Audu ear), **bài shā minì kâi ba** 'it didn't bother me' (NEG.3m.PF drink IOM.1sg head NEG), **tā biyā wà yāròntà** 'she paid for her boyfriend'

In pre-pausal A-form position, the vowel of final **-ā** gr0 verbs is half-long and closed by a phonetic glottal stop, a prosodic feature shared with other monotonic H tone irregular CVV monosyllabic verbs, e.g. **hau** 'climb', **jē** 'go', **kai** 'reach', in addition to gr6 verbs and H tone genitive pronouns (see also §**2**). Examples: **zā tà jā** [ja·ʔ] 'she will draw (it)', **nā shā** [sha·ʔ] 'I drank (it)', **bùkātà tā biyā** [biya·ʔ] 'the need has been met (has paid)'.

All grade 0 verbs convert to HL = Falling tone "strong" verbal nouns in nonfinite environments, e.g. with Imperfective TAMs, and lengthen the vowel (vacuously with final **-ā** verbs). This produces a F on monoverbs and a HL pattern on disyllabic **CiCā** verbs, e.g. **ci** 'eat' → **cî** 'eating', **shā** 'drink' → **shâ** 'drinking', **jirā** 'wait' → **jirà** 'waiting', and the verbal nouns suffix the masculine genitive linker **-n** before an object, e.g. **bā nà shân giyà** 'I don't drink beer', **kinà jîn Hausa**? 'do you understand/speak Hausa?', **yanà kiràn kà** 'he's calling you'. In the Imperative, which has no overt TAM-marker, gr0 verbs (including

irregular gr0*) usually have H tone, e.g. **ci àbinci**! 'eat the food!', **shā**! 'drink!', **biyā mànà**! 'pay then!' (= more common LH **bìyā**!). In the B-form, the underlying LH melody spreads over the fused stem + clitic pronoun, e.g. **cì̀-shi**! 'eat it!', **bà̀-ta**! 'give her!', **hàu-shi**! 'get on it!', **bìyà̀-shi**! 'pay him!'. Some gr0 **i-**monoverbs verbs can function as "sociative" verbs with the comitative-instrumental preposition **dà** 'with', e.g. **ji(i) dà** 'find, feel about' (< **ji** 'feel'), **yi(i) dà** 'slander' (?< **yi** 'do'). A few gr0 verbs participate in larger idiomatic verb + NP object phrases, e.g. **ci fuskà̀** 'humiliate' (lit. eat face), **jā kûnnē** 'tell off, warn' (pull ear), **ƙi jinin** 'hate, disapprove of' (refuse blood.of), **shā iskà̀** 'go for a stroll' (drink wind).

2.1.3. "Pseudo-monoverbs" (gr0)*

Synchronically, there are also a number of irregular "pseudo-monoverbs" which fall within the phonologically-defined class of monosyllabic verbs, but which differ from canonical H final **-i** and **-ā** monoverbs like **ci** and **shā** in one or more of the following respects—they contain a diphthong or vowel other than lexical /**i**/ or /**ā**/, have a different verbonominal formation, and some have F tone. They do however operate secondary grades in a straightforward fashion (see below.) Some of these irregular monosyllabic verbs are transparently relatable to 2-syllable forms which have undergone apocopation, including: **cê** 'tell, say' (< gr4 ***canè**), **hau** 'climb, mount, go up (price)' (?< gr3 ***hàwa** or gr3a ***hawa** with irregular light initial syllable, cf. verbal noun **hawā**), **kau** 'move away' (?< gr3 ***kàwa**), **kai** 'reach, take' (?< gr1 ***kāyà̀**, cf. gr6 **kāwō** 'return, bring').

The motion-verbs **jē** 'go' (< ***dā** or ***dē**, cf. gr6 **dāwō** 'come back') and **zō** 'come' (cf. WH **zakà** 'come, go') act as antonyms, with **zō** functioning synchronically as the gr6 ventive-centripetal counterpart of **jē**. They also share the same irregular verbal noun **zuwà̀** (< **zō**), cf. **sunà̀ zuwà̀ gidā** 'they are *going* home' and **yanà̀ zuwà̀ gidānā kullum** 'he *comes* to my house all the time'. (On **jē** and **zō**, see McIntyre 1989, 1990.) The verb **sō** 'want, wish' is also unusual—it looks like a gr6 final **-ō** verb but operates a HL/F strong verbal noun like gr0

monoverbs. Note too the phrasal [monosyllabic verb + i.o. marker] verb **im mà** (also **ī mà/wà**) 'be match for, control, handle' (< **iyà** gr1 'can, be able').

All the above gr0* verbs are phonologically invariant except **cê** 'say, tell' which usually changes to L tone **cè** when preceded by a H tone light syllable subject-agreement pronoun, e.g. **nā cê hakà nē** 'I said that was so' vs. **àbîn dà na cè hakà nē** 'what I've said is so', **yā cê kì zō** 'he said you should come' vs. **wà ya cè kì zō**? 'who said you should come?'. The L tone **cè** variant is probably the output of the initial H tone on the F (= HL) tone on **cê** being absorbed into the H tone subject pronoun. The irregular monosyllabic verbs **cê** 'tell, say' and **kai** 'reach, take' operate regular weak **-ˋwā** verbal nouns when no (in)direct object follows, e.g. **àbîn dà nakè cêwā shī nè**... 'what I'm saying is...', **sunà kâiwā gidā** 'they're reaching home' (with objects they retain the finite verb form).

The irregular monosyllabic verb **bā/bai** 'give (to)' derives from an original disyllabic form—cf. proto-Chadic ***barə** (Newman 1977a: 27)—and allows a number of surface C-form variants when the goal-recipient is nominal (see also **§11**). One of the most widespread forms in SH is F tone **bâ**, a phonological fusion of the basic H tone form **bā** and the L tone indirect object marker **wà** (i.e. < **bā-wà**), e.g. **nā bâ mutànē kuɗîn** 'I gave the people the money', and **bâi** (< **bai-wà**) is also used in this context (Newman 1982: 63, 1991b: 163). The H tone D-form variants **bai wà** (especially) and **bā wà,** both with **wà**, are also common with nominal recipients, e.g. **nā bai/bā wà mutànē kuɗîn**. When the thematic recipient is pronominal, it takes the surface form of the direct object personal pronoun—historically an indirect object pronoun suffix—and the B-form verb appears as invariant H **bā**, e.g. **yā bā mù kuɗîn** 'he gave us the money'. When the recipient is extracted and moved, either F **bâ** or H **bai wà** are used as A-forms, e.g. **ita cè na bâ kuɗîn = ita cè na bai wà kuɗîn** 'it's *her* I gave the money to'. If the recipient is not overtly expressed, a related efferential grade 5 is used, e.g. **nā bā(yař) dà kuɗîn** 'I gave (away) the money' (§3.2). The various surface forms of **bā/bai** do not have morphologically distinct verbal nouns.

2.2. *Grade 1 (basic verbs, applicatives)*

2.2.1. *Form*

Grade 1	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
(In)transitive	HL(H) **-ā**	HL(H) **-ā**	HL(L) **-a**	HL(H) **-ā**	
	gyārà	**gyārà**	**gyārà**	**gyārà**	'repair, fix'
	kammàlā	**kammàlā**	**kammàlà**	**kammàlā**	'complete'
	kōmà				'go (back) to'
	dākàtā			**dākàtā**	'wait'
Applicative	**naɗà**	**naɗà**	**naɗà**	**naɗà**	'wind on(to)'
	angàzā	**angàzā**	**angàzà**	**angàzā**	'push into, onto'

Grade 1 verbs have a long final **-ā** except in the pre-noun direct object C-form, where it is short **-a**. Disyllabic gr1s are HL tone, and trisyllabic gr1s are HLH tone, except in the C-form where the tone is HLL (see also Newman (2000: chap. 74:§3). Examples (gr1 verbs subcategorize for lexical H tone "strong" object pronouns in the B-form):

A-form:	**mè ya ɗinkà**?	'what did he sew?'
B-form:	**yā ɗinkà ta**	'he sewed it'
C-form:	**yā ɗinkà rìgā**	'he sewed a gown'
D-form:	**yā ɗinkà minì rìgā**	'he sewed a gown for me'
A-form:	**mè zā kà karàntā**?	'what will you read?'
B-form:	**zân karàntā ta**	'I'll read it'
C-form:	**zân karàntà littāfîn**	'I'll read the book'
D-form:	**zân karàntā makà littāfîn**	'I'll read the book to you'
A-form:	**bà zā sù kōmà ba**	'they won't go back'
B-form:	**zân dafà shi yànzu**	'I'll cook it now'
B-form:	**zân maimàitā shi**	'I'll repeat it'
C-form:	**kà bincìkà màganàr**	'you should investigate the matter'
D-form:	**kà dākàtā mîn**	'wait for me'
D-form:	**tā dakà wà mijìntà hatsī**	'she pounded the corn for her husband'

With 4-syllable gr1s the initial H tone simply spreads to the left, e.g. HHLL C-form **zā sù kakkaɽàntà lìttàttàfân** 'they will keep on reading the books'.

There are also a number of disyllabic gr1 verbs with a F (= HL) tone on the first syllable which behave like, and are morphologically analyzable as, HLH 3-syllable polyverbs (some are formed with the **-TA** verbalizer suffix, §6), e.g. **kin kyâutā** 'you've been kind' (< **kyâutā** 'be kind'), **kà kwântā nân** 'lie down here' (< **kwântā** 'lie down'), **nā mântà jàkātā** 'I've forgotten my bag' (= HLL short **-a** C-form < **mântā** 'forget'), **kin shâidā ta**? 'do you know her?' (< **shâidā** 'confirm, know, recognize'). Note too **rântā** 'lend (money)', **sânyā** 'put, place' (= monosyllabic **sâ** ?< gr1 **sakǎ**), **shânyā** 'spread out to dry', **zântā** 'discuss, converse'.

Some gr1 verbs are morphologically complex stems containing semantically empty, frozen -CV(V) (mainly L tone) suffixes. Examples: (**-yà**(**a**)) **karyǎ** 'break', **shiryǎ** 'prepare'; (**-kà**(**a**)) **ɗinkǎ** 'sew', **faɽkǎ** 'wake up' (< **fàɗakà** gr3), **shūkǎ** 'plant, sow'; (**-gà**(**a**)) **ƙirgǎ** 'count', **wuɽgǎ** 'throw'; (**-nà**(**a**)) **aunǎ** 'weigh, measure', **zaunǎ** 'sit down, settle'; (**-sa**(**a**), with grade-specific tone) **gaisǎ** 'exchange greetings', **ƙāràsā** 'finish'. Trisyllabic gr1 verbs with the more productive verbalizer **-TA** suffix (§6) include: **daidàitā** 'straighten, arrange', **dākàtā** 'wait', **gaggàutā** 'rush, hurry', **kyautàtā** 'improve', **maimàitā** 'repeat', and **musàntā** 'deny, contradict'. Verbs with these fused suffixes also occur in other grades—see relevant sections below and Jungraithmayr (1970), Lemeshko (1967), Newman (2000: chap. 76), and Parsons (1975) for various treatments. Gr1 also includes some loan-verbs, e.g. **bayyànā** (< Ar.) 'explain, describe', **canjǎ** = **canzǎ** (< Eng.) 'change', **fassàɽā** (< Ar.) 'translate', **halàkā** (< Ar.) 'destroy', **jaɽɽàbā** (< Ar.) 'test, examine', **kaɽàntā** (?< Kan.) 'read', **ɽubùtā** (< Kan.) 'write', **wānǎ** (< Eng.) 'wind'.

Gr1 verbs operate weak verbal nouns with the **-ˋwā** suffix added to the A-form when no object follows, e.g. **mè takè dafàwā**? 'what is she cooking?', **sunǎ kōmàwā gidā dà yâmma** 'they return home in the evening'. (Notice that intransitive gr1 motion-verbs, like gr6 (§3.3), appear with the suffix before goal locatives.) When the **-ˋwā** suffix is attached to a final H tone the output is a Fall, e.g. **tanǎ kaɽàntâwā** 'she's reading' (cf. **kaɽàntā**), **sunǎ zântâwā** 'they're

talking' (cf. **zântā**). A few gr1 verbs operate strong (gr2-type) verbal nouns, e.g. **dakà** = SVN of gr1 **dakà** 'pound (corn)', **haɓà** = SVN of gr1 **haɓà** 'dig', **hǔɗā** = SVN of gr1 **hūɗà** 'bank up, ridge' (originally a gr2 verb). In the Imperative, gr1 verbs have (L)LH tone, e.g. **dàfā (shi)**! 'cook (it)!', **kàřàntā (shi)**! 'read (it)!', **tsàyā**! 'stop!', except in the short final **-a** C-form where the pattern is all L, e.g. **dàfà àbincîn**! 'cook the food!', **kàřàntà littāfîn**! 'read the book!'.

2.2.2. Function and meaning

Grade 1 includes basic, non-extended transitive (mainly) and intransitive lexical final **-ā** verbs, e.g. **niɓà** tr. 'grind', **gusà** intr. 'move aside', plus derived applicative final **-ā** verbs (often subcategorized for a following indirect object), e.g. **kōyà** 'teach'.

2.2.2.1. Basic verbs. Examples of semantically neutral, non-derived, HL final **-ā** gr1 verbs are:

> Transitive: **cikà** 'fill', **dafà** 'cook', **dainà** 'stop', **dakà** 'pound', **fārà** 'begin', **gamà** 'finish', **gasà** 'roast', **gwadà** 'test, measure', **gyārà** 'fix, repair', **haɓà** 'dig', **iyà** 'be able to', **kafà** 'establish', **kāmà** 'catch, seize', **niɓà** 'grind', **rabà** 'divide, share out', **rinà** 'dye', **sāɓà** 'weave', **sōyà** 'fry', **taɓà** 'touch', **taunà** 'chew', **tunà** 'remember', **wāsà** 'sharpen', **zubà** 'pour'
> Intransitive (often with actor subjects): **dārà** 'laugh', **gānà** 'have a (private) chat', **gusà** 'move aside', **hūtà** 'rest', **jimà** 'spend some time', **kōmà** 'go (back) to', **lafà** 'subside, die down', **nitsà** 'calm down', **tsayà** 'stop, stand'

Some gr1s can behave as transitive or intransitive verbs, e.g. (tr.) **sun kāmà ɓàrāwòn** 'they seized the thief' vs. (intr.) **àbîn dà ya kāmà dàgà nân zuwà cân** 'what reaches from here to there'. A few gr1 forms—especially "look"-verbs—function as the intransitive counterparts of transitive gr2 verbs, usually occurring with actor subjects (i.e. the entity which performs or effects the action). Examples:

nā dūbǎ̀ bàn gan kà ba	'I looked (but) I didn't see you'
(cf. **dǔbā** gr2 'look at')	
mun nēmǎ̀ bà mù sāmǔ̀ ba	'we looked (but) we didn't find (it)'
(cf. **nɛ̌mā** gr2 'look for')	
sukà taimàkā sukà kāmɛ̌ shi	'they helped to arrest him'
(cf. **tàimakǎ̀** gr2 'help')	
kù saurǎ̀rā!	'listen!' (cf. **sàurārǎ̀** gr2 'listen to')

Grade 1 also contains a number of commonly-used sociative verbs, i.e. lexical transitive/intransitive gr1 verbs extended with the instrumental-comitative preposition **dà** 'with'. Examples: **aikǎ̀ dà** 'send', **gaisǎ̀ dà** 'exchange greetings with', **gamǎ̀ dà** 'finish with', **gānǎ̀ dà** 'have a (private) discussion with', **haɗǎ̀ dà** 'include', **hūtǎ̀ dà** 'take a break from', **kulǎ̀ dà** 'pay attention to, take care of', **mântā dà** 'forget', **sābǎ̀ dà** 'get used to', **tunǎ̀ dà** 'remember' (see §11:3.8). Larger idiomatic verb phrases headed by gr1 verbs include: **aunà ařzìkī** 'be really lucky' (lit. weigh luck), **bugà wayǎ̀** 'telephone' (beat wire), **cikà bǎ̀kī** 'boast' (fill mouth), **gamà girā** 'frown' (join eyebrow), **karyà kùmallō** 'have breakfast' (break nausea). Note too **sâ hannū** 'sign' (put hand), and **sâ râi** 'expect' (put mind), with **sâ** probably < gr1 **sakǎ̀**).

2.2.2.2. Applicative verbs. Derivative grade 1 "applicatives" are formed with an extensional suffix **-ā** with the same tones and final vowel as basic non-extended gr1 verbs, i.e. **-ā**$^{HL(H)}$. Applicatives express the notion of applying the verbal action onto the (in)direct object or directing the action towards a locative goal. Historically, the applicative was a distinct extension, and its surface phonological identity with authentic final **-ā** gr1 verbs is the accidental result of a historical merger. See Newman (1973: 339, 1977b: 289ff., 1991b: 163-64), and Parsons (1954, 1962, 1971/72).

The applicative extension can be used to derive transitive-applicative verbs from basic gr3 intransitives, e.g. **zân sulǎ̀là miyǎ̀** 'I'll heat up the soup' (cf. **sùlālà** gr3 'become heated'). Intransitive-applicatives are possible with locative goals, e.g. **yā fāɗǎ̀ ruwa** 'he fell into the water' (cf. **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall (down)').

Note too the following gr1 transitive-applicatives with typically inanimate direct objects and locative phrases:

yā cūsà tsûmmā à rāmìˆ	'he stuffed a rag into the hole'
sun kimsà kāyā cikin àkwắtìn	'they stuffed the things into the box'
yanầ kwaɓà faɾ̌tanyầ à ƙōtầ	'he is hafting a hoe onto the handle'
zâi naɗà rawànī à kânsà	'he'll wind a turban on his head'
tā yāfà mayāfī à kântà	'she wrapped a shawl round her head'

They are also exploited in a few cases to simply add the applicative notion to basic gr2 transitive verbs:

nā jēfà wàsīƙàɾ̌ cikin àkwắtìn wàsìƙunsà
'I put (threw) the letter in his mailbox' (cf. **jȅfā** gr2 'throw (at)')

yā haɾ̌bà bindigầ	'he fired a gun' (cf. **hàɾ̌bā** gr2 'shoot (at)')
jầkī yā shūrà ƙafầ	'the donkey kicked out its leg' (cf. **shȕrā** gr2 'kick')

2.2.2.3. Applicatives with indirect objects. A number of primary verbs in grades 2 and 3 are not subcategorized for indirect objects and so take an applicative (gr1) **-ā** suffix pre-datively, expressing a range of meanings (= 'to, for, on, into' etc.), e.g. **zân faɗầ wà Mammàn làbāɾ̌ìn** 'I'll tell the news to Mamman', where the gr2 verb **fàɗā** 'tell, state' is replaced by the HL **-ā** applicative extension before the i.o. phrase **wà Mammàn** 'to Mamman'. Examples:

nā ambàtā masà màganàɾ̌ (cf. **àmbatầ** gr2 'mention')	'I mentioned the matter to him'
zâi arầ minì kȅkensà	'he'll lend me his bike' (cf. **àrā** gr2 'borrow')
yā kōyầ matà Hausa	'he taught her Hausa' (cf. **kȍyā** gr2 'learn')
nā nēmầ wà yārȍnā aikìˆ (cf. **nȅmā** gr2 'look for')	'I looked for a job for my son'
zân sayầ mikì mōtầ	'I'll buy a car for you' (cf. **sàyā** gr2 'buy')
kà taimàkā manà	'help us' (cf. **tàimakầ** gr2 'help')

tā fāɗà minì dà faɗà	'she attacked me' (cf. **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall (down)')
yā haƙùrā matà	'he gave up on her'
(cf. **hàƙurà** gr3 'be patient')	
Note too: **mè ya aukà masà**?	'what happened to him?'
(= pre-dative applicative of gr7 **àuku** 'happen')	

With a number of instrument applicative verbs, the surface i.o. is the animate affectee and the instrument is formally expressed as a d.o. Examples:

yā daɓà masà wuƙā	'he stabbed him with a knife'
3m.PF stab IOM.3m knife	
nā gōgà wà mōtà mân mōtà	'I rubbed car-polish on the car'
1sg.PF rub IOM car polish.of car	
= **nā gōgà mân mōtà jìkin mōtà**	(alternative d.o. + locative goal structure)
tā lullùɓā wà yārònta zanè	'she covered her child with a cloth'
3f.PF cover IOM child.of.3f cloth	
yā sōkà minì wuƙā	'he stabbed a knife into me'
3m.PF stab IOM.1sg knife	
= (gr2) **yā sǒkē nì dà wuƙā**	'he stabbed me with a knife'

Some verbs occur mainly (sometimes only) as pre-dative gr1 applicatives, e.g.

yā dallàřā minì tōcìlàn	'he flashed a torch at me'
kà gayà manà gàskiyā	'tell us the truth'

2.2.2.4. Denominal grade 1 verbs. A number of so-called "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality"—mainly those with related intensive sensory adjectives (§5:6.5)—operate derivative HLH gr1 transitive verbs, sometimes matched with LHL gr3 intransitives. These are formed by adding a suffix **-aC-** to the base (where **C** = copy of the base-final consonant). The surface tones and final **-a**(**a**) vowel of the resulting sensory trisyllabic verb are grade-specific (see also Newman 2000: chap. 2). Examples (citation HLH final **-ā** A-forms):

fāɗàɗā 'broaden' (< **fāɗī** 'breadth', cf. LHL gr3intr **fàɗaɗà** 'become broad'), **kaifàfā** 'sharpen' (< **kaifī** 'sharpness'), **ƙarfàfā** 'strengthen' (< **ƙarfī** 'strength', cf. gr3 **ƙàrfafà** 'become strong(er)'), **ƙuntàtā** 'pester, harass' (< **ƙuncī** 'narrowness, restriction'), **raunànā** 'weaken' (< **raunī** 'suppleness, frailty'), **sanyàyā** 'cool' (< **sanyī** 'cold', cf. gr3 **sànyayà** 'become cold(er)'), **sauƙàƙā** 'relieve, lessen' (< **sauƙī** 'easiness, relief', cf. gr3 **sàuƙaƙà** 'become (more) easy'), **tsauràrā** 'tighten' (< **tsaurī** 'tightness', cf. gr3 **tsàurarà** 'become tight(er)'), **zāfàfā** 'heat up' (< **zāfī** 'heat', cf. gr3 **zàfafà** 'become hot(ter)'), **zurfàfā** 'deepen' (< **zurfī** 'depth', cf. gr3 **zùrfafà** 'become deep(er)'), e.g. **zā mù zurfàfà wannàn rījìyā** 'we're going to deepen this well'. Note too **mūnànā** 'to wrong' (< **mūnì** 'ugliness, evil').

A number of denominal trisyllabic transitive gr1 verbs also occur with the derivational **-TA** suffix (§6). Typically, the gr1 verb takes an experiencer object, and the corresponding gr3 has an experiencer subject, e.g. **dangàntā** 'relate, associate' (cf. gr3 **dàngantà** 'depend (on)'), **fusàtā** 'anger' (cf. gr3 **fùsātà** 'become angry'), **tsōràtā** 'frighten' (cf. gr3 **tsòratà** 'become frightened').

2.3. Grade 2 (basic transitive verbs, partitives)

2.3.1. Form

Grade 2	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
Transitive	LH(L) **-ā**	(L)LH **-ē**	(L)LH **-i**	HL(H) **-ā** and/or H **-ař** D-suffix	
Basic	**sàyā**	**sàyē**	**sàyi**	**sayǎ, sayař**	'buy'
	tàmbayǎ	**tàmbàyē**	**tàmbàyi**	**tambàyā, tambayař**	'ask'
Partitive	**yànkā**	**yànkē**	**yànki**	**yankǎ, yankař**	'cut off part of'
	gùtsurǎ	**gùtsùrē**	**gùtsùri**	**gutsùrā, gutsurař**	'break off piece'

Transitive only grade 2 verbs are the most morphologically complex of the primary grades (see also Newman 2000: chap. 74: §4). In the citation A-form,

when the underlying direct object has been moved or deleted, they have LH(L) tones and end in final **-ā**. Examples:

kin sàyā?	'did you buy (it)?'
àbîn dà mukà nèmā kè nan	'that's what we looked for'
wǎ zā kà tàmbayǎ?	'who will you ask?'

There are also a handful of common disyllabic gr2 verbs which have A-forms different from the canonical LH **-ā** shape, e.g. **ɗaukǎ** 'pick up, take, carry' (< regular LHL ***ɗàwakǎ**, and LH **/ɗàwa/** reducing to H **/ɗau/** with tonal simplification), **ɗībǎ** 'take out, draw (water)', **faɗǐ** (= **fàɗā**) 'state, tell, say', **sakǐ** (= **sàkā**) 'release', **sāmǔ** 'get, find' (dial. **sǎmā**). (These irregular A-forms are isomorphic with the corresponding strong verbal nouns, and Newman 2000: chap. 77 has suggested that these and other gr2 A-forms may in fact result from the extended use of an original verbal noun in a finite environment, see §**8**:5.2.2) Note too the aspectual gr2 verb **rìgā** 'have already done s'th.' (= gr0 **rigā**) which only occurs in the A-form in coordinate structures, e.g. **nā rìgā nā isō** 'I've already arrived'.

In the pre-direct object pronoun B-form, the final vowel changes to long **-ē** with (L)LH tones. The pronoun is the same default L tone "weak" clitic form used with gr0 verbs (and is indicated in this section with a linking hyphen). Before the B-form front vowel **-ē** (and the final **-i** C-form, see below), the coronal obstruents **/t, s, d, z/** palatalize to **/c, sh, j, j/** respectively, e.g. **sǎt̲ā** 'steal' → **sǎc̲ē/sǎc̲i** (B/C), **ìs̲ā** 'suffice' → **ìsh̲ē/ìsh̲i**, **gǎd̲ā** 'inherit' → **gǎj̲ē/gǎj̲i**, **cǐz̲ā** 'bite' → **cǐj̲ē/cǐj̲i**. Examples:

wannàn yā ìshē-nì	'this is enough for me'
kàrên zâi cǐjē-kà	'the dog will bite you'
nā nèmē-sù	'I looked for them'
zā tà tàmbàyē-shì	'she'll ask him'

Some gr2 verbs allow a clipped B-form with a single heavy CVV syllable (also attested with C/D-forms), e.g. **zân ɗau-shì** </= **zân ɗàukē-shì** 'I'll take it',

where the surface H tone results from LH → H simplification on the resulting monosyllabic stem. It is also possible in fast speech to reduce the 1sg and 3m pronouns **nì** and **shì** to **-n** and **-s** respectively (following deletion of the /**i**/ vowel of the pronoun the L tone is preserved and merges with the preceding stem-final H to form a F, and the verb-final /**ē**/ shortens and centralizes to /**a**/ in the closed syllable). Examples:

sun bùgâ-n </= sun bùgē-nì	'they beat me'
tā tùntùßâ-n </= tā tùntùßē-nì	'she got in touch with me'
yā ìsâ-s </= yā ìshē-shì	'it's enough for him'
yā dàmfàrâ-s </= yā dàmfàrē-shì	'he cheated him'
(both with /**sh**/ → /**s**/ depalatalization)	

In the pre-noun/clause direct object C-form, the same (L)LH tone pattern is used, and the final vowel changes to short **-i** (the historically original "schwa-class" final vowel). Examples:

nā ɗàuki kāyā	'I picked up the loads'
bài fàɗi kōmē ba	'he didn't say anything'
zân kwàfi takàrdâř	'I'll copy the paper' (< Eng. 'copy')
nā nèmi yârân	'I looked for the boys'
tā sằmu aikì	'she got a job'
(with irregular final /**-u**/ C-form **sằmu**, conditioned by the preceding labial /**m**/)	
zân sàyi rìgā	'I'll buy a dress'
yā càncànci yà sằmu kyàutā	'he deserves to get a prize'
(= sentential object)	
tā tàmbàyi mālàmîn	'she asked the teacher'
yakàn tàimàki mutằnē	'he helps people'

Note too the following clipped C-forms: **nā ɗau kāyā </= nā ɗàuki kāyā** 'I picked up the loads', **zân sai rìgā </= zân sàyi rìgā** 'I'll buy a dress'.

As with grades 0, 1 and 3, some gr2 verbs contain erstwhile suffixes, e.g. (**-ya(a)**) **hàɗiyà** 'swallow', **tàmbayà** 'ask', (**-ka(a)**) **ɗaukà** 'take' (< ***ɗàwakà**), (**-ga(a)**) **hàngā** 'see from distance', (**-na(a)**) **tsòkanà** 'poke, prod', and others have the verbalizer **-TA** suffix (§6), e.g. **dàngantà** 'relate', **gàyyatà** 'invite'.

Grade 2 verbs, like grs3 and 7, cannot be used before an indirect object. Instead, they shift in the D-context to another grade or extension (see §5 for details). Examples:

zân faɗà makà làbārìn (= applicative gr1-D) 'I'll tell you the news'
(cf. **fàɗā** gr2 'say, tell')
yā ambatař wà àbōkinsà zàncên (= gr2 + all H D-suffix **-ař**)
'he mentioned the problem for his friend' (cf. **àmbatà** gr2 'mention')
inà nēmam masà aikì (= gr2 + D-suffix) 'I'm looking for a job for him'
(cf. **nèmā** gr2 'look for')

Before indirect objects, some gr2 verbs allow a H tone clipped D-form, e.g. **zân ɗau wà màigidā kāyā** </= **zân ɗaukà wà màigidā kāyā** 'I'll carry the things for the boss' (cf. **ɗaukà** 'carry'), **kà sam minì gōřò** </= **kà sāmà minì gōřò** 'give (get) me some kolanut' (cf. **sāmù** 'get'), **zân sai wà màtātā rìgā** </= **zân sayà wà màtātā rìgā** 'I'll buy a dress for my wife'.

There are three very common transitive verbs—HL **barì** 'let, leave', **sanì** 'know' (= metathesized **shinà**) and HH **ganī** 'see'—with final **-ī** citation A-forms (= Newman's final **-i** class), e.g. **nā barì/sanì/ganī** 'I allow (s'th.)/know/see'. For purposes of classification these verbs, with the possible exception of HH **ganī**, can be treated as irregular gr2* verbs which undergo segmental reduction before an object—cf. the unusual final **-ì** A-forms of gr2 **faɗì** 'state, say', and **sakì** 'release'. In the C-, B- and D-positions (**barì** only), **barì** and **sanì** drop the lexical final **-ì**, e.g. (C) **nā bař kuɗîn** 'I left the money', (B) **nā bař-shì** 'I left it' (with rolled /**ř**/ word-finally), (D) **zân bař makà aikìn** 'I'll leave the work for you', (C) **kin san wannàn màcè**? 'do you know this woman?', (B) **kin san-tà**? 'do you know her?'. **Ganī** also clips its final **-ī** in the B-form, e.g. **nā gan-sù** 'I

saw them', and is further eroded to **ga** in the C-form, e.g. **nā ga mutànên** 'I saw the people'. Unusually, the C-form **ga** can also be used when no object follows, e.g. **kâ ga** 'you'll see'. In the D-context, **ganī** switches to gr4 **ganè**, e.g. **zân ganè makà mōtà** 'I'll keep an eye on the car for you'. All three verbs have final **-ī** strong verbal nouns which are identical with their finite pre-zero A-forms, e.g. **inà ganin hakà nē** 'I see this is so'.

In nonfinite environments, gr2 verbs operate lexical strong verbal nouns with unpredictable shapes, e.g. **sunà sūkàř gwamnatì** 'they are criticizing the government', where **sūkà** is the strong verbal noun of gr2 **sòkā** 'criticize' (with a feminine genitive linker **-ř** before the object), **yanà kòyon Hausa** 'he's learning Hausa' (cf. gr2 **kòyā** 'learn'), etc.

In the Imperative, gr2 verbs appear with (L)LH tone and have short final **-i** in the A- and C-forms, e.g. (A-form) **kàrɓi**! 'take (it)!', **tàmbàyi**! 'ask!', (C-form) **kàrɓi wannàn**! 'take this!', **tàmbàyi Audù**! 'ask Audu!', and display the same Imperative stem tones before indirect objects, e.g. **fàɗā minì gàskiyā**! 'tell me the truth!'. In the B-position, the (L)LH Imperative melody extends over the entire fused stem + clitic pronoun, e.g. **sàkè-mu**! 'release us!' (cf. **sakì** 'release'), **tàimàkè-su**! 'help them!' (cf. **tàimakà** 'help').

2.3.2. Function and meaning

The semantics of transitive only grade 2 verbs are the most difficult to capture in a unified way. Grade 2 contains basic verbs—the largest transitive class in the language—in addition to derived verbs with a partitive force. For various treatments see: Abdoulaye (1996), Abraham (1959b), Gouffé (1988), Lukas (1963), Newman (1973), Parsons (1954, 1971/72), Pilszczikowa (1969), and Zarruk' (n.d.).

2.3.2.1. Basic verbs. Some of the more common, semantically unspecified basic gr2 verbs include (some of the trisyllabic verbs are morphologically complex):

àgazà 'help', **àikā** 'send', **àurā** 'marry', **bùkātà** 'need', **cājā** 'charge (law)' (< Eng.), **cìzā** 'bite', **dàmfarà** 'cheat', **dòkā** 'hit', **ɗaukà** 'pick up, take, carry', **ɗībà** 'dip out, take out', **fàɗā** 'tell, state', **gādā** 'inherit', **gàřgaɗà** 'warn', **hàřbā** 'shoot at', **kàllā** 'watch', **kàrɓā** 'accept, receive', **kòrā** 'drive away', **kòyā** 'learn', **kwàikwayà** 'imitate', **nèmā** 'look for', **sakì** 'release', **sāmù** 'get, obtain', **sàrā** 'chop up, clear', **sàtā** 'steal', **sàurārà** 'listen to', **sàyā** 'buy', **shàfā** 'concern', **tàimakà** 'help', **tàmbayà** 'ask', **yàƙā** 'make war on', **zàɓā** 'choose', **zàgā** 'insult'

Some gr2 verbs express a metaphorical extension of the often kinetic-physical meaning of a related gr1 form, usually implying that the gr2 verbal action is to the detriment of the (animate) patient, e.g. **dàmā** 'bother, annoy' (cf. gr1 **dāmà** 'mix, stir'), **sòkā** 'criticize, stab' (cf. gr1 **sōkà** 'stab into'). Note too the gr2 C-form verb in the collocational verb phrase idiom **làshi takòbī** 'pledge' (lit. lick sword).

2.3.2.2. Partitives. Grade 2 also contains a number of complex verbs with a quantity partitive meaning which consist of a verb stem plus a derivative partitive **-i** extension with (L)LH tones, i.e. **-i**$^{(L)LH}$, producing forms which are isomorphic with basic gr2 stems. Common citation A-form partitive gr2 verbs include (many have related non-partitive basic gr1 forms):

àikatà 'finish part of' (cf. gr1 **aikàtā** 'do, perform'), **gàtsā** 'bite off piece of' (cf. gr1 **gātsà** 'bite'), **hàƙā** 'dig out' (cf. gr1 **haƙà** 'dig'), **jèmā** 'tan part of' (cf. gr1 **jēmà** 'tan'), **tòyā** 'fry some of' (cf. gr1 **tōyà** 'fry (in oil)'), **gùtsurà** 'break off piece of' (cf. gr1 **gutsùrā** 'break off'), **sùssukà** 'thresh part of' (cf. gr1 **sussùkā** 'thresh'), **tsìntā** 'pick out', **yànkā** 'cut piece off' (cf. gr1 **yankà** 'cut, slaughter')

2.4. Grade 3 (basic intransitive verbs)

Grade 3	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
Intransitive only	LH(L) **-a**			all H **-ař** D-suffix and/or HL(H) **-ā** or gr4 HL(H) **-ē**	
	shìga			**shigař**	'enter'
	màkarà				'be late'
	hàƙurà			**haƙurař**, **haƙùrā**	'be patient'
	LLH **-a**				
	fìřfìta				'all go out'
Grade 3a	HH **-a**				
	tūba			**tūbař**	'repent'
Grade 3b	HL **-i, -a, -u**				
	fāɗì			**fāɗà**	'fall'
	ɓatà			**ɓacề**	'become lost'
	mutù			**macề**	'die'

2.4.1. Form

Primary grade 3 verbs end in lexically specific short **-a** and fall into two tone-based subcategories—LH(L) gr3 and HH gr3a (see also Newman 2000: chap. 74: §5). There is also a small subset of HL tone gr3b verbs ending in **-i, -a,** or **-u**. Since gr3 verbs are exclusively intransitive, they operate pre-zero A-forms only, though a few can occur before indirect objects, in which case, like gr2, they switch to another form.

*2.4.1.1. Grade 3 (LH(L) **-a**).* Most disyllabic LH gr3s have an initial light CV syllable:

> **cìka** 'be filled', **ɗìga** 'drip', **fìta** 'go out', **ìsa** 'arrive, reach', **jìƙa** 'get wet', **nùka** 'ripen', **rùɓa** 'rot', **shìga** 'go in'

(Cf. though **sàuka** 'descend, get down, lodge', and **yàřda** 'agree' with initial heavy syllables.) Polysyllabic gr3 verbs have LHL tone:

> **ànkařà** 'pay attention', **hàlakà** 'perish', **kùmburà** 'swell up', **màkarà** 'be late', **zàburà** 'jump up'

Grade 3 verbs with identifiable frozen suffixes include:

(**-ya(a)**) **kàrayà** 'lose hope, despair' (= clipped **kàrai**), **sàrāyà** 'disappear' (= clipped **sàrai**), **sùnkuyà** 'bend down', (**-ka(a)**) **fàɗakà** 'wake up', **sàuka** 'get down, lodge', (-**na(a)**) **zàmanà** 'become'

There are also three frozen clipped forms which derive historically from original 3-syllable LHL gr3 stems with the erstwhile **-yà(a)** suffix: **gàji** 'tire' (< ***gàji-yà**), **ƙôshi** 'be replete' (< ***ƙôshi-yà**), **tàfi** 'go' (< ***tàfi-yà**) (cf. the extant deverbal nouns **gàjiyà** 'tiredness', **ƙôshiyà** 'wooden spoon', and **tàfiyà** 'journey' which preserve the suffixes).

Trisyllabic derived "pluractional" gr3 verbs usually have a LLH tone (in contrast to the canonical LHL pattern), e.g. **fìffìta** 'all go out' (< **fìta** 'go out'), **cìccìka** 'all fill up' (< **cìka** 'fill up'), **shìsshìga** 'repeatedly go in' (< **shìga** 'go in'). This results from reduplication of the C_1VC_2- element (e.g. **fìt-**), complete with its integral L tone (see also §7).

Some Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality form copular (change-of-state) trisyllabic gr3 verbs—in addition to paired transitive gr1 verbs—by attaching a suffix **-aC-** to the base (where **C** = copy of base-final consonant). Examples:

fàɗaɗà 'become broad' (< **fāɗī** 'breadth'), **kàifafà** 'be sharpened' (< **kaifī** 'sharpness'), **ƙàrfafà** 'be strengthened' (< **ƙarfī** 'strength'), **ƙùntatà** 'be constricted, restricted' (< **ƙuncī** 'narrowness, restriction'), **ràunanà** 'become weakened' (< **raunī** 'suppleness'), **sànyayà** 'get cold' (< **sanyī** 'cold'), **sàuƙaƙà** 'become easy, lessen' (< **sauƙī** 'easiness'), **tsàurarà** 'become tight' (< **tsaurī** 'tightness'), **zǎfafà** 'become hot' (< **zāfī** 'heat'), **zùrfafà** 'become deep, get deep into' (< **zurfī** 'depth'), e.g. **tā zùrfafà cikin Hausa** 'she's got deeply into Hausa'.

Some gr3 verbs, often with experiencer subjects, are formed with the verbalizer **-TA** suffix (§6), e.g. **dàngantà** 'depend (on)' (< **dangì** 'family, relations'), **fùsātà** 'become angry' (< **fushī** 'anger'), **tsòratà** 'become frightened' (< **tsòrō** 'fear').

Gr3 final short **-a** verbs form their (feminine gender) verbal nouns by simply lengthening the final vowel, e.g. **sunà̀ fìtā̀** 'they are going out' (< **fìta** 'go out'), **kullum yanà̀ màkarà̀** 'he is always late' (< **màkarà** 'be late'). In the Imperative, disyllabic gr3 verbs vacuously display the canonical LH tone pattern, e.g. **fìta**! 'get out!' (< **fìta**), **sàuka lāfiyà̀**! 'safe journey (arrive safely)!' (< **sàuka**). Polysyllabic gr3s either have the left-spreading Imperative LH pattern, or appear with the lexical (L)LHL tones, e.g. **hàƙùra dà àbîn**! = **hàƙurà dà àbîn**! 'be patient with the matter (accept it)!' (< **hàƙurà**), **mùsùlùnta**! = **mùsùluntà**! 'become a Muslim!' (< **mùsùluntà**).

*2.4.1.2. Grade 3a (HH **-a**).* Most verbs in the small disyllabic HH final short **-a** gr3a subclass have a heavy (CVV, CVC) initial syllable—in contrast to most LH gr3 verbs which have a *light* first syllable)—the exceptions being gr3a (aspectual) **kusa** 'be close to (doing sth.)', and **zama** 'be(come), live' (= clipped **zam**). Common intransitive grade 3a verbs include: **ɓūya** 'hide', **girma** 'grow up', **kwāna** 'spend the night' (= clipped **kwan**), **ƙaura** '(e)migrate', **saura** 'remain, be left over', **sūma** 'faint', **tsīra** 'escape', **tsūfa** 'grow old', and **tūba** 'repent'.

Gr3a verbs, like gr3, lengthen their final vowel to form verbal nouns, e.g. **ìnā yakè ɓūyā̀**? 'where is he hiding?' (< **ɓūya** 'hide'), **tā fārà tsūfā̀** 'she's started to age' (< **tsūfa** 'grow old'). They normally have masculine gender—gr3 verbal nouns are feminine—and a number of them function as independent nouns, e.g. **girmā** m. 'size' (cf. **girma** 'grow up'), **kwānā** m. 'day, period of 24 hours' (cf. **kwāna** 'spend the night'), **saurā** m. 'remainder, rest' (cf. **saura** 'remain'). (Parsons (p.c. to Newman) has suggested that gr3a stems could in fact be back-formations from such (verbal) nouns.) In the Imperative, gr3a verbs have the LH tone pattern, e.g. **ɓǔya**! 'hide!' (< **ɓūya**), **kwà̀na lāfiyà̀**! 'sleep well!' (< **kwāna**).

*2.4.1.3. Grade 3b (HL **-i, -u, -a**).* There are also a number of common HL disyllabic (gr3b) intransitive verbs ending in short **-i**, **-u**, or **-a**, all of them probably phonologically-conditioned reflexes of Newman's (1973, 1975) lexical

final **-i** (or schwa **-ə**) class, with vowel assimilation. The full inventory is: (**-i**) **ɓācì** 'deteriorate, spoil', **fāɗì** 'fall', **tāshì** 'stand/get up', **wunì = yinì** 'spend the day'; (**-u**) **gudù** 'run (away)', **haifù = haihù** 'give birth', **mutù** 'die'; (**-a**) **ɓatà** 'get lost'.

Grade 3b verbs, like other gr3 verbs, usually lengthen their final vowels to form their (masculine) verbal nouns, e.g. **ɓatà/ɓatầ** 'get lost/getting lost', **gudù/gudû̀** 'run/running', **tāshì/tāshî̀** 'get up/getting up'. Some, however, add a feminine **-ā** suffix to the stem (with insertion of an epenthetic **-w-** glide), e.g. (HLH verbal noun with initial heavy syllable) **fāɗì/fāɗùwā** 'fall/falling', **haifù/haifùwā** 'give birth/giving birth', (HHL verbal noun with initial light syllable) **mutù/mutuwầ** 'die/dying'. Those gr3b verbs that allow an Imperative manifest the paradigmatic LH tone pattern, e.g. **tầshi**! 'get up!' (< **tāshì**).

2.4.2. Function and meaning

Grade 3 verbs (gr3, gr3a, gr3b) are all intransitive, expressing a monadic verbal activity, and they include a number of motion-verbs (with optional goal locatives), copular verbs (with subject complement NPs), and change-of-state or entry-into-state verbs (often with Perfective TAMs). The grammatical subject can fulfil the thematic role of either actor, i.e. the entity which performs or effects the action, e.g. **sàuka** 'arrive', or affected-participant, i.e. undergoer or patient, e.g. **mutù** 'die'. Examples:

tùlûn yanầ cìkā	'the water-pot is filling up'
lōkàcī yā kusa	'the time is close'
yā sàuka gidā dà sāfe	'he arrived home in the morning'
zân shìga	'I'm going in'
yā zam(a) sarkī	'he became the emir'
mangwàřòn yā nùka	'the mango ripened'
yā tsūfa	'he is old/has grown old'
nā ƙòshi	'I'm full/sated'
ƙafàřsà tā kùmburà	'his leg has swelled'

mȁtātā tā haifù 'my wife has given birth'
bȁbansà yā mutù 'his father has died'
râinā yā ɓācì 'I'm devastated' (lit. life.of.1sg 3m.PF spoil)
yā bàyyanà gàban jàma'ȁ 'he appeared in public'
zūcìyātā tā ƙàrfafà 'I was encouraged'
(= denominal sensory verb)
sun tsȍratà 'they became frightened'
(= denominal gr3 with **-TA** suffix)
ruwân yā tàfasà 'the water has boiled'
(= unaccusative gr3 counterpart of transitive gr1 **tafàsā** 'boil')

A number of common modal "complement-taking expressions" are formed with an expletive 3m preverbal subject pronoun—often with a Perfective TAM—plus a trisyllabic gr3 verb, and the lower complement clause has a Subjunctive TAM. Examples: **yā kàmātà mù tàfi yànzu** 'we should go now' (lit. 'it is appropriate...'), **yā càncantà**... 'it is deserving, fitting...', **yā hàlattà**... 'it is lawful...', **yā wàjabtà**... 'it is incumbent...' (see **§13** for details).

Some gr3 verbs (all subclasses) can take indirect objects. Like grades 2 and 7, they then select either the **-ař** D-suffix or move to an appropriate secondary grade for the required D-form, sometimes with an internal vowel change (see §5 for details). Examples:

tā tūbam masà 'she begged his forgiveness'
(= **tūba** gr3a 'repent' + D-suffix with **ř** → **m** assimilation)
sun fāɗȁ wà àbȍkan gȁbā 'they fell on the enemy'
(= **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall' + applicative gr1-D)
yā haƙùrā = haƙurař wà mȁtařsà 'he gave up on his wife'
(= **hàƙurà** gr3 'be patient' + applicative gr1-D or D-suffix)
yā tsērȅ wà 'yan-sàndā 'he escaped from the police'
(= **tsīra** gr3a 'escape' + gr4-D)

nā yařdam mikì 'I agree for you (to do it)'
(= **yàřda** gr3 'agree' + D-suffix)
yā zamè minì jìkī 'it became natural for me'
(3m.PF become IOM.1sg body, = **zama** gr3a 'become' + gr4-D)
ƙwan làntařkì yā macè minì 'the lightbulb went out on me'
(= **mutù** gr3b 'die' + gr4-D)

A few gr3s, mainly actor verbs, can function as sociative verbs, extended with the preposition **dà** 'with', e.g. **yanằ lŭřā dà aikìnsà** 'he pays attention to his work', **nā yàřda dà màganàřkì** 'I agree with what you say', **nā gàji dà aikì** 'I'm tired of work'. See also **fìta dà** 'take out', **hàƙurà dà** 'give up on', and **tàfi dà** 'take away'. The gr3 verbs **dànganà** and **dŏgarà** 'depend/rely on' are subcategorized for a complement introduced either by **dà** or by the preposition **gà** 'on, in, etc.', e.g. **kà dànganà dà/gà Allàh** 'depend upon God', **tā dŏgarà dà/gà Audù** 'she relied on Audu'. Note too the idiomatic gr3 verb phrase **shìga ukù** 'be in real trouble' (lit. enter three).

3. Secondary Grades (Grades 4, 5, 6, 7)

Whilst the analysis of the basic primary grade verbs has been a matter of some debate, the use of semantically-specified fused extensions to derive distinct secondary grades is less controversial. Thus, grades 4-7 are all formed by attaching a derivational tone-integrating suffix which overrides the underlying tone pattern on the stem, whether monomorphemic or complex. The lexical semantics of the base verb combine with those of the secondary grade to produce morpho-semantically complex verbs which often have syntactic properties, e.g. clausal valency and argument structure, which are different from those of the underlying verbs. With the exception of grade 4 (the most productive), affixal

grade morphology creates relatively homogeneous semantic classes, and grades 4 (partially), 5, and 6 express a deictic-directional value.

Grade 4 (transitive and/or intransitive) contains "totality-conclusive" verbs, e.g. **sayè** 'buy up/all', "separative-deprivative" verbs, e.g. **ɗ'ēbè** 'remove, clear away, set aside', and "unaccusatives", e.g. **hūjè** 'be pierced'. Grade 5 (transitive only) "efferential" verbs indicate action away from the speaker, e.g. **aurař** (**dà**) 'marry off'. Grade 6 (transitive and/or intransitive) is "ventive-centripetal", expressing action directed towards a deictic centre (usually the speaker), e.g. **aurō** 'marry and bring back'. Grade 7 (intransitive only) contains "affected-subject" verbs, including semantic passives, where the surface grammatical subject is affected (often totally) by the action of the verb, e.g. **gyàru** 'be completely repaired', **hàɗ'u** 'meet'. (See relevant §§ below for details and variants.) There are also two secondary grades—involving the applicative and partitive extensions—which have merged phonologically with primary grades 1 and 2 respectively. (See Newman 1973: 342ff., 1977b, 1983: 401 for reconstruction of the original forms of the secondary grs4-7 extensions.) In some cases—especially with grade 4—verbs operate only secondary grades, the presumed source primary form being no longer attested. Grs 4-7 all operate weak verbal nouns in the A-context, suffixing **-ˋwā** if no complement (in)direct object follows.

3.1. Grade 4 (totality-conclusive, separative-deprivative, unaccusative)

Grade 4, together with grade 6, is the most productive of the secondary grades. Grade 4 treatments include: Bature (1991), Furniss (1981, 1983), Jaggar (1992b), Newman (1977b), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 74: §8).

3.1.1. Form

Grade 4	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
Transitive & intransitive	HL(H) **-ē**	HL(H) **-ē**	HL(L) **-e** HL(H) **-ē**	HL(H) **-ē**	
Totality-conclusive	**sayȅ** **bincìkē**	**sayȅ** **bincìkē**	**sayè, sayȅ** **bincìkè** **bincìkē**	**sayȅ** **bincìkē**	'buy up/all' 'search all of'
Separative-deprivative	**ƙwācȅ** **kařkàďē**	**ƙwācȅ** **kařkàďē**	**ƙwācè, ƙwācȅ** **kařkàďè** **kařkàďē**	**ƙwācȅ** **kařkàďē**	'take away' 'shake off'
	zubȅ **sullùßē**			**zubȅ** **sullùßē**	'leak away' 'slip away'
Unaccusative	**hūjȅ** **tsinkȅ**			**hūjȅ** **tsinkȅ**	'be pierced' 'snap, break'

Grade 4 verbs have HL(H) tones and suffix **-ē**, e.g. primary gr1 **ƙōnà** 'burn' + tone-integrating ē)$^{HL(H)}$ → gr4 **ƙōnȅ** 'burn up', gr1 **kammàlā** 'finish' + ē)$^{HL(H)}$ → gr4 **kammàlē** 'finish up', gr2 **sàyā** 'buy' + ē)$^{HL(H)}$ → gr4 **sayȅ** 'buy all'. Most grade 4 verbs derive from primary lexical verbs in grades 0-3, though some now operate exclusively as gr4 (see below). Grade 4 verbs have an invariant long final **-ē** in the A-, B- and D-forms. For some speakers, the pre-noun direct object C-form has either short final **-e** (cf. gr1 short **-a**), or a semantically more intensive-emphatic long final **-ē**. Disyllabic gr4 verbs all have HL tone, e.g. (citation A-form) **buřgȅ** 'impress', **cikȅ** 'fill up', **ďagȅ** 'lift (up)', **fācȅ** 'patch' (< Eng.), **gānȅ** 'understand', **yankȅ** 'cut off'. Gr4 polyverbs are (H)HLH, e.g. **ajìyē** 'put aside, deposit', **kasàncē** 'be(come), turn out', **sassāßùlē** 'peel off', **kwařařřàßē** 'become old/decrepit', except in the C-form, where the tone on the final vowel correlates with its length—H tone on long **-ē**, e.g. **tā shimfìďē̲ bàřgō** (= HLH) 'she spread out the blanket' vs. L tone on short **-e**, e.g. **sun ajìyȅ̲ kuďī** (= HLL) 'they deposited the money'. Gr4 verbs take the same lexical H tone direct object pronoun as gr1, e.g. **tā cikȅ̲ shi** 'she filled it up', **tā shimfìďē shi** 'she spread it out'.

There is a small subset of common FH tone gr4 verbs, all derived from gr0 **-i** and **-ā** monoverbs, which take an old totality extension **-nyē** (< ***-àn(y)ē**), e.g. **cînyē = cânyē** 'eat up' (< **ci** 'eat'), **jânyē** 'pull away, out' (< **jā** 'pull'), **shânyē** 'drink up' (< **shā** 'drink'), (archaic) **yînyē = wânyē** 'finish up' (< **yi** 'do'). The F (</= HL) tone on the initial syllable of these verbs results from syncope of the suffix-initial vowel and merging of its L tone with the preceding H, and they behave like 3-syllable HLH verbs for purposes of tone assignment (see §2.2.1 for comparable gr1 FH = HLH verbs). Bargery (1934: 506, 608) also lists several derivative forms based on HH **CiCā** gr0 verbs which include the original gr4 **-nyē** extension—the deverbal nominal forms **jìrànyē** 'waiting for' and (still attested) **kìrànyē** 'being affected by a magical charm', plus the archaic gr4 verb **kirànyē** 'summon'.) There are also a few disyllabic gr4 verbs with the same FH tones as the above gr4 forms, perhaps containing a frozen suffix **-kē**, e.g. **îskē** 'find', **câfkē** 'seize'.

The pseudo-monoverb **cê** 'say, tell' is historically an apocopated form of an original disyllabic gr4 verb ***canè**, an archaic form still attested in idioms. Gr4 verbs like **biyè** 'follow completely (e.g. lesson, step)', **fiyè** 'exceed' (= D-form of **fi**), and **ƙiyè** 'loathe' (= D-form of **ƙi**) are probably built on original, and still attested, extended gr1 stems **biyà**, **fiyà**, and **ƙiyà**.

In the Imperative, gr4 verbs, like gr1, manifest the regular (L)LH pattern, e.g. **rìƙē (ta)**! 'hold (it)!', **ɗ'èbē musù kāyā**! 'clear the things away for them!', **àjìyē su nân**! 'put them down here!'. In the C-form, the stem has all L tones if it ends in a short **-e**, e.g. **rìƙè wannàn**! 'hold this!', **àjìyè rĩgařkà nân**! 'put your coat down here!', and (L)LH if it has long final **-ē**, e.g. **rìƙē wannàn**!, **àjìyē rĩgařkà nân**!. Gr4 verbs operate weak verbal nouns with the **-̀wā** suffix added to the A-form when no object follows, e.g. **ruwā yanà zubèwā** 'the water is flowing away', **mè yakè shimfìɗ'êwā**? 'what is he spreading out?'. Note too the idiomatic gr4-headed verb phrase **kashè idò** 'dazzle' (lit. kill eye).

3.1.2. Function and meaning

Grade 4 includes both transitive and/or intransitive verbs. Semantically, it is the most heterogeneous of all the secondary grades, and its various extensional

nuances can be grouped into several non-discrete categories, with individual verbs sometimes stretching across categories. It has also evolved as a grade for semantically unmarked intransitive verbs.

3.1.2.1. Totality-conclusive. Totality-conclusive gr4 verbs indicate that the verbal action has impacted totally, conclusively, entirely, etc. on the direct object patient, or single-argument subject in the case of 1-place intransitives, with the additional resultative-terminal entailment that the action has been finalized, completed, etc. Examples (A-D contexts):

kin kammàlē shi?	'have you finished it up?' (< **kammàlā** gr1 'finish')
an kāmề shi	'he's been arrested' (< **kāmầ** gr1 'catch')
zân ƙōnề ta	'I'll burn it up' (< **ƙōnầ** gr1 'burn')
sun sayề gyàɗā (< **sàyā** gr2 'buy')	'they bought up all the groundnuts'
yā cînyē shi	'he ate it all up' (< **ci** gr0 'eat')
kin tsallàkē ta	'you overlooked her' (< **tsallàkā** gr1 'cross')
kì shânyē minì ruwā	'drink up the water for me' (< **shā** gr0 'drink')
sun bincìkề màganàř (< **bincìkā** gr1 'investigate')	'they investigated the matter thoroughly'
ìnā wandà akà hařbề? (< **hàřbā** gr2 'shoot')	'where's the one who was shot dead?'
mun ɓacề cikin gàrī (< **ɓatà** gr3b 'get lost')	'we got completely lost in town'

3.1.2.2. Separative-deprivative. A substantial number of often kinetic gr4 verbs have a separative-deprivative or action directed 'away, off, out, aside, down' meaning, a deictic-directional value which sometimes overlaps with the totality-conclusive semantics. Separative-deprivative gr4s often combine with a following indirect object, which then typically takes on a malefactive reading. Examples:

yā cirè/shūrè tằkàlminsà 'he took/kicked off his shoes'
(< **cirằ** gr1 'lift up', < **shūrằ** gr1 'kick out foot')
yā bugè yāròn 'he knocked the boy over'
(< **bùgā** gr2 'hit, strike')
mōtằr tā bankè tumākī 'the car knocked down all the sheep'
(< **bànkā** gr2 'collide with, push against')
'yan-kwastàn sun ƙwācè manà kāyā
'customs officials confiscated our baggage' (< **ƙwằtā** gr2 'seize')
sunằ ƙauràcē wà zằßên 'they are boycotting the election'
(< **ƙaura** gr3a 'migrate' + **-TA** verbalizer)
kàrên yā macè minì 'the dog died on me'
(< **mutù** gr3b 'die')
ßàrāwòn yā sācè wà mijìnā kuɗī dà yawằ
'the thief stole a lot of money from my husband' (< **sằtā** gr2 'steal')
zā tà jânyē jìkī dàgà jařřàbâwā 'she'll withdraw from the exam'
(< **jā** gr0 'pull')
ruwā yā zubè/zurằrē 'the water poured/trickled away'
(< **zùba** gr3 'pour, leak', < **zùrārà** gr3 'trickle')
sun bangàjē ta 'they pushed/broke it down'
(< **bangàzā** gr1 'push against')

Other common separative-deprivative gr4s include:

ɗ'ēbè 'remove, clear away, set aside' (< **ɗ'ībằ** gr2 'dip out, scoop up'), **gujè** 'run away from, avoid' (< **gudù** gr3b 'run'), **gushè** 'pass by' (< **gusằ** gr1 'move aside'), **hayè** 'go beyond, cross over' (< **hau** gr0* 'mount'), **ƙētàrē** 'cross over' (< **ƙētàrā** gr1 'cross'), **shārè** 'sweep away' (< **shằrā** gr2 'sweep (up)'), **shigè** 'pass through/by' (< **shìga** gr3 'go in')

3.1.2.3. Unaccusatives. Some gr4 forms function as the simple intransitive counterparts to primary and usually gr1 transitive verbs (perhaps the outcome of

a totality-conclusive → intransitive reanalysis). These verbs are analyzable as non-volitional unaccusatives with no necessary implication of external causation, in contrast to gr7 semantic passives (§3.4.2.1). The surface subject (theme) is typically inanimate and corresponds, as the undergoer, to the underlying object/patient. A number of them express a change of state. Examples:

rânkà yà <u>daɗè</u>	'may your life be long (= Sir)'
(< **daɗà** gr1tr 'add, increase')	
wani bâm yā <u>fashè</u> jiyà	'a bomb exploded yesterday'
(< **fasà** gr1tr 'break, shatter')	
tā <u>haukàcē</u>	'she's gone mad'
(< **haukàtā** gr1tr 'drive mad')	
ƙànƙarā tanà <u>narkèwā</u>	'the snow is melting' (< **narkà** gr1tr 'melt')
ƙōfà tā <u>būɗè</u>	'the door opened' (< **būɗà** gr1tr 'open')
wani lōkàcī ƙōbà takàn <u>tsāgè</u>	'sometimes a condom splits'
(< **tsāgà** gr1tr 'split')	

Other common intransitive gr4~transitive gr1 (sometimes gr2) verb-pairs are:

būshè 'dry up' (< **būsà** gr1tr 'blow (musical instrument)'), **ɓarkè** 'break out' (< **ɓarkà** gr1tr 'break (wind)'), **fakè** 'take shelter' (< **fàkā** gr2tr 'lie in wait for, ambush'), **hūjè** 'become pierced/holed' (< **hūdà** gr1tr 'pierce'), **karyè** 'break, snap (stick)' (< **karyà** gr1tr 'break, snap'), **lālàcē** 'break down, spoil' (< **lālàtā** gr1tr 'spoil'), **līƙè** 'be stuck' (< **līƙà** gr1tr 'stick on'), **mīƙè** 'go straight, stretch out' (< **mīƙà** gr1tr 'stretch (out)'), **ɾagaɾgàjē** 'break up, become smashed' (< **ɾagaɾgàzā** gr1tr 'break/smash up'), **rufè** 'close' (< **rufà** gr1tr 'close'), **rūshè** 'collapse' (< **rūsà** gr1tr 'crunch, crush'), **tārè** 'move to husband's house' (< **tārà** gr1tr 'collect, gather'), **tsinkè** 'break (rope), escape' (< **tsinkà** gr1tr 'break'), **wātsè** 'scatter' (< **wātsà** gr1tr 'scatter')

3.1.2.4. Basic grade 4 verbs [- primary grade]. Due to the historical expansion of grade 4 throughout the Hausa verbal system (Newman 1973: 339, fn. 50,

Parsons 1971/72: 77, fn. 65), many originally derivative gr4 verbs now operate as the sole lexical forms to the exclusion of non-identifiable (or rare) primary gr1, gr2 or gr3 stems. These include transitive and intransitive totality-conclusives and separative-deprivatives, in addition to a large number of synchronically neutral gr4s which have undergone bleaching of their original, gr4-mediated meanings. Examples:

bauɗè 'go astray', **bindìgē** 'shoot dead, execute', **ɓangàlē** 'break off, chip off', **fīgè** 'pluck out (feathers)', **kaucè** 'swerve aside', **kwancè** 'untie', **ƙārè** 'finish', **rāmè** 'become emaciated', **sullùɓē** 'slip away', **tūɓè** 'take off (clothes), depose', **wārè** 'set aside, segregate', **wucè** 'pass by, exceed', **yāyè** 'wean (off)'

Semantically degraded (now basic) gr4s include:

binnè 'bury', **cê** 'say, tell', **dācè** 'be suitable', **dāgè** 'persist, persevere', **daurè** 'tolerate (tr.), endure hardship (intr.)', **dūshè** 'fade', **fēɗè** 'skin', **gōdè** 'thank', **haƙīƙàncē** 'be certain', **jūrè** 'endure', **kasàncē** 'be(come), happen, turn out', **kashè** (also clipped **kas**) 'kill', **kwařařřàɓē** 'become old/decrepit', **ƙwarè** 'become expert', **ƙyālè** 'ignore, allow', **lumshè** 'become overcast', **mōrè** 'enjoy oneself', **ragè** 'reduce (tr.), remain, be left over (intr.)', **rantsè** 'swear, take an oath', **taɓarɓàrē** 'deteriorate', **wankè** 'wash', **warkè** 'recover', **warwàrē** 'unwind, solve (tr.), unravel (intr.)', **wāyè** 'break (dawn), become enlightened'

Note too **amìncē dà** 'trust', **dācè dà** 'be appropriate for, suit' (= gr4 sociative verbs with the preposition **dà** 'with').

3.2. Grade 5 ("efferential" = action directed out and away)

The grade 5 formation is morphologically the most complex grade, and is given to substantial inter- and intra-dialectal variation. Semantically, it adds the "efferential" notion of action out and away to the lexical meaning of the basic verb. Various treatments are to be found in: Abdoulaye (1992), Bagari (1977a,

1977b, 1982), Caron (1983, 1987, 1991), Frajzyngier (1977, 1985), Garba (1982), Gouffé (1962), Jaggar & Munkaila (1995), Newman (1973, 1983), Parsons (1962, 1971/72), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 74: §9).

3.2.1. Form

Grade 5	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
Transitive	H **-ař**	H **-ař dà**	H **-ař dà**	H **-ař (dà)**	
Efferential	**sayař**	**sayař dà**	**sayař dà**	**sayař (dà)**	'sell'
	kařantař	**kařantař dà**	**kařantař dà**	**kařantař (dà)**	'educate'
		H **-shē**			
		gaishē			'greet'
		H **-Ø dà**	H **-Ø dà**		
		mai dà	**mai dà**		'give back'

Gr5 verbs have all H tones and suffix **-ař** (the only consonant-final secondary grade extension), e.g. gr1 **tsayà** 'stop, stand' + tone-integrating **-ař**)^{H} → gr5 **tsayař** 'stop sth.', gr2 **sàyā** 'buy' + **-ař**)^{H} → gr5 **sayař** 'sell', gr3 **fìta** 'go out' + **-ař**)^{H} → gr5 **fitař** 'take out', gr3 **tàbbatà** 'be confirmed' + **-ař**)^{H} → gr5 **tabbatař** 'confirm'. Monosyllabic gr0 verbs insert an epenthetic **-y-** glide before the **-ař** suffix, e.g. **bi-y-ař** 'subjugate, conquer, control' (< **bi** 'follow'), **ci-y-ař** 'feed' (< **ci** 'eat'), **shā-y-ař** 'give to drink, water' (< **shā** 'drink'). The historically original gr5 suffix is ***-as,** realized in SH as **-ař**. It is still used in non-SH dialects, and occurs lexically in SH with certain verbs, e.g. (A-forms) **bàn sayař̲ = sayas̲ ba** 'I didn't sell (it)', **zân mayař̲ = mayas̲** 'I'll return (it)', **tā zubař̲ = zubas̲** 'she poured (it) away'.

Gr5s are all transitive and the **-ař** form is used in all four (A-, B-, C-, D-form) syntactic contexts. When governing an overt oblique object, gr5 verbs are extended with the separable particle **dà** (homophonous with the comitative-instrumental preposition **dà** 'with'). Examples: (C/B-contexts) **sun fitař dà kāyân/sū** 'they took the stuff/them out', **sunà rabař dà gōřò/sū** 'they are dividing out the kolanuts/them', **zā sù tabbatař dà řàhōtòn/shī** 'they will confirm the report/it', **yā tsōratař dà yārinyàř/ita** 'he frightened the girl/her',

(D-context) **nā sayař masà dà mōtàř** 'I sold the car for him'. The personal pronoun assumes the independent form—strictly speaking, therefore, gr5 verbs with **dà** do not operate pre-direct object B- and C-forms parallel to other grades. The stem-final consonant /**ř**/ of the gr5 morpheme often undergoes (low-level) regressive assimilation/gemination with the initial consonant of the following word (**dà** particle or indirect object), e.g. **zân sayař** → **sayad dà gidā** 'I'll sell the house', **kà mayař** → **mayam masà dà kuɗîn** 'return the money to him', **sun fāɗař** → **fāɗam minì dà gàbā** 'they frightened me' (see §3.2.2.3 for gr5 in indirect object constructions).

Gr5 verbs (without the **dà** formative) operate weak verbal nouns with **-̀ wā** in the pre-zero A-context, and the floating L tone on the suffix docks onto the preceding H to produce a surface F, e.g. **mề kakề sayâřwā**? (< **sayař** + **-̀ wā**) 'what are you selling?', **inā̀ kōyâřwā à jāmi'ā̀** 'I teach at university' (< **kōyař** + **-̀ wā**). In the Imperative, gr5 verbs manifest the canonical LH pattern, e.g. **màyař mànà**! 'return (it) then!', **màyař dà littāfîn/shī**! 'return the book/it!', **màyař masà dà littāfîn**! 'return the book to him!', **màishē shì**! 'return it!' (see §3.2.1.2 for the special **-shē** B-form).

3.2.1.1. Grade 5 short forms. Some gr5s operate a so-called "short form" before an oblique object, stripped of, and as an alternative to, the full **-ař** extension. This clipping rule is restricted to verbs with an initial light syllable and to gr0 monoverbs. The set of verbs which allow reduction is otherwise unpredictable, displaying a range of stem-final consonants. The CVC/CVV syllables in the resulting truncated forms are due to a general requirement that the final syllable of a gr5 verb be heavy. Examples:

bā dà =/< **bāyař dà** 'give away' (< **bā/bai** 'give'), **bī dà** =/< **biyař dà** 'control, conquer' (< **bi** 'follow'), **ɓad dà** =/< **ɓatař dà** 'lose, waste' (< **ɓatà** 'get lost'), **cī dà** =/< **ciyař dà** 'feed' (< **ci** 'eat'), **fid dà** =/< **fitař dà** 'take out' (< **fita** 'go out'), **gai dà** =/< **gayař dà** 'greet' (< **gayầ** 'tell (to)'), **gajī dà** =/< **gajiyař dà** 'bore, tire' (< **gàji(yà)** 'become tired'), **hau dà** =/< **hawař dà** 'mount (s'one on s'th.)' (< **hau** 'mount'), **ī dà** =/< **iyař dà** 'implement, finish, accomplish' (< **iyầ** 'be able'),

kā dà =/< **kāyař dà** 'knock down, fell, overthrow' (< ***kā**), **kau dà** =/< **kawař dà** 'move away/aside, divert' (< **kau** 'move aside'), **mai dà** =/< **mayař dà** 'send back, return' (< **màyā** 'replace'), **rau dà** =/< **rawař dà** 'shake' (cf. **rawā** 'dance/dancing'), **sai dà** =/< **sayař dà** 'sell' (< **sàyā** 'buy'), **shā dà** =/< **shāyař dà** 'water' (< **shā** 'drink'), **tā dà** =/< **tāyař dà** 'raise up' (cf. **tāshì** 'get up'), **tafī dà** =/< **tafiyař dà** 'lead, move along, administer, run' (< **tàfi(yà)** 'go'), **tsai dà** =/< **tsayař dà** 'stop s'th./s'one' (< **tsayǎ** 'stop, stand'), **zub dà** =/< **zubař dà** 'pour away/out' (< **zubǎ** 'pour into')

Note too **yā dà** = **yař dà** 'throw away' (< ***yā**) which does not have a corresponding long form, and **ī dà** =/< **isař dà** 'deliver, convey' (< **ìsa** 'reach, arrive at'), where the internal /**s**/ is deleted along with the gr5 suffix (**ī dà** is also the clipped form of **iyař dà** 'implement, finish, accomplish').

The clipped gr5 form can only be used with an overt **dà**-mediated object (noun or independent pronoun), e.g. **nā gai dà ita** 'I greeted her', **zâi mai dà kuɗîn/shī** 'he'll return the money/it', **zân sai dà mōtàtā** 'I'm going to sell my car'. In western dialects the **dà** morpheme behaves as a fused derivational suffix (= Gouffé's (1962: 198) "décausative" form), and patterns with gr1 disyllabic verbs, appearing with a long final /**ā**/ except in the pre-noun d.o. C-form where it is short /**a**/.[2] These fused stems also operate weak verbal nouns with **-̀ wā** in the pre-zero A-context. Examples:

nā gaidà yārinyàř/nā gaidǎ ta	'I greeted the girl/her' (< **gaidǎ**)
zâi maidǎ mikì kuɗîn	'he'll return the money to you' (< **maidǎ**)
sunǎ bādǎwā	'they are giving (it) away' (< **bādǎ**)
kà zubdà ruwân	'pour the water out' (< **zubdǎ**)

Some of these WH efferential forms are known, and occasionally encountered, in SH, e.g. **gaidǎ** 'greet', **maidǎ** 'return', **saidǎ** 'sell', **zubdǎ** 'pour away'.

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[2]Newman (2000: chap. 74: §10) analyzes these dialectal gr5s as originally separate verb stem + **dà** forms which have undergone fusion. In earlier works (Newman 1971b: 197, 1983: 400-401), he considered them to be the historically pre-existing forms containing a Proto-Chadic verbal extension ***-də** (or ***-da**), which was reanalyzed as a discrete particle in the SH gr5s as a result of confusion with the preposition **dà** 'with' (used with sociative verbs).

*3.2.1.2. Final **-shē** B-form before direct object pronouns.* Before a personal pronoun direct object, some (mainly clipped) gr5s can take a **-shē** suffix, without the **dà** particle, as an alternative to the full **-ař** form, e.g. **kà gaishē sù = kà gayař dà sū** 'greet them' (cf. clipped **gai dà**). This B-form allomorph consists of the original gr5 **-(a)s** extension, minus the vowel and with /s/ → /sh/ palatalization, plus what is probably the same final **-ē** B-form used by gr2 verbs with a L tone weak enclitic pronoun, i.e. **cīshē < cī-sh-ē** 'feed', **fisshē < fit-sh-ē** 'take out'. Examples (usually restricted to formulaic expressions in SH):

wannàn dàbāřà zā tà fisshē mù	'this plan will save us' (cf. **fid dà**)
zân maishē shì	'I'll send it back' (cf. **mai dà**)
mun saishē tà	'we sold it' (cf. **sai dà**)
Allàh yā cīshē kà	'you're lucky'
(lit. God has fed you, cf. **cī dà**)	
yā yāshē nì	'he abandoned me' (cf. **yā/yař dà**)
Allàh yà řahamshē tà	'may God have mercy on her'
(cf. full form gr5 **řahamař dà**)	

There is also a phonotactic requirement that the syllable before the **-shē** suffix be heavy. In the case of light syllables, with some non-clipped gr5s, this is fulfilled by adding a complex suffix **-asshē** with an internal geminate **/shsh/**, e.g. **zân sanasshē sù = zân sanař dà sū** 'I'll inform them', **yā hūtasshē nì = yā hūtař dà nī** 'he left me in peace'.

3.2.2. Function and meaning

In earlier descriptions, grade 5 verbs were defined as semantic "causatives". Newman (1983), picking up on reservations expressed by Parsons (1962), was the first to recognize that this conventional designation was inappropriate for "a large number (perhaps a majority) of [gr5] verbs" (p. 401). Instead, he reanalyzed all gr5s as indicating "action directed out and away (from the speaker)", and proposed the cover-term "efferential" to characterize this deictic-directional notion. (See **§13** for analytical predicate causatives formed with the

factive verb **sâ** 'cause'.) The basic syntactic function of gr5 efferential verbs is to transitivize intransitive verbs.

3.2.2.1. Intransitive-based gr5s. Although a strict efferential reading is not a necessary condition on the formation of intransitive-based gr5 verbs, the syntactic output of the operation is a direct and natural correlate of the gr5 centrifugal ("action out and away from" etc.) semantics. The switch to gr5 acts to increase clausal valency by transitivizing inherently intransitive verbs, whereby the action of the verb is transferred from one participant, i.e. the actor-subject, to another, i.e. the entity/patient which undergoes the effect of the action. Examples:

a.	**cīwòn yā makantař dà majìnyàcîn**	'the disease blinded the patient'
	(= 2-place gr5tr)	
	cf. **majìnyàcîn yā makàncē**	'the patient went blind'
	(= 1-place gr4intr)	
b.	**maƙèrîn yā narkař dà gǒran ruwā**	'the blacksmith melted the aluminium'
	(= 2-place gr5tr)	
	cf. **gǒran ruwā yā narkè̌**	'the aluminium melted'
	(= 1-place gr4intr)	
c.	**nâs zā tà kwantař dà yāròn**	'the nurse will lay the boy down'
	(= 2-place gr5tr)	
	cf. **yāròn zâi kwântā**	'the boy will lie down'
	(= 1-place gr1intr)	

In the above verb-pair examples, the gr5 morphological formation increases the arguments of the verb by one, e.g. in (c) a new external argument (**nâs** 'the nurse') is introduced, and the erstwhile external argument (**yāròn** 'the boy') is internalized as the object of the transitive gr5 **kwantař dà** 'lay down' (< gr1intr **kwântā** 'lie down'). Other derived gr5 transitive~basic intransitive pairs include:

fāɗař 'drop, fail (student)' (< **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall'), **fařkař** 'awaken' (< **fařkà̀** gr1 'wake up'), **fitař** 'take out' (< **fìta** gr3 'go out'), **gajiyař** 'tire, bore' (< **gàji** gr3*

'be tired'), **isaɗ** 'deliver, convey' (< **ìsa** gr3 'reach, arrive at'), **kōmaɗ** 'take back, return' (< **kōmà** gr1 'go back'), **rantsaɗ** 'swear into office' (< **rantsè** gr4 'swear, take oath'), **saukaɗ** 'bring down' (< **sàuka** gr3 'get down'), **shigaɗ** 'take in' (< **shìga** gr3 'go in'), **tafiyaɗ** 'move along, run, administer' (< **tàfi** gr3* 'go'), **tāyaɗ** 'rouse, raise' (cf. **tāshì** gr3b 'rise, get up'), **tsayaɗ** 'stop sth./s'one' (< **tsayà** gr1 'stop, stand'), **tsīraɗ** 'rescue' (< **tsīra** gr3a 'escape'), **wahalaɗ** 'cause trouble' (< **wàhalà** gr3 'be in trouble'), **warkaɗ** 'cure' (< **warkè** gr4 'recover, get better'), **zaunaɗ** 'sit down, settle s'one' (< **zaunà** gr1 'sit down, settle')

3.2.2.2. Transitive-based gr5s. When gr5s are built on base transitive verbs they indicate efferential (centrifugal) action directed out and away, either literally or metaphorically. Derived gr5 transitive~basic transitive verb-pairs include:

aunaɗ 'weigh and sell' (< **aunà** gr1 'weigh'), **auraɗ** 'marry off' (< **àurā** gr2 'marry'), **bāyar** 'give away' (< **bā/bai** gr0* 'give (to)'), **ciyaɗ** 'feed' (< **ci** gr0 'eat'), **gayaɗ** 'greet' (< **gayà** gr1 'tell to'), **hōraɗ** 'train' (< **hòrā** gr2 'discipline, punish'), **jēfaɗ** 'throw away' (< **jèfā** gr2 'throw (at)'), **kaɗantaɗ** 'teach' (< **kaɗàntā** gr1 'read'), **kōyaɗ** 'teach (student, subject)' (< **kòyā** gr2 'learn'), **rabaɗ** 'divide out' (< **rabà** gr1 'divide up'), **rantaɗ** 'lend' (< **ràntā** gr2 'borrow'), **sāmaɗ** 'supply' (< **sāmù** gr2 'get, obtain'), **sanaɗ** 'inform' (< **sanì** gr2* 'know'), **sayaɗ** 'sell' (< **sàyā** gr2 'buy'), **shāyaɗ** 'give to drink, water' (< **shā** gr0 'drink'), **tūraɗ** 'push away' (< **tūrà** gr1 'push'), **wātsaɗ** 'discard, reject' (< **wātsà** gr1 'scatter, disperse'), **zubaɗ** 'pour away/out' (< **zubà** gr1 'pour (in)')

Examples (physical-directional and metaphorical efferential action):

yā auraɗ dà 'yaɗsà	'he married off his daughter'
sukàn bāyaɗ dà kuɗī dà yawà	'they give away lots of money'
yā jēfaɗ dà ƙàshī	'he threw away the bone'
gwamnatì zā tà sāmaɗ dà ruwan famfò	
'the government will supply piped water'	

bā nằ sayârřwā 'I'm not selling (it)'
(= pre-zero weak verbal noun with the **-ˋwā** suffix)

Some transitive-based gr5 verbs are subcategorized for two objects, and the first **dà-**marked object is usually a human/animate recipient. Examples:

inằ kōyař dà ɗằlìbân Hausa à Jāmi'àř Landàn
'I teach the students Hausa at London University'
likità yā shāyař dà yāròn māgànī
'the doctor gave the boy some medicine to drink'

In the second example above, the gr5 verb activity (**shāyař dà** 'give to drink') is construed as being transferred from the subject ('the doctor') to the object ('the boy'). Notice also that gr5 morphology acts to increase the argument structure of the base verb **shā** 'drink' from a 2-place to a 3-place verb.

Some speakers can use, or at least recognize, archaic gr5 **-ař** formations with what are genuine direct object complements (B- and C-forms), i.e. with no **dà** particle inserted, e.g. **zân sayař mōtằtā/ta** 'I'll sell my car/it' (= more common **zân sayař dà mōtằtā/ita**), **nā kařantař Hausa/ta** 'I taught Hausa/it' (= **nā kařantař dà Hausa/ita**). Notice that a H tone strong direct object pronoun is used in this gr5 construction, as in grs1 and 4.

3.2.2.3. Grade 5 verbs with indirect object complements. Grade 5 is also the most complex grade in terms of syntactic behaviour, especially when the complement contains an indirect object NP. In this case, a common constituent order in SH is gr5 + IOM **wà** 'to, for' + particle **dà** + i.o. NP + oblique object NP or complement clause, i.e. where the IOM **wà** and gr5 **dà** morphemes occur in sequence. Examples:

an wāyař wà dà talakāwā kâi 'the people have been enlightened'
yā tabbatař wà dà manồmā zā à bā sù guddùmawā
'he assured the farmers they would be given assistance'

sunà sayaɽ wà dà Ìɽāƙì màkàmai 'they are selling weapons to/for Iraq'

The following variation in co-occurrence of the two markers is also attested for the sentence 'they are selling weapons to/for Iraq':

sunà sayaɽ wà dà Ìɽāƙì dà màkàmai
(where the object **màkàmai** 'weapons' is doubled-marked with the particle **dà**)
sunà sayaɽ wà Ìɽāƙì dà màkàmai (parallel to the pronoun i.o. configuration)
sunà sayaɽ wà Ìɽāƙì màkàmai (with no **dà** particle)

With pronominal indirect objects, the linear order is more straightforward. The i.o. pronoun comes immediately afer the verb and is followed by the **dà**-marked oblique object:

sunà sayaɽ [**matà**]$_{\text{i.o.}}$ **dà màkàmai** 'they are selling weapons to/for it/her'
kì gayaɽ [**minì**]$_{\text{i.o.}}$ **dà sū** 'greet them for me'

Another (sometimes preferred) option is to express the recipient as part of a **gà**(**rē**)-headed prepositional phrase after the object, e.g. **gwamnatì zā tà sāmaɽ dà ruwan famfò** [**gà ƙauyènmù**] 'the government will supply piped water to our village', **nā sayaɽ dà mōtàɽ** [**gà Mūsā**] 'I sold the car to Musa'. Alternatively, if the basic verb also operates a gr1 applicative with an equivalent meaning (§2.2.2.3), it is often used in preference to the gr5 before an indirect object, e.g. **yā koyà minì Hausa** 'he taught me Hausa'.

3.3. Grade 6 ("ventive-centripetal" = motion "hither")

Grade 6 is highly productive, contains transitive and intransitive verbs, and can be used with any semantically compatible base verb. It is also the most straightforward in terms of morphosyntactic behaviour and meaning. See also Newman (2000: chap. 74: §11).

3.3.1. Form

Grade 6	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
Transitive &	H **-ō**	H **-ō**	H **-ō**	H **-ō**	
intransitive	**ɗaukō**	**ɗaukō**	**ɗaukō**	**ɗaukō**	'bring'
Ventive-	**kirāwō**	**kirāwō**	**kirāwō**	**kirāwō**	'call (here)'
centripetal	**dāwō**			**dāwō**	'come back'

Gr6 verbs have all H tones and suffix long **-ō**, e.g. primary gr1 **kōmà** 'go back' + tone-integrating ō)^{H} → gr6 **kōmō** 'come back', gr1 **ƙubùtā** 'write' + ō)^{H} → gr6 **ƙubūtō** 'write and send to', gr2 **sàyā** 'buy' + ō)^{H} → gr6 **sayō** 'buy and bring', gr3 **fìta** 'go out' + ō)^{H} → gr6 **fitō** 'come out'. The final vowel is invariant long **-ō** in all (A-D) positions, e.g. (A) **bàn kāwō ba** 'I didn't bring (it)', (B) **bàn kāwō shì ba** 'I didn't bring it', (C) **bàn kāwō littāfìn ba** 'I didn't bring the book', (D) **bàn kāwō makà littāfìn ba** 'I didn't bring you the book'. The L tone (B-form) direct object pronoun would seem to be from the same weak clitic set required by gr2 verbs, i.e. not the strong H tone pronouns used with derivative gr4 verbs, but could be the result of analogic pressure from all H tone gr0 verb + pronoun constructions where the pronouns take polar (L) tone on the surface (though not underlyingly). In pre-pausal (A-form) position, the gr6 final **-ō** vowel is durationally shorter and checked by glottal closure, e.g. **nā dāwō** [dāwo·ʔ] 'I've come back', **kì fitō** [fito·ʔ] 'come out'.

Newman (1977b) reconstructs ***-wō** as the original gr6 suffix, and it has possibly been preserved on derivative gr6 forms built on some gr0 monosyllabic verb stems and HH **CiCā** verbs, e.g. **jāwō** 'pull in this direction' (< **jā** 'pull'), **shāwō** (with **kân** 'head of') 'confront, tackle' (< **shā** 'drink'), **ciwō** (also **ciyō**) 'eat and return' (< **ci** 'eat'), **yiwō** (also contracted **yō/wō**) 'do sth. and come' (< **yi** 'do'), **sāwō** 'place here' (< **sâ** 'put, place' ?< gr1 **sakà**), and **kirāwō** 'summon, call here' (< **kirā** 'call'). (The /w/ before the final **-ō** in these gr6 verbs could, however, simply be a transitional glide.) The monoverbs **bi** 'follow' and **ji** 'hear, feel' appear as gr6 **biyō** 'follow in this direction' and **jiyō** 'hear and come', and these forms are probably built on original disyllabic stems ***biyà** and ***jiyà**. Note too gr6 **hawō** 'mount and come' (< gr0* **hau** 'mount'), and **kāwō** 'bring' (<

gr0* **kai** 'take' ?< ***kāyà**). Some gr6 verbs are built on already derived stems, e.g. **shanyō** 'drink up and come' (< gr0 **shā** 'drink' + gr4 **-ny(ē)-** + gr6 **-ō**^{H}). See also Abdoulaye (1992), Caron (1983, 1991), and Newman (2000: chap. 74: §13) for variants formed with an infixal **-(i)k-** ventive extension in the Maradi and Ader dialects.

Gr6 verbs employ regular weak verbal nouns with the **-ˋwā** suffix when no object follows (transforming the preceding H tone syllable to a F), e.g. **sunà fitôwā** 'they are coming out', **mè yakè kāwôwā**? 'what is he bringing?', **Hasàn nē kè karantôwā** 'it's Hassan who is reading (the news)'. In the Imperative, they manifest the paradigmatic LH melody in all contexts, e.g. **shìgō**! 'come in!', **kàwō shì nân**! 'bring it here!', **mìƙō (minì) gishirī**! 'pass (me) the salt!'. Note too the idiomatic gr6-headed verb phrase **kāwō kâi** 'arrive, turn up' (lit. bring self/head).

3.3.2. Function and meaning

Grade 6 includes both transitive and intransitive verbs, all of which indicate "ventive-centripetal" motion, real or figurative, from a given starting-point to a goal (cf. the essentially "centrifugal" grade 5 with the opposite deictic-directional value). In the absence of contextual indications to the contrary, the default deictic centre for gr6 verbs is the location of the speaker at the time of the utterance. Examples:

sun biyō ta nân	'they followed/came this way' (< **bi** 'follow')
wata dàbārà tā fāɗō mîn	'a plan came to me' (< **fāɗì** 'fall')
yârā sunà janyō kūrā	'the children are pulling the cart in this direction'
(= gr6 built on gr4 < gr0 **jā** 'pull')	
kà jāwō kujèrā	'pull up a chair' (< **jā** 'pull')
zā kà shigō?	'are you going to come in?'
(< **shìga** 'go in, enter')	
rìkicī yā tāsō	'a problem has come up' (< **tāshì** 'get up, arise')
yā yiwō aikìn	'he did the work and came back' (< **yi** 'do, make')

The locus can, however, switch to other non-first person referents:

zân bugō wà Mūsā wayǎ 'I'll telephone Musa' (< **bugǎ** 'beat, strike')
Ùsmân Mùhammèd kè kařantō mukù làbārì
'Usman Muhammed is reading the news to you' (< **kařàntā** 'read')
nā kirāwō sù dà sāfe
'I called (telephoned) them in the morning' (< **kirā** 'call')
zân lēƙō kì 'I'll look in on you' (< **lēƙǎ** 'peep, look (at)')
zân řubūtō mikì takàřdā kullum
'I'll write to you all the time' (< **řubǔtā** 'write')

With some gr6 verbs, the ventive-centripetal reading is not as transparent, e.g.

majìnyàcîn yā fařfaɗō 'the patient recovered'
(cf. **fařkǎ** 'wake up')
zā sù ɓullō wà wannàn màtsalǎ 'they will confront this problem'
(< **ɓùlla** 'appear')
yā shāwō kân àl'amàřîn 'he confronted/tackled the issue'
(< **shā** 'drink')
ìdan yā zamantō hakà 'if that's how it turns out'
(cf. **zama** 'become')

Because of their inherent ventive-centripetal semantics, gr6 verbs are often used with a benefactive meaning. The benefactee is often expressed as an indirect object and subjects are typically auto-benefactive. Examples:

yā sātō wà ɗan-kǎsuwā kuɗī 'he stole some money for the trader'
(< **sǎtā** 'steal')
Cf. gr4 **yā sācè wà ɗan-kǎsuwā kuɗī**
'he stole some money *from* the trader'
yanǎ sayō wà yārinyàřsà kāyan adō
'he buys jewelry for his girlfriend' (< **sàyā** 'buy')

tā sayō wà kântà zanè	'she bought a body-cloth for herself'
sun nēmō ƙārìn girmā	'they sought promotion' (< **nèmā** 'look for')
yā matō à kântà (< **mutù** 'die')	'he was crazy about her' (lit... died on her)

Other common gr6 verbs include:

aurō 'marry and bring' (< **àurā** 'marry'), **barō** 'leave and come (back)' (< **barì** 'leave'), **ɗaukō** 'bring' (< **ɗaukà** 'pick up, carry'), **fārō** 'begin at distance' (< **fārà** 'begin'), **gangarō** 'roll down here' (< **gangàrā** 'roll down'), **isō** 'arrive (here)' (< **ìsa** 'arrive, reach'), **kōrō** 'drive in this direction' (< **kòrā** 'drive (away)'), **saukō** 'come down' (< **sàuka** 'get down'), **tahō** 'come' (< **tàfi** 'go'), **tūrō** 'send here' (< **tūrà** 'send')

Sociative gr6 verbs (usually motion-verbs), extended with the preposition **dà** 'with' before an oblique object, include: **aikō dà** 'send here', **dāwō dà** 'come back/return with', **fitō dà** 'come out with', **shigō dà** 'come in with', **zō dà** 'come with, bring', e.g. **yanà dāwôwā (gidā) dà yārònsà** 'he's coming back (home) with his son', where **dāwôwā** is a gr6 weak verbal noun followed by a **dà**-headed NP adjunct. It is also possible to produce hybrid ventive-efferential verbs which combine gr6 morphology with the efferential gr5 particle **dà** used before objects, e.g. **anà dāwō dà wutā** 'power is being restored', where **dāwō dà** is a finite combined gr6/5 verb (see also §4).

3.4. Grade 7 ("affected-subject")

Together with grade 5 efferentials, grade 7 (intransitive only) is the least productive of the secondary grades. Various treatments are to be found in: Abdoulaye (1991, 1992, 1999), Bature (1991: 96ff.), Caron (1988), Gouffé (1988), Parsons (1971/72: 77-78), and especially Jaggar (1981a, b, 1988a) and Newman (2000: chap. 74: §12).

3.4.1. Form

Grade 7	A-form	B-form	C-form	D-form	
Intransitive	(L)LH **-u**			H **-ař** D-suffix	
Affected-subject (inc. passive)	**gyàru**				'be well fixed'
	kàřàntu				'be well read'
	àuku			**aukař**	'happen'

Grade 7 verbs end in an invariant A-form short **-u** and have LH tones (the initial L spreading leftwards), e.g. primary transitive gr1 **dafà** 'cook' + tone-integrating **u**)^{LH} → gr7 **dàhu** 'be good and cooked', gr1 **kařàntā** 'read' + **u**)^{LH} → gr7 **kàřàntu** 'be well read (e.g. person, book)', gr1 **wulāƙàntā** 'humiliate' + **u**)^{LH} → gr7 **wùlàƙàntu** 'be completely humiliated'. With a few exceptions, e.g. **jìtu** 'have good relations with' (transcribed in many works with a short medial /**i**/), gr7 verbs are all relatable to extant source verbs, usually primary but occasionally secondary. Gr0 monoverbs and HH **CiCā** verbs insert an epenthetic /**w**/ glide before the extension (occasionally /**y**/ with the **-i** monoverb **ci**), e.g. **cìwu** (= **cìyu**) 'be eaten up' (< **ci** 'eat'), **yìwu** 'be possible' (< **yi** 'do'), **shàwu** 'be drunk' (< **shā** 'drink'), **kìràwu** 'be summoned' (< **kirā** 'call, summon'). Note too **jànyu** 'be completely pulled out', a gr7 built on an already derivative gr4 verb **jânyē** (< **jā** 'pull'). The gr7 forms of the clipped verbs **bi** 'follow' (< ***biyà**), **gàji** 'be tired' (< ***gàjiyà**) and **tàfi** 'go, travel' (< ***tàfiyà**), i.e. **bìyu** 'be followed', **gàjìyu** 'be tired out', and **tàfìyu** 'be well travelled, travel a long distance', are all based on the historically original stems.

Although essentially intransitive with A-forms only, a few gr7 verbs subcategorize for indirect object complements, but they obligatorily switch, like grs2 and 3, to another grade or extension for their D-forms, e.g. **mè ya aukař wà Audù**? 'what happened to Audu?' (= **-ař** D-suffix verb < gr7 **àuku** 'happen') (see §5 for details). Gr7 verbal nouns are formed with the inflectional **-`wā** suffix, e.g. **sun fārà tàruwā** 'they have started to assemble', **bā tà gyàruwā** 'it's not fixable'. The final **-uwā** of the weak verbal noun can simplify to **-ō**, e.g. **kīfîn bā yà yànkō** (</= **yànkuwā**) **kō dàhō** (</= **dàhuwā**) 'the fish

cannot be cut up or cooked'. In the Imperative (rare), gr7s appear with the regular LH melody, e.g. **ràbu dà shī**! 'ignore him!' (= gr7 sociative verb with actor subject).

3.4.2. Function and meaning

The major grammatical function of grade 7 is to trim verbal valency by detransitivizing monotransitive base verbs, and it is thus the functional mirror-image of the transitivizing subset of gr5 efferential verbs. Gr7s can also be formed, though less frequently, on primary intransitive stems. The semantic correlate of this derivational process is a verb whose surface grammatical subject is affected, often totally, by the action of the verb—the "affected-subject" (Jaggar 1988a). Parsons (1971/72: 77-78) uses the label "sustentative", i.e. "having fully sustained, or being capable of sustaining, the transitive action of the verb", but the advantage of the cover-term "affected-subject" is that it generalizes to both passive and non-passive gr7s, and is also more transparent and recognizable. In terms of thematic relations, there are two basic subcategories of affected-subject, expressing differing degrees of control over the gr7 monadic activity.

3.4.2.1. Affected-subject = semantic patient. In this patient-oriented subclass, the affected-subject (usually inanimate) is acted on, and the gr7-mediated expression has passive semantics. An agent-of-passive is implied with gr7s but not naturally expressed—cf. gr4 unaccusatives where there is no necessary implication of external causation (§3.1.2.3). Examples (àctive transitive constructions and related gr7 passives):

tā <u>dafà</u> nāmà̀	'she cooked the meat' (< **dafà̀** gr1 'cook')
→ **nāmà̀ yā <u>dàhu</u>** (gr7)	'the meat is well cooked'

In the above example, the internal argument (**nāmà̀** 'meat') of the underlying transitive C-form verb (**dafà** 'cook') appears as the new single external argument of the passive gr7 verb **dàhu** 'be well cooked'. Other examples are:

zâi gyārà mōtàř	'he's going to fix the car'
(< **gyārà** gr1 'fix, repair')	
→ **mōtàř tā gyàru** (gr7)	'the car has been completely fixed'
ɓàrāwò yā fasà gìlāshìn	'the thief smashed the glass'
(< **fasà** gr1 'smash, break')	
→ **gìlāshìn yā fàsu** (gr7)	'the glass was smashed up'
sun ci àbinci	'they ate the food' (< **ci** gr0 'eat')
→ **àbinci yā cìwu** (gr7)	'the food was all eaten up'
sun kafà sābuwař kàsuwā	'they set up a new market'
(< **kafà** gr1 'set up, establish')	
→ **kàsuwā tā kàfu** (gr7)	'the market has finally been set up'

The above paired examples also show that gr7 semantic passives also typically entail the intensive meaning of action well/completely/thoroughly etc. done, and some gr7s have a (related) resultative-terminal force. The precise nature of the interface between gr7 semantics and tense-aspect or mood has yet to be determined, but this additional entailment is especially evident when the verb occurs with a Perfective TAM. When used with an Imperfective TAM, particularly the negative, passive gr7 (verbonominal) expressions typically take on a "potentiality" ("can be X-ed/is-X-able") reading. Examples:

mōtàř tanà gyàruwā	'the car can be repaired/is repairable'
řībàř bā tà fàɗuwā	'the profit was beyond words (not statable)'
kògîn yanà ƙètàruwā	'the river is crossable'
wannàn àl'amàřī bā yà ɓòyuwā	'this matter cannot be concealed'

The same potentiality construal is also available in the Future and Potential, though these TAMs tend not to express the same degree of generic time-stability as the Imperfective. Examples:

mōtàř tâ gyàru (Pot.)	'the car will be/is repairable'
kògîn yâ ƙètàru (Pot.)	'the river will be crossable'

wannàn àl'amàrī bầ zâi ɓồyu ba (Fut.) 'this matter will not be concealed'
wannàn nāmầ bầ zâi yànku ba (Fut.) 'this meat cannot be cut/cut off'
(where the gr7 **yànku** can correspond either to gr1 **yankầ** 'cut' or gr2 partitive **yànkā** 'cut (piece) off')

Hausa-speakers are generally reluctant to allow an overtly expressed agent in gr7 passive expressions—despite the fact that real-world causation clearly has to be inferred—considering them to be awkward if not impossible. The basic function of gr7 passives is to focus attention on the single-participant subject—the undergoer-patient—and how it has been affected by the verbal action. The identity of the defocussed agent is thus largely irrelevant. Although decontextualized agent-of-gr7 passive configurations have been reported, they are at best only marginally felicitous, at least in SH, and are usually only acceptable in highly restricted discourse contexts. Examples:

sun yi sun yi sù gyārà mōtàř, àmmā tā ƙi gyầruwā...
'they tried and tried to fix the car, but it refused to be fixed...'
...sai dàgà bāya ta gyầru à wurin màkānikèn/à wurinsà
'...then eventually it was fixed by the mechanic/by him'

In this example the preceding discourse mention of attempts to 'fix the car' creates the referential-pragmatic background required for the agent to be overtly expressed as an adjunct, using a prepositional phrase formed with **à** 'at, in' plus the locative noun **wurin** 'place of' in the genitive form. Bature (1991: 98-111, 131) also cites examples like **wannàn ƙōfàř tā būɗu wajen Audù** 'this door was opened by Audu' for SH, in which the overt human agent-of-passive **Audù** 'Audu' is introduced by **wajen** (= **wurin**), and **wannàn gìlāshìn yā fàsu dà gùdumầ** 'this glass was broken with a hammer', where the inanimate instrument **gùdumầ** 'hammer' is part of a prep. phrase headed by instrumental **dà** 'with'. Abdoulaye (1991, 1992: 254ff.) reports agent-of-passive phrases introduced by the prep. **gà** for his own (Maradi) dialect, e.g. **kuɗī sun àiku gà Abdù** 'the money was sent by Audu', **zākĩ yā yànku gà mafàràutā** 'the lion was killed by

the hunters'. Note too the following **gà**-headed prep. phrases from Parsons (1971/72: 78n): **wannàn hanyà bā tà bìyuwā gà mânyan mōtōcī** 'this road is impassable to/for/by heavy lorries', **bindigàř nân bà zā tà hàřbu gà mùtûm ďaya ba** 'this gun cannot be fired by one man'.

Also attested, though not as widespread, are cases of gr7s with passive-like semantics based on underlying intransitive verbs—often motion-verbs—which are subcategorized for locatives. The locative complements can appear as gr7 affected-subjects, i.e. where no valency-trimming is involved. Examples:

gàrinmù bā yà kòmuwā sabòdà yāƙì
'our town can't be returned to because of the war' (< intr. gr1 **kōmà** 'return')
wannàn ďākì yā shìgu 'this room is chock-full'
(lit. has been well entered, < intr. gr3 **shìga** 'enter')
wannàn ùnguwā tā zàunu 'this ward is well settled (populated)'
(< intr. gr1 **zaunà** 'settle')

3.4.2.2. Affected-subject = (human) actor and/or experiencer. The same gr7 derivational morphology is also exploited to signal clauses where the surface subject is the actor and/or experiencer affected by the verbal event (because the actor and experiencer roles often overlap I am handling them together). Many of the verbs in this subset do not have the intensive "action well done, etc." semantics associated with patient-oriented passive gr7s, and they include "reciprocals" with plural subjects. Some are semantically analogous to medio-passive "middle" constructions. Examples:

Sīdì dà màtařsà zā sù ràbu
'Sidi and his wife are going to separate (from each other)' (< **rabà** gr1 'divide')
likitōcîn sunà tàruwā dà sāfe
'the doctors collect/meet together in the morning' (< **tārà** gr1 'collect')

Reciprocal gr7 verbs often function as sociative verbs with the prep. **dà** 'with' and a following oblique object—either a reciprocal pronoun (optional) or other non-coreferential personal pronoun (with singular or plural subjects). Examples:

mun sằdu (dà jūnā) à Kanồ 'we met (with each other) in Kano'
(< **sādằ** gr1 'introduce')
yā gàmu dà ita à hanyằ 'he met her on the road' (< **gamằ** gr1 'join')
bàn taɓà hàɗuwā dà shī ba 'I've never met him' (< **haɗằ** gr1 'join')

Note too the following more idiomatic, emotive reciprocal gr7 verbs (in this case with the extra intensive entailment): **ɗ'ìgu** 'get on well' (< **ɗ'ìga** gr3 'drip'), **jìtu** 'be on close terms' (< ?), **shằƙu** 'get on well, be thick (with)' (< **shāƙề** gr4 'fill up, choke').

Some actor/undergoer-subject gr7s allow the rule to operate on underlying intransitive verbs with no valency-reduction, to which they add the intensive force. Examples:

ɗ'an-sintiřī yā tsàyu à rāna 'the sentry stood for a long time in the sun'
(< intr. gr1 **tsayằ** 'stand up')
tā zàunu à gidā 'she sat for a long time at home'
(< intr. gr1 **zaunằ** 'sit (down)')

See also **dàidàitu** 'reach complete agreement' (< **dàidaità** gr3 'reach agreement'), **gàjìyu** 'be dog-tired' (< **gàji(yà)** gr3* 'be tired'), **hìmmàntu** 'do utmost' (< **hìmmantà** gr3 'strive'), **tàfiyu** 'travel a long distance' (< **tàfi(yà)** gr3* 'go, travel'), **wàdằtu** 'prosper well' (< **wàdātà** gr3 'prosper').

In some cases, the gr7 actor/experiencer expression can have a more specialized, extended metaphorical reading, sometimes alongside its basic, patient-oriented passive meaning. Examples:

Mūsā yā bùgu 'Musa was good and drunk'
(< **bùgā** gr2 'beat, hit', cf. passive **zanề yā bùgu** 'the body-cloth was well beaten')
Audù yā gồgu 'Audu is an old hand/very polished'
(< **gōgằ** gr1 'rub on, polish', cf. **tāsàř tā gồgu** 'the bowl was well polished')
ɗ'ālìbîn yā kàřàntu 'the student is well read'
(< **kařàntā** gr1 'read', cf. **littāfîn yā kàřàntu** 'the book is well read')

Note also **ƙǎ̀ru** 'benefit' (< **ƙārà** gr1 'increase'), **mòtsu** 'be crazy, stirred up, disturbed' (< **mōtsǎ̀** gr1 'move, stir'), **ràsu** 'die' (< **rasǎ̀** gr1 'lack, lose'), **tàɓu** 'be mad (touched)' (< **taɓǎ̀** gr1 'touch').

A number of common event-verbs occur as gr7s, e.g. **àuku** 'happen' (< **aukǎ̀** gr1 'attack, collapse on'), **fǎ̀ru** 'happen' (< **fārà** gr1 'begin'), and **wànzu** 'happen' (cf. gr5 **wanzař** 'cause to last long'), as do some complement-taking verbs (used with dummy 3m subject pronouns), e.g. **kyàutu** 'be suitable, fitting' (< **kyâutā** gr1 'be kind to'), **yìwu** 'be possible' (< **yi** gr0 'do'). Other regularly encountered gr7 verbs include: **dǎ̀mu** 'be concerned, bothered' (< **dǎ̀mā** gr2 'worry'), **gàmsu** 'be pleased' (< **gàmsā** gr2 'please'), **kàɗu** 'shake, tremble' (< **kaɗǎ̀** gr1 'shake'), **kàsu** 'fall/group into classes' (< **kasǎ̀** gr1 'divide up'), **nàtsu** 'ponder' (< **natsǎ̀** gr1 'settle down'), **wǎ̀tsu** 'scatter' (< **wātsǎ̀** gr1 'scatter, spread').

Finally, in addition to the reciprocal verbs noted above, several gr7 verbs can be extended with the prep. **dà** 'with' to form complex sociative verbs, e.g. **dǎ̀mu dà** 'be concerned (about)', **gàmsu dà** 'be pleased/satisfied with', **kǎ̀mu dà** 'be infected (taken) with (disease)'.

4. Grade/Extension Stacking

Where phonologically possible—basically when the first element of the leftmost extension is a consonant (e.g. gr4 **-ny(ē)**)—secondary grades can occasionally cooccur (to a maximum of two), e.g. **sha-ny-ō** gr4/6 'drink up and come', where the gr6 **-ō**)^{H} suffix is attached to a stem which is already a derivative gr4 **shâ-nyē** 'drink up' (< **shā** gr0 'drink'). The overall tone melody is imposed by the rightmost extension, and the output usually combines the meanings of both extensions. Layering of two extensions is lexically restricted but is particularly common with gr0 monoverbs. Other examples of double-extended stems are (intermediate gr4 verbs not always attested with the same lexical meaning):

janyō gr4/6 'pull all here' < **jânyē** gr4 'pull all' (cf. **jā** gr0 'pull')
sanyō gr4/6 'put on and come' < **sânyā** gr1 'put on'

kiranyō gr4/6 'summon here' (rare) < **kirā** gr0 'summon'
shânyu gr4/7 'be completely spread out to dry' < **shânyā** gr1 'spread out to dry'

In WH, dialectal gr5 efferential verbs with the fused **-dà** formative can provide input for other secondary grade formations, e.g. (stem-gr5-gr6) **sai-d-ō** 'sell and return (here)' (cf. **sàyā** 'buy'). Examples:

tādà 'raise up' gr5 → **tādō** gr5/6 'raise up and return' (cf. **tāshì** 'get up')
bādà 'give away' gr5 → **bādō** gr5/6 'give away and return' and **bàdu** gr5/7 'be given away' (cf. **bā** 'give (to)')
fiddà 'take out' gr5 → **fiddō** gr5/6 'bring out' and **fiddu** gr5/7 'be taken out' (cf. **fìta** 'go out')
maidà 'give back' gr5 → **maidō** gr5/6 'bring back' (cf. **màyā** 'replace')

Combined gr6/5 verbs have the **-ō**)^{H} morphology and ventive-centripetal semantics of gr6 (motion) verbs but function syntactically as transitive gr5 efferentials with the formative **dà**, e.g. **ɓullō dà** 'introduce (plan)', **dāwō dà** 'bring back, restore', **farfaɗō dà** 'revive', **fitō dà** 'bring out', **jūyō dà** 'turn over (page)', **shigō dà** 'bring in, import'. Examples (some containing finite gr6/5 verbs in infinitival VPs):

manajàn kamfànin lantarkì yā ƙi amìncêwā dà dāwō dà wutā
'the manager of the electricity company refused to restore the power'
yā ɓullō wà dà gwamnatì sābuwar dàbārà
'he introduced a new plan to the government'
(= IOM **wà** + **dà** order common with gr5)
sun fārà fitō dà kāyā 'they have started to bring out the stuff'
zā à farfaɗō dà tattalin arzìkin ƙasar Nìjēriyà
'the Nigerian economy will be revived'
sunà shigō dà miyàgun ƙwāyōyī 'they are importing drugs'

The corresponding gr6 sociative (**dà** 'with') verbs, e.g. **ɓullō dà** 'come out with', **shigō dà** 'come in with', are isomorphic with gr6/5 verbs except in nonfinite positions, where the **-ˋwā** verbal noun suffix attaches to the A-form, e.g. **gwamnatì tanà ɓullôwā dà wasu sàbbin manufōfī** 'the government is coming out with some new policies', **màlàmai sunà shigôwā dà yârân** 'the teachers are coming in with the children'. Because of the finite form surface identity and close semantics, the gr6/5 and sociative gr6 constructions seem to be merging for some speakers.

5. Verbs (Grs 2, 3, 7) which Switch to an Extension or other Grade before Indirect Objects

Whereas in grades 0 (final **-ā**), 1, 4, 5, and 6, the pre-indirect object D-form is identical with the pre-zero citation A-form, grades 2, 3, and 7 verbs cannot be used before an indirect object.[3] Instead, their occurring D-forms—with all TAMs including the Imperfective in nonfinite environments—are the output of an obligatory switch to another pre-dativa1 form or derivational extension (like most Chadic languages). Depending upon the required meaning and/or dialect, they normally shift to one of the following extensions or grades: either a special inflectional all H tone **-ar̃** D-suffix, or one of the derivative forms available within the grade system proper, e.g. a gr1 applicative final **-ā** form, a gr4 separative-deprivative (often malefactive), or a gr6 ventive-centripetal (often benefactive) verb. Individual verbs vary considerably with regard to whether they can occur with one or more of the above extensions, and the choice is also subject to variation between individual speakers.

[3]There is some evidence that the underlying final **-i** C-form of gr2 verbs was probably used before indirect objects, a pre-existing feature preserved in dialectally and lexically restricted examples such as **yā bùgi wà Audù yārò** 'he beat Audu's boy' (lit...beat IOM Audu...). See Jaggar & Munkaila (1995), Munkaila (1990: 152-55), and also Pilszczikowa (1969: 20-22), who cites gr2 D-forms with a long final **-ī**.

5.1. *The pre-indirect object* ***-ař)^{H}*** *D-suffix*

One extension regularly utilized by transitive gr2 and intransitive gr3/7 verbs in the syntactically restricted pre-indirect object environment is the all H tone **-ař)**^{H} inflectional D-suffix (the final **-ř** of which regularly assimilates to and geminates with the initial consonant of the following **ma-** or **wà** i.o. marker).[4] Many gr2/3 verbs take the D-suffix (= Newman's 2000: chap. 39 "pre-dative suffix") as an alternative to, or sometimes to the exclusion of, the applicative (gr1) extension. Examples:

zân ɗībař/m makà	'I'll get (them) out for you'
(< **ɗībǎ̀** gr2 'dip/take out')	
nā nēmař/w wà yârân àbinci	'I looked for some food for the boys'
(< **nȅmā** gr2 'look for')	
zā tà tambayař/m makà lǎ̀bārìn	'she'll ask for the news for you'
(< **tàmbayǎ̀** gr2 'ask')	
tā haifař/m masà 'yā'yā dà yawǎ̀	'she bore many children for him'
(< **hàifā** gr2 'give birth to')	
yā sātař/m musù mōtǎ̀	'he stole a car for/from them'
(< **sǎ̀tā** gr2 'steal')	
yā shigař/m minì gidā	'he entered my house (without asking)'
(< **shìga** gr3 'enter')	

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[4]A number of Hausaists, e.g. Frajzyngier (1985), Parsons (1971/72), and Pilszczikowa (1969), have claimed that the distinctive **-ař** D-suffix used to inflect gr2/3/7 verbs pre-datively is the same as the grade 5 efferential final **-ař** (< ***-as**). However, the similarity is superficial, and compelling evidence against this identification is presented in Jaggar & Munkaila (1995), and Newman (1973, 1977b, 1983, 1991b). Newman (1977b) relates the D-suffix to a Proto-Chadic "destinative" ***-in** extension, possible reflexes of which are attested in archaic and lexically restricted D-position verbs like **tāsan wà** 'approach', **zābuřan wà** 'spring upon', **sanan wà** 'inform', **gudun wà** 'run away from' etc., although in Newman (2000: 283), he shows less confidence in this identification. Jaggar & Munkaila (1995), on the other hand, attempt to derive the final consonant **-ř** from an original pleonastic 3f object pronoun ***t**. Neither hypothesis is secure, however, and the identity of the final consonant of the **-ař** D-suffix remains unresolved. Other attempts, both synchronic and etymological, at explaining the D-suffix include: Abdoulaye (1992), Gouffé (1988), Jaggar (1992b), Munkaila (1990), and Swets (1989).

yā tāsam matà dà faɗà 'he set about her angrily'
(< **tāshì** gr3b 'get up')
tā tūbař/w wà mijìntà 'she begged her husband's forgiveness'
(< **tūba** gr3a 'repent')
mề ya aukař/w wà bābàřkà? 'what happened to your mother?'
(< **àuku** gr7 'happen')
yârân sunà tārař/m masà 'the children were gathering around him'
(< **tàru** gr7 'meet, gather together')
(**àuku** and **tàru** are unique within gr7 in taking the D-suffix)

For some speakers, the **-ař**)^{H} D-suffix is most naturally used with a Perfective TAM, a tense-aspect constraint which flows from the fact that use of this extension often correlates with a high degree of conscious agent-subject involvement in the completion of the verbal activity. Examples:

sun/sukà nēmař masà aikì (= Perfective/Focus-Perfective TAMs)
'they looked for a job for him'
but ?**zā sù/sunà/sukàn nēmař masà aikì**
'they will look/are looking/look for a job for him'
(= Future/Imperfective/Habitual TAMs)

There are also a handful of fixed expressions made up of a verb followed by the **mà** IOM normally used by WH speakers before i.o. nouns (= SH **wà**),[5] e.g. **cim mà** (also **cī mà/wà**) 'overtake, accomplish, achieve' (< **ci** gr0 'conquer', now a fused compound gr1 verb **cimmà** for some speakers), **im mà** (also **ī mà/wà**) 'be match for, control' (< **iyà** gr1 'can, be able'), **isam mà** 'be up to, be equal to' (< **ìsā** gr2 'suffice'), and **tāsam mà** (also **tāsař wà**) 'attack, head for' (< **tāshì** gr3b 'get up, arise'). The verb + D-suffix **tāsam mà** allows an alternative clipped

[5]Although the i.o. markers **wà** and **mà/ma-** are analyzable as allomorphs synchronically, historically they derive from separate sources. **Wà** is probably relatable to the polysemic preposition **gà** '(in relation) to, in, on, etc.', and **mà/ma-** are either allomorphs of an original possessive marker/pronoun (Newman 1982), or derive from the IOM **wà** itself (Newman 2000: chap. 39).

D-form **tam mà**, and heavy syllable H tone clipped forms are common with some other D-position verbs. Examples:

nā ɗaukǎ/ɗau wà Audù kāyā	'I picked up the loads for Audu'
(< **ɗaukǎ** gr2 'pick up')	
sunǎ fāɗǎ/fař musù	'they are attacking/falling on them'
(< **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall')	
yā sāmǎ/sam minì gōřò	'he got some kolanut for me'
(< **sāmù** gr2 'get, obtain')	
zân sayǎ/sai wà mǎtātā rìgā	'I'll buy a dress for my wife'
(< **sàyā** gr2 'buy')	
yā zamař/zam minì jìkī	'it became second nature (body) to me'
(< **zama** gr3a 'become')	

The (?clipped) verb **'yan/'yam** 'give a little to' subcategorizes for an indirect object only, e.g. **kà 'yan wà àbōkīnā àbinci** 'give a bit of food to my friend', **kà 'yam minì gōřò** 'give me a bit of kolanut', and is possibly related to other words expressing the general notion 'freedom', e.g. **'yântā** gr1 'free', **'yancì** 'freedom'.

5.2. *Grade-switching before indirect objects*

A number of mainly grade 2 and grade 3 verbs switch to another derivative grade before an indirect object—either an applicative gr1 form, a separative-deprivative gr4 (especially with gr3), or a ventive-centripetal gr6 verb (see also Newman 2000: chap. 39). The exact choice of grade is often determined by the required semantics—applicative gr1 verbs denote that the verbal action has been applied (on)to the indirect object, separative-deprivative gr4 verbs are usually exploited when a malefactive reading is required on the indirect object, and ventive-centripetal gr6 verbs often correlate with a benefactive role for the indirect object. With some lexical verbs, there can also be a partial overlap between the applicative gr1, **-ař** D-suffix and gr4 pre-dativa1 forms. Examples:

Gr2/3 verb → HL(H) final **-ā** applicative gr1

zân faɗà wà mijìnā làbāřìn 'I'll tell the news to my husband'
(< **fàɗā** gr2 'tell, state')

inà nēmà wà yârân/musù àbinci
'I'm looking for some food for the boys/them' (< **nèmā** gr2 'look for')

nā rōƙà wà Mammàn kuɗī 'I begged for some money for Mamman'
(< **ròƙā** gr2 'beg')

an shirgà masà kāyā 'he's been given a huge load'
(< **shìrgā** gr2 'do much')

an sōkà masà wuƙā 'he was stabbed with a knife'
(< **sòkā** gr2 'stab')

zā tà tambàyā makà làbāřìn 'she'll ask for the news for you'
(< **tàmbayà** gr2 'ask')

yā haƙùrā matà 'he gave up on her'
(< **hàƙurà** gr3 'be patient')

sun fāɗà wà àbòkan gàbā 'they fell on the enemy'
(< **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall')

nā yařdà wà màtātā tà zō Ingìlà 'I agreed for my wife to come to England'
(< **yàřda** gr3 'agree')

With some verbs, especially gr2, the applicative gr1 extension and the **-ař** D-suffix can, for some speakers, be substituted for each other without any real meaning difference. Examples:

tā haifà = haifam masà 'yā'yā dà yawà 'she bore many children for him'
(< **hàifā** gr2 'give birth to')

nā rōƙà = rōƙař wà Mammàn kuɗī
'I begged for some money for Mamman' (< **ròƙā** gr2 'beg')

nā zāɓà = zāɓař wà màtātā rìgā 'I chose a dress for my wife'
(< **zàɓā** gr2 'choose')

yā haƙùrā = haƙuram matà 'he gave up on her'
(< **hàƙurà** gr3 'be patient')

In other lexically-specific cases, a meaning difference can sometimes result from a differential D-form gr1 applicative vs. D-suffix choice. Examples:

zân yankầ makà nāmầ 'I'll cut off a piece of (my) meat for you'
(= gr1-D applicative < **yànkā** gr2 'cut off piece')
cf. **zân yankam makà nāmầ**
'I'll cut off a piece of (my or your) meat for you' (= gr2 + D-suffix)
nā nēmầ masà aikì 'I looked for a job for him'
(= gr1-D applicative < **nềmā** gr2 'look for')
cf. **nā nēmam masà aikì** 'I sought his job' (= malefactive)
or 'I looked for a job for him' (= gr2 + D-suffix)
yā sōkầ wà dabbầ wuƙā 'he plunged a knife into the animal'
(= gr1-D applicative < **sồkā** gr2 'stab')
cf. **yā sōkam masà dabbầ** 'he stabbed his animal' (= gr2 + D-suffix)

Gr2/3 verb → HL(H) final **-ē** separative-deprivative gr4 (i.o. often = malefactive):

ɓàrāwòn yā sācề wà Mūsā kuɗī 'the thief stole some money from Musa'
(= gr4-D < **sầtā** gr2 'steal')
wầ zâi sanề makà? 'who would take any notice of you?'
(= gr4-D < **sanì** gr2* 'know')
yā ɓacề minì 'he was lost from my sight'
(= gr4-D < **ɓatà** gr3b 'get lost')
rānā tā ɓācề musù 'their luck ran out'
(lit. day 3f.PF get spoiled IOM.3pl, = gr4-D < **ɓācì** gr3b 'get spoiled')
yā gujề wà ɗan-sàndā 'he ran away from the policeman'
(= gr4-D < **gudù** gr3b 'run (away)')
yā macề manà 'it died on us'
(= gr4-D < **mutù** gr3b 'die')
fuřsùnàn yā tsērề musù 'the prisoner escaped from them'
(= gr4-D < **tsīra** gr3a 'escape')

fuřsùnàn yā kuɓùcē wà ganduřōbōbī
'the prisoner escaped from the warders' (= gr4-D < **kùɓutà** gr3 'escape')

See also gr0 **ƙi** 'refuse' which switches to gr4 **ƙiyè** pre-datively, e.g. **kàsuwā tā ƙiyè musù** 'their business was unsuccessful' (lit. market 3f.PF refuse IOM.3pl).

In some cases, the switch to gr4 or the D-suffix has no obvious semantic correlate, e.g. **yā zamè = zamam minì jìkī** 'it became natural (body) for me' (< **zama** gr3a 'be(come)'), **nā yařjè = yařdam masà yà shigō ajìnā** 'I agreed for him to come into my class' (< **yàřda** gr3 'agree').

Gr2/3 verb → all H final **-ō** ventive-centripetal gr6 (i.o. often = benefactive):

yā sātō wà ɗan-kàsuwā kuɗī 'he stole some money for the trader'
(= gr6-D < **sàtā** gr2 'steal')
wata dàbāřà tā fāɗō mîn 'a plan came to me'
(= gr6-D < **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall')

6. Verbalizing Suffix -TA (= -(A)TA or -VNTA)

This category-changing rule takes a nominal or adjectival (occasionally adverbial) base, and converts it into a verb by adding the derivational suffix **-TA**. The suffix has two basic allomorphs, **-(A)TA** and **-VNTA**, e.g. **ƙaryā** n. 'lie' + **-(A)TA** → **ƙaryàtā** gr1 'deny', **farī** adj. 'white' + **-VNTA** → **faràntā** gr1 'make happy'. The formation is handled here because the derived verbs all participate in the grade system. Whereas the selection of **-(A)TA** or **-VNTA** appears to be lexically determined, the surface **-ata** and **-āta** forms of the **-(A)TA** allomorph are phonologically conditioned variants which are sensitive to the weight of the initial syllable of the stem (the length of the final vowel /**a**(**a**)/ of the suffix is grade-specific). Some stems allow either allomorph (depending on speaker/dialect), thereby producing doublets like **kùsātà = kùsantà** gr2 'get close to, approach' (< **kusa** '(be) near'), **ƙāyàtā = ƙāyàntā** gr1 'adorn' (< **ƙāyè**

'showing off stylish dress'). See also Parsons (1981), Rufa'i (1979), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 79).

If the resulting denominal or de-adjectival verb is transitive, it occurs either in grade 1, grade 2 or (less commonly) grade 4, and is grade 3 or 4 if intransitive. There are also some transitive/intransitive pairs, usually grs1/3 or 1/4, e.g. gr1tr **sābùntā** 'renew' + gr3intr **sàbuntà** 'become new' (< **sābō** 'new'). Some derivative primary (grs1-3) **-TA** verbs allow further derivation in the form of secondary grades. Examples:

> gr5 **azabtař** 'torture' (< gr2 **àzabtà** 'torture' < **àzābà** 'torture'), gr7 **hìmmàntu** 'strive one's utmost' (< gr3 **hìmmantà** 'make an effort' < **himmà** 'determination'), **makàncē** gr4 'go blind' and gr5 **makantař** 'blind s'one' (< gr3 **màkantà** 'go blind', cf. ***màkam-nìyā** 'blind woman'), gr6 **zamantō** 'be(come), happen' (< gr3 **zàmanà** 'be(come), happen', cf. **zamā** 'living')

6.1. -(A)TA (= -ta, -ata, -āta)

The verbalizer suffix **-(A)TA** has three phonological realizations: **-ta**, **-ata**, and **-āta** (tones and final vowel length on the output are determined by grade).

-ta

Stems which suffix the **-ta** variant are often trisyllabic (with some reduplicates). The **-ta** either replaces the final vowel or is directly suffixed to stems ending in a consonant or diphthong. Examples:

àzabtà	gr2	'torture'	(< **àzābà** 'torture')
bambàntā	gr1	'distinguish'	(< **bambam** 'different')
bâutā	gr1dat	'serve'	(< **bāwà** 'slave')
daidàitā	gr1	'correct'	(< **daidai** 'correct, exact')
gajàrtā	gr1	'shorten'	(< **gàjērē** 'short')
hanzàrtā	gr1	'hasten'	(< **hanzarī** 'speed')
hàřamtà	gr3	'be illegal'	(< **hàřâm** 'illegal (in Islam)')

kasàncē before gr4 **-ē**)	gr4	'be(come)'	(< ?, with /**t**/ → /**c**/ palatalization
kwàďaità	gr3	'have desire'	(< **kwàďàyī** 'desire')
kwântā	gr1	'lie down'	(< **kwānā** 'spending the night')
kyâutā	gr1dat	'be good to'	(< **kyâu** 'goodness')
ƙōƙàrtā	gr1	'try hard'	(< **ƙōƙarī** 'effort')
māgàncē	gr4	'fix, solve'	(< **māgànī** 'medicine')
màkantà 'blind woman')	gr3	'go blind'	(< **màkaunìyā** < ***màkamnìyā**
mùsùluntà	gr3	'become Muslim'	(< **mùsùlmī** 'Muslim')
shằwařtằ	gr2	'consult, give advice'	(< **shāwařằ** 'advice')
tabbàtā 'certain(ly)')	gr1	'be sure'	(< ***tabbàstā** < **tabbàs**
tīlàstā	gr1dat	'force, compel'	(< **tīlàs** '(of) necessity')
zìyařtằ	gr2	'visit'	(< **zìyāřằ** 'visit')

Note too **fīfìtā** gr1 'promote, rank above'—a reduplicated form of gr0 **fi** 'prefer' with long internal /**ī**/ vowels and the **-ta** suffix)—and the reduplicated **-ta** verbs **càncantằ** gr2 'deserve' and **nānằtā** gr1 'repeat', where the presumed simple stems are not attested.

-ata and **-āta**

These suffixes replace the final vowel of disyllabic only stems; and selection of **-ata** or **-āta** is determined by syllable weight polarity. Words with a heavy first syllable suffix select the **-ata** variant (i.e. with *short* initial /**a**/), yielding a heavy-light syllable sequence, e.g. **ƙyāmàtā** gr1 'loathe, hate' (< **ƙyằmā** 'loathing, hatred'). If the stem-initial syllable is light, then the suffix is **-āta** (i.e. with *long* initial /**ā**/), producing a light-heavy sequence, e.g. **fùsātà** gr3 'get angry' (< **fushī** 'anger'). Examples:

-ata

aikàtā gr1 'do, perform, accomplish'
(< **aikì** 'work' < **àikā** gr2 'send' = denominal **-ata** verb < (de)verbal noun < source verb)
ɓař nàtā gr1 'damage, destroy' (< **ɓàřnā** 'damage, destruction')
gàyyatà gr2 'invite' (< **gàyyā** 'invitation (to communal work)')
gwammàcē gr4 'prefer' (< **gwamma** 'it is preferable...')
hannàtā gr1 'hand over' (< **hannū** 'hand')
ƙaryàtā gr1 'deny' (< **ƙaryā** 'lie')
ƙāyatař gr5 'impress' (< **ƙāyè** 'showing off (clothes)')
tsabtàcē gr4 'clean up' (< **tsabtà** 'cleanliness')
tsòratà gr3 'be afraid', gr1 **tsōràtā** 'frighten', and gr2 **tsòratà** 'fear' (< **tsòrō** 'fear')
yāwàtā gr1 'stroll' (< **yāwò** 'stroll(ing)')
zàmbatà gr2 'cheat' (< **zàmbō** 'cheating')
(**Sàllātà** gr2 'perform one of the ritual prayers' (< **sallà** 'prayer') is an exception to the weight polarity rule.)

-āta

fusàtā gr1 'anger', and gr3 **fùsātà** 'become angry' (< **fushī** 'anger')
gàbātà gr2 'lead' (< **gàbā** 'front')
kùsātà gr2 'approach' (< **kusa** '(be) near')
ƙawàtā gr1 'make beautiful' (< **ƙawā** 'adornment')
(Note also **ruwàitā** gr1 'spread' (? < **ruwā** 'water'), and **yawàitā** gr1 'increase' (< **yawà** 'quantity, abundance'), both with a diphthong /**ai**/ in the suffix.)

6.2. *-VNTA (= **-anta** or **-unta**)*

The **-VNTA** suffix normally surfaces as **-anta**, with tones and final vowel length again assigned by grade, though **-unta** occurs with a few underlying forms ending in a back rounded vowel /**ō**/ or /**ū**/. Examples:

-anta

baƙàntā	gr1dat	'blacken' (< **baƙī** 'black')
dàngantà	gr2	'relate' (< **dangì** 'family relation')
faràntā	gr1dat	'whiten' (< **farī** 'white')
fùskantà	gr2	'face, understand' (< **fuskà** 'face')
gubàntā	gr1	'poison' (< **gubà** 'poison')
hannàntā	gr1dat	'hand/give to' (< **hannū** 'hand')
kařàntā	gr1	'read, study' (< **kàřàtū** 'reading, study')
kīmàntā = kimmàntā	gr1	'evaluate' (< **kīmà** 'evaluation')
kùsantà = kùsātà	gr2	'get close to' (< **kusa** '(be) near')
kwatàntā	gr1	'compare, describe'

(cf. **kwatancì** 'comparison, description')

ƙàlùbàlantà	gr2	'challenge' (< **ƙālūbàlē** 'challenge')
musàntā	gr1	'deny, contradict' (< **musù** 'denial')
nìsantà	gr2	'keep distance from' (< **nīsā** 'distance')
'yântā	gr1	'free (slave)' (< **'yā** 'free person')

-unta

bàƙuntà	gr2	'be a guest of' (< **bàƙō** 'guest')
gurgùncē	gr4	'become crippled' (< **gurgù** 'cripple')
mùguntà	gr3	'become evil'

(< **mūgù** 'evil', with shortening of initial vowel to /**u**/)

sābùntā	gr1	'renew' (< **sābō** 'new')

7. "Pluractional" Verbs

A widespread and productive (pan-Chadic) formation involves the building of so-called "pluractional" verbs, traditionally known as "intensives"—see Al-Hassan (1983), Frajzyngier (1965), Gouffé (1975b), Pawlak (1975), and especially Newman (1989, 1990: chap. 4, 2000: chap. 55).

Derivational pluractionals are reduplicated forms built on verb stems, simple and derived, in all grades, and they retain all the morphosyntactic properties, e.g.

verbal noun and Imperative formation, associated with the grade in question. Semantically, they express a complex multiple action performed on a number of occasions by a plurality of subjects and/or on a plurality of objects. Examples:

Plurality of subjects (intransitive pluractionals)

fāsinjōjī duk sun mummutù 'the passengers all died' (< **mutù** gr3b 'die')

yârā zā sù rurrùɗ'ē 'the children will be all confused'

(< **rūɗ'è** gr4 'be confused')

ɗ'àlìbai sunà shisshigôwā 'the students are all trooping in'

(< **shigō** gr6 'come in', and geminate **/shsh/** and **/tsts/** = orthographic **ssh** and **tts**)

Plurality of objects (transitive pluractionals)

sunà ciccîn àbinci irì-irì 'they are eating all different kinds of food'

(< **ci** gr0 'eat')

yā rarràbā musù gōřò 'he distributed kolanuts to them all'

(< **rabà** gr1 'distribute')

zân tàntàmbàyē sù 'I'll ask them (one by one)'

(< **tàmbayà** gr2 'ask')

tàntàmbàyè su mànà! 'ask them (one by one)!'

ràrràbā musù! 'distribute to them all!'

Pluractional stems are normally formed by reduplicating and prefixing the initial $C_1V(V)C_2$- component of the stem, and a long VV automatically shortens (and centralizes) in the resulting closed syllable. Gemination/assimilation of the coda-position C_2 (including glides) with the following abutting consonant is a common feature of all pluractionals. Examples (grade-specific tones are supplied by a late rule which is not part of the pluractional formation, see below):

bugà 'beat' → **<u>bub</u>bùgā** (< ***bug+bugā**), **ɓūya** 'hide' → **<u>ɓuɓ</u>ɓūya** (< ***ɓūy+ɓūya**), **taɓà** 'touch' → **<u>tat</u>tàɓā** (< ***taɓ+taɓā**), **řubùtā** 'write' → **<u>řuř</u>řubùtā** (< ***řub+řubūtā**), **dafà** 'cook' → **<u>dad</u>dàfā** (< ***daf+dafā**), **dāwō** 'come back' → **<u>dad</u>dāwō** (< ***dāw+dāwō**), **haifù** 'give birth' → **<u>hah</u>haifù** (<

***haif+haifu**), jāwō 'pull' → **jajjāwō** (< ***jāw+jāwō**), **sàyā** 'buy' → **sàssayà̀** (< ***say+sayā**), **azà̀** 'put, place' (= /**'azà̀**/ with initial glottal stop) → **a'àzā** (= /**'a''àzā**/ with geminate glottal stop), **mīƙè̀** 'stretch out' → **mimmìƙē** (< ***mīƙ+mīƙē**), **taunà̀** 'chew' → **tattàunā** 'discuss' (< ***taun+taunā**, with specialized metaphorical meaning in pluractional), **nè̀mā** 'look for' → **nànnēmà̀** (< ***nēm+nēmā**)

As suggested by Newman (2000: chap. 55), C_2 gemination in the reduplicated pluractional prefix has become (or is becoming) fully morphologized, i.e. the reduplicated prefix is now analyzable as C_1VG- (where G = geminate), as evidenced by active monoverb-based pluractionals like **bibbi** < **bi** 'follow', **cicci** < **ci** 'eat', **shasshā** < **shā** 'drink', and **jajjē** < **jē** 'go' which contain a surface geminate even though they have no C_2 in the simple stem. Some frozen pluractionals (see below), display internal consonant gemination, usually medial /**ll**/, e.g. **fallàsā** 'humiliate s'one by exposing secret', **sullùßē** 'slip away, escape', **tsallàkē** 'scale, jump over', though this medial gemination may represent an archaic derivational process of pluractional formation.

If C_2 is a coronal or sonorant (any nasal or /**r**, **y**/), assimilation to the following consonant is optional (though often applied). Examples of sonorants (reduplicated C_2 nasals also undergo full homorganic assimilation with the following C) are:

kirā 'call' → **kirkirā**/**kikkirā**, **gayà̀** 'tell (to)' → **gaigàyā**/**gaggàyā** (with /**y**/ → /**i**/), **kāmà̀** 'seize' → **kankà̀mā**/**kakkà̀mā**, **tàmbayà̀** 'ask' → **tàntàmbayà̀**/**tàttàmbayà̀**. Coronal obstruents can alternatively rhotacize to /**r̃**/ in coda position, e.g. **fasà̀** 'smash' → **far̃fàsā**/**faffàsā**, **kaɗè̀** 'shake off' → **kar̃kàɗē**/**kakkàɗē**, **kashè̀** 'kill' → **kar̃kàshē**/**kakkàshē**, **mutù** 'die' → **mur̃mutù**/**mummutù**, **wātsà̀** 'scatter' → **war̃wàtsā**/**wawwàtsā**.

In all cases, tone is imposed on the segmental pluractional output following attachment of the grade-specific, tone-integrating suffix, and the tonal melodies are the same as those specifiable for basic or derived polysyllabic verbs (see

relevant §§ above). Examples (citation A-forms of simple disyllabic → trisyllabic pluractional stems):

gr1	= HL(H)	**kāmà**)^{HL}	'seize'	→	**kankàma**)^{HLH}
gr2	= LH(L)	**nẽmā**)^{LH}	'look for'	→	**nànnēmà**)^{LHL}
gr3a	= H	**girma**)^{H}	'grow up'	→	**giggirma**)^{H}
gr3b	= HL	**mutù**)^{HL}	'die'	→	**mummutù**)^{HL}
gr4	= HL(H)	**kashẽ**)^{HL}	'kill'	→	**kakkàshē**)^{HLH}
gr5	= H	**fitaɾ̃**)^{H}	'take out'	→	**fiɾ̃fitaɾ̃**)^{H}
gr6	= H	**dāwō**)^{H}	'come back'	→	**daddāwō**)^{H}
gr7	= (L)LH	**tà̃ru**)^{LH}	'gather'	→	**tàttà̃ru**)^{LLH}

Pluractionals of canonical LH disyllabic grade 3 verbs are idiosyncratic in that, in preference to the expected LHL tone melody which is assigned to trisyllabic gr3 verbs (e.g. **kùɓutà** 'escape', **màkarà** 'be late'), many speakers now have a rule which simply prefixes the $C_1V(V)C_2$- reduplicate, together with its lexically specified L tone, to the LH verb stem. This yields a surface LLH trisyllabic pluractional, e.g. **fiffita** (< **fìta** 'go out'), **cìccìka** (< **cìka** 'fill up'), **shìsshìga** (< **shìga** 'go in'). LHL gr3 pluractionals do exist, e.g. **fiffità**, **shìsshigà**, but seem to be less widespread in SH.

A second (infixal) pluractional rule copies the -$C_2V(V)C_3$- sequence occurring before the final vowel of a trisyllabic verb stem and inserts it to the left in antepenultimate position (= second syllable in the quadrisyllabic output). Most quadrisyllabic pluractionals produced by antepenultimate infixation display a light-heavy-light-heavy iambic metrical alternation (Newman 2000: chap. 55). Tone assignment and phonological adjustments to the syllable-final C_3 segment of the infix—it only geminates if the resulting CC sequence is disallowed—are as specified above for prefixal pluractionals. Examples (lexically specific): **dà̃gurà̃** (gr2) 'gnaw' → **dà̃gùrgurà̃**, **gutsùrā** (gr1) 'break into pieces' → **gutsuttsùrā**, **hàɓakà** (gr3) 'swell up' → **hàɓàɓɓakà**, **karyà̃** (gr1) 'break' → **karairàyā** (with epenthetic **-a-** in the base). A few polysyllabic verb stems allow

either antepenult/infixal or prefixal pluractionals, e.g. **maƙàlā** (gr1) 'attach' → **maƙalƙàlā** or **mammaƙàlā**, **tafàsā** (gr1) 'boil' → **tafařfàsā** or **tattafàsā**.

Derivative pluractionals can also serve as input for other formations, e.g. (pluractional statives) **yàřyàshe** 'all thrown away, abandoned' (< **yàřyāsà** < **yàsā** 'clean out'), **dùddùƙe** 'all bent over' (< **duddùƙā** < **dūƙà** 'bend over'), **zàzzàune** 'sitting (number of people)' (< **zazzàunā** < **zaunà** 'sit').

Alongside the class of productive synchronic pluractionals, there is a large subclass of frozen lexical pluractionals with CVC- reduplication in antepenultimate position, and for which the presumed underlying stem is no longer recoverable (see Newman 2000: chap. 62). Some frozen pluractionals have also been bleached of their original pluractional semantics. Examples (with reconstructed mainly disyllabic stems and phonological adjustments to copied coda consonants as above):

babbàkā (gr1) 'roast, grill' (< ***bakà**), **ɗanɗànā** (gr1) 'taste, experience' (< ***ɗanà**), **gàřgaɗà** (gr2) 'warn' (< ***gàɗā**), **gařgìzā** (gr1) 'shake' (< ***gizà**), **gùrgurà** (gr2) 'gnaw' (< ***gùrā**), **kanannàɗē** (gr4) 'coil up' (< ***kanàɗē**), **kařkàtā** (gr1) 'twist, swerve' (< ***katà**), **kìnkimà** (gr2) 'carry heavy load' (< ***kìmā**, with nasal assimilation), **làllāsà** (gr2) 'coax, persuade' (< ***lāsā**), **rarràfā** (gr1) 'crawl' (< ***rafà**), **sansànā** (gr1) 'smell' (< ***sanà**), **wàiwayà** (gr2) 'turn (attention) to' (< ***wàyā**), **warwàrē** (gr4) 'unravel, solve' (< ***warè**), **yagalgàlā** (gr1) 'tear to pieces' (< ***yagàlā**)

A few verbs whose stem-final C_2 is (usually) a coronal operate petrified trisyllabic pluractionals where the same C_2 is replaced by a nasal in the reduplicated C_1VC_2- (= C_1VN-) attachment, e.g. (source stems, if attested, are typically disyllabic) **ɓambɓàrē** gr4 'tear off' (cf. **ɓārè** gr4 'strip, peel'), **gangàrā** gr1 'roll down', **ƙyanƙyàshē** gr4 'hatch (egg)', **ƙwanƙwàsā** gr1 'knock at (door), tap', **tùntuɓà** gr2 'sound out, consult, get in touch with'. The **ɓārè/ɓambàrē** pairing also illustrates another unusual feature of some frozen pluractional formations—the open syllable alternation between a long internal vowel in the simple cognate stem and a short penultimate vowel in the

corresponding pluractional. This length difference is probably another example of metrical heavy-light weight polarity on the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables—cf. also **dūƙà** gr1 'bend down' and **duddùƙā** 'crouch down', gr1 **ƙērà** 'forge, smith' (< ***ƙīrà**) and **ƙirƙìrā** 'invent', **yāfà** gr1 'scatter, sprinkle' and **yayyàfā** 'sprinkle' (**làllāsà** gr2 'coax, persuade' is exceptional).

Chapter 8
Verbal Nouns, Deverbal Nouns and Infinitives

1. Introduction

The syntactically distinct word classes "verbal noun" and "deverbal noun", i.e. lexicalized nouns derived from/cognate with verbs, are handled together because they both involve (differing degrees of) nominalization and exploit basically the same lexico-derivational morphology. From a functional point of view, however, deverbal nouns (DVNs) differ from verbal nouns (VNs) in that they operate like autonomous common nouns. For example, in the nonfinite Imperfective TAM sentence **sunà** [**gānà-wā**]$_{VN}$ 'they're having a discussion' (3pl.IMPF discuss-VN), **gānàwā** 'discussing/having a discussion' functions as the participial-like verbal noun of the gr1 verb **gānà** 'to discuss', whereas in [**ràiràyī**]$_{DVN}$ **yā yi yawà** 'there's a lot of sand' (sand 3m.PF do lot), **ràiràyī** 'sand' is a lexicalized deverbal noun derived from the gr2 verb **ràirayà** 'to sift, sieve'. Some verbonominal forms can behave syntactically as either verbal nouns, e.g. **yanà** [**ginì-n**]$_{VN}$ **gidā** 'he's building a house' (with the **-n** linker on the VN), or deverbal nouns, e.g. **gà wani bàbban** [**ginì**]$_{DVN}$ **cân** 'there's a large building over there' (see §7). As an alternative to a verbal noun, and depending upon the particular verb grade, the nonfinite VP can consist of an "infinitive phrase" (IP) which contains both a finite verb (V) and a following object, e.g. **yanà** [[**kwāshè**]$_{V}$ **kāyā**]$_{IP}$ 'he's clearing away the stuff' (3m.IMPF clear away stuff) (see §3 for details).

For various treatments of this complex area of the grammar, see: Abdoulaye (1992: chap. 6), Abraham (1959b), Bagari (1971), Galadanci (1969), Gouffé (1966/67, 1967/68, 1981a), Newman (1987), Parsons (1981: 75-76, 208ff.), Tuller (1986), Wolff (1991b, 1993: chap. 5), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 77).

2. Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns (VNs), e.g. **arō** 'borrowing' (< **àrā** gr2 'borrow'), **biyà** 'paying' (< **biyā** gr0 'pay'), **dafàwā** 'cooking' (< **dafà** gr1 'cook'), **fìtā** 'going out' (< **fìta** gr3 'go out'), **kōmôwā** 'returning' (< **kōmō** gr6 'return'), **nēmā** 'looking for' (< **nèmā** gr2 'look for'), **yî** 'doing' (< **yi** gr0 'do'), are nonfinite forms which often correspond to gerundives and progressive '-ing' participles in English. (See relevant §§ below for the morphology of VNs.) They can also be translated as 'to'-infinitives and with Imperfective TAMs can express a (non-progressive) habitual simple present meaning. Verbal nouns are used as obligatory replacements for verbs in specifiable nonfinite contexts, most typically in the verbal slot following Imperfective TAMs, and also as complements with aspectual verbs (§**13**:2.1.1), motion verbs, and the agentive **MAI-**construction, where they occur without any TAM. With non-Imperfective TAMs, e.g. the Perfective, Future, Subjunctive, etc., a finite verb is used (§**6**). Because they have nominal attributes, VNs are, like common nouns, assigned masculine or feminine gender. All feminine gender VNs end in **-ā**, and masculine gender VNs end in either **-ī**, **-ē**, **-ō**, **-ū** or occasionally **-ā** (see relevant §§ below for details). Verbal nouns take an enclitic genitive linker before overt objects, **-n** if the VN is masculine, **-r̃** if it is feminine. Examples:

mè kakè [**yî**]$_{VN}$?	'what are you doing?'
what 2m.FOC-IMPF do.VN	
cf. **mè ka** [**yi**]$_{V}$?	'what did you do?' (= finite verb)
what 2m.FOC-PF do	
mè takè [**dafà-wā**]$_{VN}$?	'what is she cooking?'
what 3f.FOC-IMPF cook-VN	
cf. **mè ta** [**dafà**]$_{V}$?	'what did she cook?' (= finite verb)
what 3f.FOC-PF cook	
inà [**nēma-n**]$_{VN}$ **aikì**	'I'm looking for a job'
1sg.IMPF look for.VN-of job	

cf. **nā [nèmi]$_V$ aikì**	'I looked for a job' (= finite verb)
1sg.PF look for job	
yanà [kòra-r̃]$_{VN}$ sù	'he's driving them away'
tanà [jirà-n]$_{VN}$ Audù	'she's waiting for Audu'
sunà [shìgā]$_{VN}$	'they are going in'
yârā sun fārà [cî-n]$_{VN}$ àbinci	'the children have started to eat the food'
nā dainà [shâ-n]$_{VN}$ tābà	'I've stopped smoking (tobacco)'
zân fìta [shâ-n]$_{VN}$ iskà	'I'm going out to get (drink) some fresh air'
àkwai mài [zuwà]$_{VN}$ Kanò?	'is there anyone going to Kano?'

Verbal nouns can also occur as clausal subjects or complements:

[kōyâr̃-wā]$_{VN}$ nà dà wùyā	'teaching is difficult'
teach-VN IMPF with difficulty	
kâr̃ kà sâ su [yî-n]$_{VN}$ aikìn dà ya fi ƙarfinsù	
NEG 2m.SJN cause 3pl do.VN-of work.DD(m) REL 3m.FOC-PF exceed strength.of.3pl	
'don't get them to do work which is too much for them'	
[fìtā]$_{VN}$ dà dàddare yanà dà haɗàr̃ī	'going out late at night is dangerous'
zân yi ƙòƙarin [tàimakon]$_{VN}$ àbōkinkà	'I'll try to help your friend'

If the verbal noun occurs without any object, its intrinsic gender appears on concord targets, e.g. subject-agreement pronouns, copulas. Examples:

[ganī]$_m$ [yā]$_m$ kòri jî	'seeing is believing'
see.VN(m) 3m.PF drive away hear.VN	
[ƙīrà]$_f$ [tanà]$_f$ dà muhimmancì	'smithing is important'
[shūkà]$_f$ [cē]$_f$ sukè yî	'it's *planting* they are doing'

If the verbal noun has an overt (genitival) object, the phrase controls masculine gender if the head VN is masculine, e.g. **[[kòyon]$_m$ Hausa]$_m$ [yanà]$_m$ dà**

wùyā 'learning Hausa is difficult'. But if the head verbal noun is feminine, the VN + object phrase can be either feminine or masculine depending upon the speaker, e.g. [[**kòrař**]$_{F}$ **birai**]$_{F}$ [**tanà**]$_{F}$ **dà wùyā** = [[**kòrař**]$_{F}$ **birai**]$_{M}$ [**yanà**]$_{M}$ **dà wùyā** 'chasing off the monkeys is difficult'.

3. Infinitive Phrases

In the same nonfinite contexts as described above, and depending upon the particular verb grade and syntactic environment, the VP can consist of what Newman (2000: chaps. 40, 77) refers to and analyzes as an "infinitive phrase" (IP). Structurally, IPs are nonfinite VPs which contain both a finite verb form (V) *and* an overt direct and/or indirect object, and the V head element is comparable to "zero infinitives" in English, e.g. 'he saw her go', 'all I did was tell him'. In terms of their internal composition, therefore, infinitive phrases are distinct from verbal noun phrases (which do not require a following expressed object, §2), but identical to regular finite verb + object VPs (see examples below). If no object is expressed, the verb converts to a "weak" verbal noun with an inflectional suffix **-wā** (§5.1). In terms of meaning, IPs, like verbal noun phrases, often translate as '-ing' participles or 'to'-infinitives in English. Examples of IPs with Imperfective TAMs in verb grades 1, 4, 5, and 6 are:

mè kè [[**hanà**]$_{V}$ **ka**?]$_{IP}$	'what's preventing you?'
what FOC-IMPF prevent 2m	(= IP with gr1 B-form verb)
cf. **mè zâi** [**hanà**]$_{V}$ **ka**?	'what will prevent you?'
what FUT.3m prevent 2m	(= gr1 B-form verb)
sōjōjī sunà [[**kashè**]$_{V}$ **mutànē dà yawà**]$_{IP}$	(= IP with gr4 C-form verb)
soldiers 3pl.IMPF kill people many	
'the soldiers are killing many people'	
cf. **sōjōjī sun** [**kashè**]$_{V}$ **mutànē dà yawà**	(= gr4 C-form verb)
soldiers 3pl.PF kill people many	
'the soldiers killed many people'	

bā yà [[**kōyař**]$_V$ **dà mū**]$_{IP}$ 'he doesn't teach us'
(= IP with gr5 verb plus pronoun)
anà [[**kāwō**]$_V$ **makà sū**]$_{IP}$ 'they are being brought to you'
(= IP with gr6 D-form verb)

IPs can, like verbal nouns, occur without a TAM, e.g. when acting as complements to aspectual or causal verbs:

yā fārà [[**mayař**]$_V$ **dà lìttàttàfân**]$_{IP}$ (= gr5 verb with oblique noun object)
'he's started to return the books'
mālàmī yā sâ mu [[**kařàntā**]$_V$ **shi**]$_{IP}$ (= gr1 B-form verb)
'the teacher got us to read it'

The verb-headed infinitive phrase with overt object can function as an NP, e.g. as a clause subject (with masculine gender) or object. Examples:

[[**gayà**]$_V$ **matà**]$_{IP}$ **bâ** [**shi**]$_m$ **dà àmfằnī** (= gr1 D-form verb)
tell IOM.3f NEG 3m with use
'telling her is of no use'
[[**hamɓàrē**]$_V$ **gwamnatìn**]$_{IP}$ [**zâi**]$_m$ **yi wùyā** (= gr4 C-form verb)
overthrow government.DD(m) FUT.3m do difficulty
'overthrowing the government will be difficult'
an hanà [[**zubař**]$_V$ **dà cikì**]$_{IP}$ (= gr5 verb + noun object)
4pl.PF outlaw pour away pregnancy
'abortion has been outlawed'

4. "Weak" vs. "Strong" Verbal Nouns

For organizational purposes, verbal nouns can be grouped into two major classes —"weak" and "strong"—on the basis of their morphosyntactic characteristics

(see also Newman 2000: chap. 77, and Parsons 1981: 75-76, 152ff.). Weak verbal nouns (WVNs) attach an inflectional suffix **-ˋwā** in nonfinite environments where the VP contains no overtly expressed object, either because the lexical verb is intransitive, or because the direct object of a transitive verb has been frontshifted or ellipted. Examples:

sunà gānà-wā 'they're having a discussion' (cf. **gānà** 'discuss')
3pl.IMPF discuss-WVN
mè sukè ajìyê-wā? 'what are they putting down?' (cf. **ajìyē** 'put down')
what 3pl.FOC-IMPF put down-WVN
tanà kāwô-wā 'she is bringing (it)' (cf. **kāwō** 'bring')
3f.IMPF bring-WVN

Strong verbal nouns (SVNs), on the other hand, occur in various forms, excluding **-ˋwā**, and in all syntactic environments except before indirect objects, where only finite verb forms are allowed whatever the TAM. If transitive, SVNs suffix the genitive linker **-n/-r̃** when followed by an overt object (**-n** if the SVN is masculine, **-r̃** if it is feminine). Examples:

inà jî 'I'm listening' (cf. **ji** 'listen, hear')
1sg.IMPF listen.SVN
inà yî-n aikìn 'I'm doing the work' (cf. **yi** 'do')
1sg.IMPF do.SVN-of(m) work.DD(m)
sunà sātà-r̃ kāyā dà yawà 'they are stealing many things'
3pl.IMPF steal.SVN-of(f) things many (cf. **sàtā** 'steal')
tanà kòyo-n Hausa 'she's learning Hausa' (cf. **kòyā** 'learn')
yârân sunà zāgì-n-tà 'the children are abusing her'
(with genitive pronoun object, cf. **zàgā** 'abuse')

Cutting across the weak vs. strong VN dichotomy is a regular/irregular morphological opposition—weak verbal nouns are all regular (predictable), whereas strong verbal nouns can be either regular or irregular (non-predictable).

Table 21 summarizes the morphosyntax of verbal nouns, many of which also function as lexicalized deverbal nouns (§7).

Table 21. Morphosyntactic classification of verbal nouns

	Weak	Strong
Regular	**-ˋwā** suffix (if no object), e.g. **dafȁwā** 'cooking' **kashȅwā** 'killing' **sayȃr̃wā** 'selling' **dāwôwā** 'returning' **yìwuwā** 'being possible'	Stem-final vowel lengthening (sometimes vacuous) with L tone (+ linker before an object), e.g. **cî** 'eating' (= HL/Fall) **shâ** 'drinking' (= HL/Fall) **kirȁ** 'calling' Stem-final vowel lengthening, e.g. **fītā** 'going out' **tsūfā** 'growing old' **gudù** 'running away'
Irregular		Lexically-determined VNs with variable tone patterns and final vowels (+ linker before an object), e.g. (HL **-ī**) **ɗ'inkǐ** 'sewing', (LH **-ē**) **sàyē** 'buying', (HH **-ā**) **nēmā** 'seeking', (HL **-ā** with ablaut) **sūkȁ** 'stabbing', (LH **-ā**) **kàrɓā** 'receiving', (LH **-ō**) **kȍyō** 'learning', (HL **-ù**) **kāmù** 'catching'; also **-iyā** or **-uwā** suffixation, e.g. **gȍdiyā** 'thanking', **gaisuwā** 'greeting'

Regular verbal nouns, both weak, e.g. **dafȁwā** 'cooking' (< **dafȁ** gr1 'to cook'), and strong, e.g. **bî** 'following' (< **bi** gr0 'to follow'), **fītā** 'going out' (< **fīta** gr3 'to go out'), are derived forms which can be predicted from the shape (grade) of the lexical verb stem by specifiable redundancy rules. Irregular strong verbal nouns, on the other hand, are non-predictable and utilize a full range of lexically-determined final vowels and tone patterns.[1]

[1]Compare the use of the terms "regular" and "irregular" to classify English verbs. With "regular" verbs knowledge of the base form permits prediction of all its other forms; with "irregular" verbs, on the other hand, certain forms are not predictable by rule from the base.

5. Regular Weak and Strong Verbal Nouns

The morphological shape of regular weak and strong verbal nouns is almost always statable by general rule from the form or grade of the finite verb stem.

5.1. Weak verbal nouns (WVNs) with the suffix **-ˋwā**

Weak **-ˋwā** verbal nouns (WVNs) are verb-like constituents which are syntactically restricted to occurrence in nonfinite environments where the VP contains no overtly expressed direct/indirect object. The feminine gender **-ˋwā** suffix is thus obligatory with A-form intransitive verbs, and also with A-form transitive verbs whose subcategorized object is not in situ, either because it has been frontshifted following *wh*-movement, focus, etc., or is ellipted. Most grade 1 verbs and all secondary 4, 5, 6, 7 grades switch to an inflected WVN form by attaching the suffix **-ˋwā** to the A-form verb stem when no object follows. With overt objects, i.e. in B-, C-, and D-contexts, the finite verb is used whatever the TAM, including infinitive phrases in nonfinite environments (§3), and so it manifests regular final vowel length and tone changes according to the syntactic B/C/D context—cf. strong verbal nouns which suffix a genitive linker before objects in the B- and C-contexts (§5.2). Examples (with Imperfective TAMs):

mè takè [**dafà-wā**]$_{WVN}$?	'what is she cooking?'
what 3f.FOC-IMPF cook-VN	
cf. (IP with C-form verb) **tanà** [**dafà**]$_{V}$ **àbinci**	'she is cooking food'
cf. (IP with B-form verb) **tanà** [**dafà**]$_{V}$ **shi**	'she is cooking it'
cf. (IP with D-form verb) **tanà** [**dafà**]$_{V}$ **wà mijìntà àbinci**	
'she is cooking food for her husband'	
Hasàn yanà [**wucè-wā**]$_{WVN}$	'Hassan is passing by'
cf. **Hasàn yā** [**wucè**]$_{V}$	'Hassan passed by'
sunà [**tattàunâ-wā**]$_{WVN}$	'they are discussing (it)'
cf. **sunà** [**tattàunà**]$_{V}$ **màganàr**	'they are discussing the matter'

wànè sāshè kukè [gudānâř-wā]$_{WVN}$?	
'which department do you run?'	
cf. **munà [gudānař]**$_{V}$ **dà Sāshèn Afiřkà**	'we run the Africa Department'
mè kakè [sayâř-wā]$_{WVN}$?	'what are you selling?'
cf. **inà [sayař]**$_{V}$ **dà kāyan mōtà**	'I sell car parts'
yàushē kikè [dāwô-wā]$_{WVN}$?	'when are you coming back?'
cf. **kin [dāwō]**$_{V}$?	'you've come back?'
yârā sunà ta [shisshigô-wā]$_{WVN}$	'the children are all coming in'
cf. **sun [shisshigō]**$_{V}$	'they all came in'
likitōcī sunà [tàru-wā]$_{WVN}$ **dà sāfe**	
'the doctors are assembling in the morning'	
cf. **sun [tàru]**$_{V}$	'they assembled'

Three irregular monosyllabic verbs also operate **-ˋwā** WVNs—**cêwā** 'saying' (< **cê** + **-ˋwā**), **kâiwā** 'taking, reaching' (< **kai** + **-ˋwā**), and **sâwā** 'putting' (< **sâ** + **-ˋwā**), e.g. **mè sukè cêwā**? 'what are they saying?', **sunà kâiwā dà kāwôwā** 'they are coming and going', **mè kakè sâwā à àkwàtìn**?—**inà sâ rīgunà** 'what are you putting in the box?—I'm putting some gowns in'.

The **-ˋwā** suffix itself consists of a H tone **-wā** morpheme preceded by a floating L tone. If the final tone on the A-form verb is L, the floating L is simply absorbed, e.g. (gr1) **dafàwā** 'cooking' (< **dafà** + **-ˋwā**), (gr4) **cirèwā** 'taking out' (< **cirè** + **-ˋwā**). If the verb-final tone is H on a heavy syllable, the L docks onto the H and yields a (HL) Fall, e.g. (gr1) **tattàunâwā** 'discussing' (< **tattàunā** + **-ˋwā**), (gr4) **ajìyêwā** 'putting down' (< **ajìyē** + **-ˋwā**), (gr5) **sayâřwā** 'selling' (< **sayař** + **-ˋwā**), (gr6) **jāwôwā** 'pulling (here)' (< **jāwō** + **-ˋwā**).[2] If the floating L encounters a light syllable, i.e. final **-u** gr7, it is eliminated since Hausa does not tolerate contour tones on light syllables. (See however Gouffé 1982 for an alternative and equally plausible analysis which identifies the final **-ā** on gr7 verbal nouns like **tàruwā** 'meeting' with the final **-ā** found on gr3 verbal nouns,

[2]WH dialects display a variety of tone patterns on the penultimate and final syllables of gr6 WVNs, e.g. Ader HHL **kāwōwà** = SH HFH **kāwôwā** 'bringing', Maradi HLH **kōmòwā** = SH HFH **kōmôwā** 'coming back'.

§5.2.1.) The gr7 stem-final syllable thus surfaces with a H tone /**u**/ before the **-wā**, e.g. **bìyuwā** 'be passable' (< **bìyu** + **-ˋwā**), **tàruwā** 'meeting' (< **tàru** + **-ˋwā**), **yànkuwā** 'be cuttable' (< **yànku** + **-ˋwā**). Some gr7 WVNs allow phonological contraction of the (final vowel + suffix) **-uwā** → **-ō**, e.g. **bìyuwā** → **bìyō** 'be passable', **cìyuwā** → **cìyō** 'be edible', **dàhuwā** → **dàhō** 'be cookable', **yànkuwā** → **yànkō** 'be cuttable', and some contracted forms are now fully lexicalized deverbal nouns (§7), e.g. **ràbō** 'share' (< **ràbuwā**), **tàrō** 'meeting' (< **tàruwā**).

Due to various historical realignments, instead of (or sometimes in addition to) utilizing **-ˋwā** WVNs, a few gr1 (and gr4) verbs now operate verbal nouns which were originally the strong forms of lexical gr2 verbs which are now usually non-occurring. Examples (final **-ā** and feminine):

cὺsā = SVN of gr1 **cūsà** 'force, stuff into', **gìrgizà** = SVN of gr1 **girgìzā** 'shake', **hὺɗā** = SVN of gr1 **hūɗà** 'bank up, ridge', **kwàɓā** = SVN of gr1 **kwāɓà** 'mix into paste', **mὺrzā** = SVN of gr1 **murzà** 'rub, massage', **shàrā** = SVN of gr4 **shārè** 'sweep', **tàzā** = SVN of gr4 **tājè** 'comb out'

5.2. Strong verbal nouns (SVNs)

Strong verbal nouns occur in nonfinite environments, e.g. with Imperfective TAMs, in all A-, B-, C-form syntactic positions except before indirect objects, where the finite D-form of the verb in question is used, regardless of the TAM. SVNs group into two morphological classes: regular verbal nouns, and irregular verbal nouns.

5.2.1. Regular strong verbal nouns

Regular SVNs are a distinctive and rule-governed feature of both grade 0 verbs and grade 3 (including 3a, 3b) verbs. Gr0 consists of H tone monoverbs and HH verbs with the shape **CiCā**. They form their masculine verbal nouns in a predictable manner by lengthening the final vowel of the stem, sometimes

vacuously, and assigning it a L tone, i.e. + long [L]. (Verbal nouns thus pattern with most common nouns which also have a long final vowel.) Stem-final H tones on monoverbs change to a (HL) Fall following L tone attachment. Examples:

Monoverbs

ci + long [L] → **cî** 'eating' **jā** + long [L] → **jâ** 'pulling'
yi + long [L] → **yî** 'doing' **shā** + long [L] → **shâ** 'drinking'
bibbi + long [L] → **bibbî** 'following (number of people)' (= pluractional < **bi**)

The pseudo-monoverb **sō** 'love, want' also forms its SVN **sô** in the same regular manner. The irregular verbal noun of **zō** 'come' is **zuwǎ̀** m., and **jē** 'go' uses either **zuwǎ̀** or **tàfiyǎ̀** f. (the verbal noun of **tàfi** 'go'), e.g. **sunà zuwǎ̀ Kanǒ̀** = 'they are coming to Kano' or 'they are going to Kano'. With gr0 **CiCā** verbs, the HL pattern extends over the two available syllables. Examples:

biyā + long [L] → **biyǎ̀** 'paying' **jirā** + long [L] → **jirǎ̀** 'waiting'
kirā + long [L] → **kirǎ̀** 'calling'

(The other member of this subclass—**rigā** 'precede'—is anomalous in using a finite verb in nonfinite contexts, e.g. **yanà rigā mālàminsà zuwǎ̀ makařantā** 'he gets to school before his teacher'.)

When governing genitival objects in transitive predicates, regular SVNs all suffix the masculine linker **-n**. If the object is pronominal, it takes the form of a bound genitive pronoun.[3] Examples:

inà [**yî-n**]$_{SVN}$ **aikìn** 'I'm doing the work'
1sg.IMPF do.VN-of(m) work.DD(m)

[3]The recently-introduced orthographic convention (not followed here) is to write genitive pronoun clitics as separate words when functioning as objects of verbal nouns, e.g. orthographic **ina son ta** 'I love her' (= /**inà sôntà**/), **suna sukar sa** 'they are criticizing him' (= /**sunà sūkàřsà**/).

kanà [**sô-n**]$_{SVN}$ **Bintà**?—**ē, inà** [**sô-n**]$_{SVN}$**tà**
2m.IMPF love.VN-of(m) Binta—yes 1sg.IMPF love.VN-of(m).3f
'do you love Binta?—yes, I love her'
kanà [**shâ-n**]$_{SVN}$ **tābà**?—**ā'à, bā nà** [**shâ**]$_{SVN}$
'do you smoke tobacco?—no I don't smoke (tobacco)'
inà [**bî-n**]$_{SVN}$ **wannàn hanyà** 'I follow this road'
anà [**kirà-n**]$_{SVN}$**kì** 'you're being called'

Almost all grade 3 verbs—all gr3, gr3a, and most gr3b—form their regular SVNs in a predictable fashion by simply lengthening the final vowel, e.g. gr3 **fìta** [+ long] → **fìtā** 'going out', gr3a **tsūfa** [+ long] → **tsūfā** 'growing old', gr3b **tāshì** [+ long] → **tāshì** 'getting up'. Examples:

yanà [**fìtā**]$_{SVN}$ **ta tāgà** 'he's going out through the window'
cf. finite **zâi fìta** (gr3) 'he will go out'
kullum kanà [**màkarà**]$_{SVN}$ 'you're always late'
cf. finite **takàn màkarà** (gr3) 'she's habitually late'
sunà [**shìsshìgā**]$_{SVN}$ 'they're all going in'
(= pluractional of **shìga** gr3 'go in')
ìnā yakè [**ɓūyā**]$_{SVN}$?
'where does he hide?' (cf. **ɓūya** gr3a 'hide')
tanà [**tsūfā**]$_{SVN}$
'she's growing old' (cf. **tsūfa** gr3a 'grow old')
[**gudù**]$_{SVN}$ **yakè**
'he's *running off*' (cf. **gudù** gr3b 'run off')
inà [**tāshì**]$_{SVN}$ **dà ƙarfè bakwài**
'I get up at seven o'clock' (cf. **tāshì** gr3b 'get up')
matàmbàyī bā yà [**ɓatà**]$_{SVN}$
'he who asks doesn't get lost' (cf. **ɓatà** gr3b 'get lost')

Regular gr3 LH(L) final **-ā** verbal nouns are feminine gender, e.g. **sàukā** f. 'getting down' (cf. **sàuka** gr3 'get down'), **zàbuřà** f. 'jumping up' (cf. **zàbuřà**

gr3 'jump up'), whereas most gr3a HH final **-ā** VNs are masculine, e.g. **ɓūyā** m. 'hiding' (cf. **ɓūya** gr3a 'hide'), **girmā** m. 'size' (cf. **girma** gr3a 'grow up'), **saurā** m. 'remainder, rest' (cf. **saura** gr3a 'remain'), **zamā** m. 'existence, living' (cf. **zama** gr3a 'be(come), live'). Gr3a VNs with feminine gender include **ƙārā** f. 'complaint' (cf. **ƙāra** gr3a 'complain'), and **faɽgā** f. 'realization' (cf. **faɽga** gr3a 'realize').[4]

Grade 3b (mainly HL tone) verbs also usually lengthen their final vowels to form their masculine VNs, e.g. **ɓācì** 'spoiling, deteriorating' (cf. **ɓācì** gr3b 'spoil, deteriorate'), **ɓatà** 'getting lost' (cf. **ɓatà** gr3b 'get lost'), **gudù** 'running' (cf. **gudù** gr3b 'run'), **ƙòshī** 'becoming full (with food)' (cf. **ƙòshi** gr3b 'become full'), **tāshì** 'getting up' (cf. **tāshì** gr3b 'get up'). With some gr3b verbs, however, a feminine **-ā** suffix is attached to the underlying stem, with insertion of a **-w-** epenthetic glide, e.g. **fāɗùwā** 'fall(ing)' (cf. **fāɗì** gr3b 'fall'), **haihùwā** '(giving) birth' (cf. **haihù** gr3b 'give birth'), **mutuwà** 'dying, death' (cf. **mutù** gr3b 'die'). The clipped verbs **gàji** 'be(come) tired' and **tàfi** 'go' have VNs which derive from original three-syllable gr3 stems, i.e. **gàjiyà** 'tiredness' (< ***gàjiyà**), **tàfiyà** 'going, travelling, journey' (< ***tàfiyà**).

5.2.2. Irregular strong verbal nouns

Many verbs, including all gr2 verbs, operate irregular derivational strong verbal nouns whose morphological shape, though lexically relatable via word-formation rules to the base verb, is not predictable by general rule (= Newman's 2000: chap. 77 "base-derived verbal nouns"). Lexically-derived irregular SVNs maximize the full range of final vowels, i.e. **/ā, ī, ē, ō, ū/**, and utilize a number of tone patterns. When governing genitival objects in transitive predicates, irregular SVNs, like their regular SVN counterparts, suffix the genitive linker **-n/-r̃**. Examples:

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[4]Parsons (p.c.) has suggested that the HH gr3a stems could in fact be back-formations from pre-existing HH final **-ā** nouns, e.g. **girmā** m. 'size' → **girma** gr3a 'grow up'.

sunà [**sàye-n**]$_{SVN}$ **màkàmai à ƙasàshen wàje**
3pl.IMPF buy.VN-of(m) weapons in countries.of outside
'they buy weapons abroad' (cf. **sàyā** gr2)
tanà [**dakà-n**]$_{SVN}$ **dāwà** 'she's pounding guineacorn' (cf. **dakà** gr1)
sunà [**sātà-r̃**]$_{SVN}$ **kāyā dà yawà**
'they are stealing a lot of things' (cf. **sàtā** gr2)

Many irregular SVNs function as fully lexicalized deverbal nouns (DVNs) rather than active verbal nouns in nonfinite contexts (these autonomous DVNs are described in §7). On the basis of the lexically-specific final vowel, irregular SVNs can be grouped into six morphological classes. (To simplify the discussion, polysyllabic SVNs are exemplified with three-syllable forms.)

5.2.2.1. Class 1 = final ***-ā.*** Disyllabic final **-ā** SVNs, with variable gender, occur with HL, HH and LH tones. Examples:

(HL) **dakà** m. 'pounding', **haƙà** m. 'digging', **niƙà** m. 'grinding', **sātà** f. 'stealing', **shūkà** f. 'planting'
(HH) **dūbā** m. 'looking', **fansā** f. 'taking revenge', **gyārā** m. 'repairing', **hawā** m. 'riding', **nēmā** m. 'looking for', **wankā** m. 'bathing', **yankā** m. 'slaughtering'
(LH) **fàɗā** f. 'saying', **kàrɓā** f. 'receiving', **kǒrā** f. 'driving off'

Trisyllabic final **-ā** SVNs use a variety of tone patterns, though the initial tone is usually L with active verbal nouns, e.g. **bàbbakà** f. 'grilling, roasting', **bùƙātà** f. 'needing', **hàɗiyà** f. 'swallowing', **fĩfĩtā** f. 'fanning', **mùsāyā** f. 'exchanging'.

With regard to LH(L) final **-ā** SVNs of gr2 verbs, e.g. **kàrɓā** 'receiving', **bùƙātà** 'needing', the derived VN is the output of a historical word-formation rule which generates a form identical in shape to the citation (non-object) A-form of the finite verb. This morphological convergence is especially common with the subclass of SVNs ending in **-ā** with LH(L) tones. As with other final **-ā** irregular

SVNs with different tones, most are feminine gender, but some can be either masculine or feminine, e.g.

cùtā f. SVN (cf. **cùtā** gr2 'cheat'), **fàɗā** f. SVN (cf. **fàɗā** gr2 'state, tell'), **fàhintà** f. SVN (cf. **fàhintà** gr2 'understand'), **kòrā** f. SVN (cf. **kòrā** gr2 'drive off'), **kùrɓā** f. SVN (cf. **kùrɓā** gr2 'sip'), **tàmbayà** f. SVN (cf. **tàmbayà** gr2 'ask'). Note too isomorphic HL **ɗaukà** m./f. SVN (cf. **ɗaukà** gr2 'take, carry'), and **ɗībà** m. SVN (cf. **ɗībà** gr2 'dip out, take out').

Some Hausaists, e.g. Gouffé (1966/67, 1967/68), have grouped final **-ā** gr2 SVNs like **kàrɓā** and **tàmbayà** with the regular strong verbal nouns of verbs in grades 0 and 3, using the cover-term "primary verbal noun". Newman (2000: chap. 77) analyzes them as regular "stem-derived verbal nouns", together with the VNs of grades 0 and 3. On this analysis, the final **-ā** SVNs which are identical with the gr2 finite A-forms contain "zero suffixes", and the A-forms in fact represent the historical extension of original LH(L) **-ā** verbal nouns into use in finite contexts.

The approach adopted here treats formations like **kàrɓā** and **tàmbayà** as irregular SVNs, which happen to be isomorphic with the finite A-forms, because of the fact that selection of a given irregular SVN—whatever its lexical specification in terms of final vowel and tone pattern—is not predictable by rule. In other words, the derivational relationship between a verbal noun such **kȍrā** 'driving away' and its cognate gr2 verb **kȍrā** 'drive away' is viewed as parallel to that holding between a verbal noun like **kȍyō** 'learning' and its source gr2 verb **kȍyā** 'learn', i.e. they are both lexically-derived irregular SVNs. Put another way, the LH and HL final **-ā** irregular SVNs **kȍrā** 'driving away' (< gr2 **kȍrā**) and **sātà** 'stealing' (< gr2 **sàtā**) are simply exploiting the same derivational final vowel/tone morphology as LH and HL final **-ī** irregular SVNs such as **zàrgī** 'accusing' (< gr2 **zàrgā**) and **zāgì** 'abusing' (< gr2 **zàgā**), and LH and HL final **-ō** irregular SVNs such as **kȍyō** 'learning' (< gr2 **kȍyā**) and **cīzȍ** 'biting' (< gr2 **cȉzā**).

A subset of HL final **-ā** SVNs also raise the long mid vowel of the stem (= internal ablaut), i.e. stem /ē/ → /ī/, and /ō/ → /ū/. Examples:

(/ē/ → /ī/) **ɗ'ībà̀** m. 'dipping out, taking out' (cf. **ɗ'èbā** = **ɗ'ībà̀** gr2), **fīɗ'à̀** f. 'flaying' (cf. **fēɗ'è** gr4), **jīfà̀** m. 'throwing' (cf. **jèfā** gr2 and **jēfà̀** gr1), **jīmà̀** f. 'tanning' (cf. **jēmà̀** gr1), **ƙīrà̀** m./f. 'smithing, forging' (cf. **ƙērà̀** gr1)

(/ō/ → /ū/) **dūkà̀** m. 'beating' (cf. **dòkā** gr2), **gūgà̀** f. 'rubbing, ironing' (cf. **gōgè** gr4), **sūyà̀** f. 'frying' (cf. **sōyà̀** gr1), **sūkà̀** m./f. 'stabbing, criticizing' (cf. **sòkā** gr2), **sūsà̀** f. 'scratching' (cf. **sōsà̀** gr1)

5.2.2.2. Class 2 = final ***-ī.*** Many disyllabic masculine final **-ī** verbal nouns have HL tone, e.g. **cūrì** 'kneading', **ɗ'inkì** 'sewing', **gashì** 'grilling', **ginì** 'building', **girbì** 'reaping', **nufì** 'intending', **shirì** 'preparing', **wāshì** 'sharpening', **zāgì** 'abusing'. The gr2 verbs **faɗì** (also **fàɗā**) 'tell, say' and **sakì** (also **sàkā**) 'release' use HL **-ī** SVNs **faɗì** and **sakì**, as do the irregular gr2* verbs **barì** 'leave, allow' and **sanì** 'know', i.e. **barì** and **sanì**. With a few exceptions, e.g. **zàrgī** 'accusing, blaming', LH **-ī** SVNs function primarily as deverbal nouns (§7).

Trisyllabic final **-ī** SVNs, many of which are deverbal nouns, occur with a variety of tone patterns, e.g. (HLH) **ādànī** 'preserving', **āgàjī** 'helping', **tānàdī** 'stocking up', (HHH) **lallāshī** 'coaxing', **numfāshī** 'breathing', **yayyafī** 'drizzling', (LLH) **gàřgàɗī** 'warning', **gyàngyàɗī** 'dozing'.

5.2.2.3. Class 3 = final ***-ē.*** Most final **-ē** masculine verbal nouns have (L)LH tones, e.g. **àikē** 'sending', **bìncìkē** 'investigating', **hàngē** 'seeing from afar', **ràrràfē** 'crawling', **sàyē** 'buying', **zàßē** 'choosing'. A few are all H tone, e.g. **aurē** 'marrying', **ƙwāƙulē** 'scraping out (from container)'.

5.2.2.4. Class 4 = final ***-ō.*** Disyllabic masculine final **-ō** SVNs manifest a range of tone patterns, e.g. (HL) **awò** 'weighing, measuring', **cīzò** 'biting', **gādò** 'inheriting', **riƙò** 'holding', (LH) **cètō** 'rescuing', **kòyō** 'learning', **ròƙō** 'begging', **yàbō** 'praising', **zàtō** 'thinking', (HH) **arō** 'borrowing', **gōyō** (= LH **gòyō**) 'carrying on back', **kallō** 'watching'. Some of the more common trisyllabic

final **-ō** SVNs include (HHH) **ambatō** 'mentioning', **kwaikwayō** 'imitating', (LHH) **sàurārō** (= LLH **sàurȁrō**) 'listening', **tàimakō** 'helping'.

5.2.2.5. Class 5 = final ***-ū.*** Most disyllabic masculine final **-ū** SVNs are HL, and many contain a [+labial] /**m**/ or [+round] /**u**/ in the stem, e.g. **bugù** 'beating', **dāmù** 'annoying', **kāmù** 'catching', **sāmù** 'getting', with a few LH, e.g. **kàftū** 'digging up', **ƙyàstū** 'striking a flint'. Note also trisyllabic LLH **kàřȁtū** 'studying', and **řùbȕtū** 'writing'.

5.2.2.6. Class 6 = SVNs with feminine suffix ***-iyā*** *or* ***-uwā.*** There are a number of irregular, mainly trisyllabic SVNs which are formed with the feminine suffixes **-iyā** or **-uwā** (Newman 1979a: 221ff.). Most are basically autonomous deverbal nouns (§7), but a handful can also function as active participial-like verbal nouns in nonfinite contexts. Most, including all the **-uwā** formations, have all H tones:

-iyā: **bauɗiyā** 'dodging' (cf. **bauɗè** gr4), **wāshiyā** 'ransacking' (cf. **wāshè** gr4), **zāmiyā** 'skidding' (cf. **zāmè** gr4)

-uwā: **gaisuwā** 'greeting' (cf. **gaisȁ** gr1), **kāmuwā** 'seizing property, foreclosing' (cf. **kāmȁ** gr1), **mantuwā** 'forgetting' (cf. **mȃntā** gr1), **rāmuwā** 'compensating for, getting revenge' (cf. **rāmȁ** gr1), **rantsuwā** 'taking an oath' (cf. **rantsè** gr4)

A few **-iyā** SVNs have LHH or HHL tones, e.g. **dȁriyā** 'laughing' (cf. **dārȁ** gr1), **gȍdiyā** 'thanking' (cf. **gōdè** gr4), **kwànciyā** 'lying down' (cf. **kwȃntā** gr1), **cigiyȁ** 'searching for' (cf. **cigȉtā** gr1), **rakiyȁ** 'escorting' (cf. **rakȁ** gr1), **sakiyȁ** 'releasing puss from abcess' (cf. **sakȉ** gr2).

6. Verbs with More than One Verbal Noun

In many cases the finite verb has only one irregular SVN, e.g. **kȍyō** 'learning' (cf. **kȍyā** gr2), **nēmā** 'looking for' (cf. **nȅmā** gr2). Some gr2 verbs, however,

utilize two non-predictable, and essentially equivalent, SVNs, one of which is isomorphic with the LH(L) final **-ā** finite A-form. Examples:

ambatō = àmbatà 'mentioning', **arō = àrā** 'borrowing', **cètō = cètā** 'rescuing', **faɗì = fàɗā** 'telling', **gàrgàɗī = gàrgaɗà** 'warning', **mārì = màrā** 'slapping', **sàurārō** (also **sàuràrē**) **= sàurārà** 'listening', **zàɓē = zàɓā** 'choosing'

In some cases, an irregular SVN operates as a near synonymous alternative to a finite grade 1/4 verb when followed by an object (= infinitival phrase), expressing a progressive verbal activity. (In earlier descriptions these alternative SVNs are sometimes referred to as "secondary verbal nouns".) Examples:

tanà afà (gr1) **gyàɗā = tanà** afìn (SVN) **gyàɗā**
'she's throwing peanuts into her mouth'
sunà aunà (gr1) **gyàɗā = sunà** awòn (SVN) **gyàɗā**
'they're weighing the peanuts'
tanà niƙà (gr1) **bàřkòno = tanà** niƙàn (SVN) **bàřkòno**
'she's grinding pepper'
yanà fērè (gr4) **ƙwaryā = yanà** fìràř (SVN) **ƙwaryā**
'he's paring the calabash'
yanà gōgè (gr4) **tufāfìn = yanà** gūgàř (SVN) **tufāfìn**
'he's ironing the clothes'
yanà gyārà (gr1) **mōtàř = yanà** gyāran (SVN) **mōtàř**
'he's fixing the car'
yanà kařàntà (gr1) **Ƙùř'ānì = yanà** kàřàtun (SVN) **Ƙùř'ānì**
'he's reading the Koran'
yanà ƙērà (gr1) **fařtanyà = yanà** ƙìràř (SVN) **fařtanyà**
'he's forging a hoe'
Note too:
kāmà (gr1) **ɓàràyī yanà dà wùyā = kāmùn** (SVN) **ɓàràyī yanà dà wùyā**
'catching thieves is difficult'

kashè (gr4) **màcìzai yanà dà wùyā** = **kisàn** (SVN) **màcìzai yanà dà wùyā**
'killing snakes is difficult'
where the infinitival and SVN-containing phrases function as essentially equivalent clause subjects.

In other cases, selection of the SVN denotes a more time-stable, generic activity, e.g. a profession or permanent attribute (McIntyre 1988a: 84ff.), especially when the SVN is used absolutely without any expressed object. Examples:

yanà ƙīrà	**sunà sātà**
'he's a smith' (3m.IMPF forge.SVN)	'they're thieves' (3pl.IMPF steal.SVN)
yanà harbì	**kàrēnā yanà cīzò**
'he's a hunter' (3m.IMPF shoot.SVN)	'my dog bites' (3m.IMPF bite.SVN)
tanà niƙà	'she grinds (corn for payment)'
'yan-tāwāyè sunà ƙwàcē	'the rebels are plundering'

7. Deverbal Nouns (DVNs)

Many verb nominalizations can operate syntactically as either active participial-like verbal nouns, as obligatory replacements for finite verbs in nonfinite constructions, or as autonomous deverbal nouns (DVNs), e.g. **yanà ginìn** (VN) **gidā** 'he's building a house' vs. **gà wani bàbban ginì** (DVN) **cân** 'there's a large building over there', **inà ƙīràr** (VN) **wuƙàƙē** 'I make/forge knives' vs. **sànā'àtā ƙīrà** (DVN) 'my profession is smithing', where the DVNs represent nominalizations of the actions/events denoted by the underlying lexical verbs. Deverbal nouns are related to their source verbs via the same derivational morphology as the various subclasses of verbal nouns described above. (See **§5** for deverbal noun formations without verbal noun morphology.) DVNs differ *syntactically* from active verbal nouns, however, in that they have become

lexicalized as independent common nouns, functioning, for example, as sentential subjects and objects (though not subcategorized for objects like active transitive VNs), and taking a range of NP determiners, modifiers, quantifiers, etc. DVNs typically express either an abstract activity or event associated with the lexical verb, e.g. **jařřàbâwā** 'examination' (cf. **jařřàbā** 'examine'), or a concrete noun denoting the result of an action, sometimes with a more specialized meaning, e.g. **ràiràyī** 'sand' (cf. **ràirayà** 'sift, sieve'). Examples:

ƙudùrin Màjàlisàř Dinkìn Dūniyà yā cê... (cf. **ƙudùrā** 'decide')
'the UN resolution says...'
gwamnatìn Nàijēřiyà tā shā sūkà dà yawà (cf. **sòkā** 'criticize')
'the Nigerian government has suffered a lot of criticism'
aikì dà zàtō zùnubì nē (cf. **àikā** 'send (on errand)', **zàtā** 'think')
'acting on suspicion is a sin'
ƙàramin sanì ƙuƙùmī nè (cf. **sanì** 'know')
'a little knowledge is dangerous'
sāmù yā fi iyàwā (cf. **sāmù** 'get', **iyà** 'be able')
'possession is nine tenths of the law' (lit. getting exceeds being able)
yā yi kyàkkyāwař shìgā (cf. **shìga** 'go/get in')
'he's put on a fine outfit/get-up'
kwānā nawà zā kì yi à Jāmùs? (cf. **kwāna** 'spend the night')
'how many days will you spend in Germany?'
tàfiyà tā fi zamā (cf. **tàfi** 'travel to', **zama** 'stay, settle')
'travelling is better than staying in one place'
bàn řubùtà kammàlâwā ba tùkùna (cf. **kammàlā** 'finish')
'I haven't written the conclusion yet'
sanâřwā tā cê... (cf. **sanař** 'inform') 'the announcement said...'
kā ji lâbāřìn ràsuwař sarkī? (cf. **ràsu** 'die')
'did you hear the news of the death of the emir?'
Nàijēřiyà tā lāshè Amìřkà dà cî ukù dà biyu (cf. **ci** 'conquer, eat')
'Nigeria beat America by three goals to two'

ganī yā kòri jî (cf. **ganī** 'see', **ji** 'hear')
'seeing is believing' (lit. seeing drives away hearing)
yā bā tà wata baiwā (cf. **bai** 'give') 'he gave her a gift'

Examples of deverbal noun formations according to verbal noun morphological shape, i.e. final vowel or feminine suffix, and tone, are provided below (final **-ā** DVNs are feminine unless indicated otherwise).

7.1. DVN = weak verbal noun with the suffix ***-`wā***

DVNs in this category are noncount, abstract activity formations which are nominalizations of source verbs in grades 1, 4, 5, 6 (less commonly), and 7. Examples:

gr1: **gānàwā** 'chat, private discussion' (cf. **gānà** 'have a (private) discussion'), **iyàwā** 'ability' (cf. **iyà** 'be able to, can'), **jařřàbâwā** 'examination' (cf. **jařřàbā** 'examine'), **tāràwā** 'sexual relations' (cf. **tārà** 'get together'), **tattàunâwā** 'discussion' (cf. **tattàunā** 'have a discussion')

gr4: **cêwā** 'saying, claim' (cf. **cê** 'say'), **ƙārèwā** 'end' (cf. **ƙārè** 'end'), **ƙwarèwā** 'expertise' (cf. **ƙwarè** 'be expert'), **rufèwā** 'conclusion' (cf. **rufè** 'close')

gr5: **gabātařwā** 'introduction' (cf. **gabātař** 'introduce'), **sādařwā** 'communications' (cf. **sādař** 'deliver, link'), **sanâřwā** 'announcement' (cf. **sanař** 'inform')

gr6: **ɓullôwā** 'appearance, emergence' (cf. **ɓullō** 'appear'), **kēwayôwā** 'return (of time point)' (cf. **kēwayō** 'come round')

gr7: **àukuwā** 'occurrence' (cf. **àuku** 'happen'), **dàmuwā** 'problem, trouble' (cf. **dàmu** 'be troubled'), **gàmsuwā** 'satisfaction' (cf. **gàmsu** 'be satisfied'), **kàfuwā** 'establishment' (cf. **kàfu** 'be established'), **ƙàruwā** 'increase' (cf. **ƙàru** 'increase'), **ràbuwā** 'separation' (cf. **ràbu** 'separate'), **ràsuwā** 'death' (cf. **ràsu** 'die'), **ràyuwā** 'life' (cf. **ràyu** 'survive'), **sàduwā** 'meeting' (cf. **sàdu** 'meet'), **yìwuwā** 'possibility' (cf. **yìwu** 'be possible')

7.2. DVN = regular strong verbal noun

DVNs in this category are largely abstract formations related to lexical verbs in grades 0 and 3. Some gr3-derived DVNs are count nouns with morphologically distinct plurals, including frequentatives. Examples (commonly occurring plurals indicated):

gr0: **cî** 'score (goal)' (cf. **ci** 'conquer'), **jî** 'hearing' (cf. **ji** 'hear'), **ƙî** 'hatred' (cf. **ƙi** 'refuse, hate'), **sô** 'love' (cf. irreg. **sō** 'love'), **kirà** 'call, appeal' (cf. **kirā** 'call')

gr3: **bàlagà** 'physical maturity' (cf. **bàlagà** 'reach maturity'), **dànganà** 'resignation (to fate)' (cf. **dànganà** 'be resigned to'), **gàjiyà** 'tiredness' (cf. **gàji** < ***gàjiyà** 'be(come) tired'), **ìsā** 'arrival' (cf. **ìsa** 'arrive'), **màkarà** 'lateness' (cf. **màkarà** 'be late'), **sàukā** 'arrival' (cf. **sàuka** 'arrive'), **shìgā** 'outfit, admission' (cf. **shìga** 'go in, enter'), **tàfiyà** 'journey' (pl. **tàfìye-tàfìye**, cf. **tàfi** < ***tàfiyà** 'go, travel'), **wàdātà** 'prosperity' (cf. **wàdātà** 'become prosperous')

gr3a: **girmā** m. 'size, prestige' (cf. **girma** 'grow up'), **kwānā** m. 'day (24 hrs)' (pl. **kwànàkī**, cf. **kwāna** 'spend night'), **ƙārā** 'complaint' (pl. **ƙāràrrakī**, cf. **ƙāra** 'cry out'), **ƙaurā** m./f. 'migration' (pl. **ƙàuràce-ƙàuràce**, cf. **ƙaura** 'migrate'), **saurā** m. 'remainder' (cf. **saura** 'remain'), **tsīrā** 'salvation, escape' (cf. **tsīra** 'escape'), **tsūfā** 'old age' (cf. **tsūfa** 'grow old'), **zamā** m. 'existence, life' (cf. **zama** 'be(come)')

gr3b: **gudù** 'running, race' (pl. **gùje-gùje**, cf. **gudù** 'run')

7.3. DVN = irregular strong verbal noun

DVNs utilizing irregular SVN morphology contain a number of concrete as well as abstract activity nouns. These DVNs correspond to cognate verbs mainly in grade 2, in addition to synchronic grades 1 and 4, and occasionally grade 3. Some are count nouns with overt plurals, and frequentative plurals are especially common with abstract DVNs. Examples (arranged according to final vowel, with various tone patterns):

Final **-ā**

àjiyà 'deposit, account' (cf. **ajìyē** 'put down'), **askā** 'razor, pen-knife' (pl. **asàkē**, cf. **askè** 'shave'), **bùƙātà** 'need' (pl. **bùƙàtū**, cf. **bùƙātà** 'need'), **gūgà** 'ironing (clothes to be ironed)' (cf. **gōgè** 'iron'), **gyārā** m. 'repair, correction' (pl. **gyàre-gyàre**, cf. **gyārà** 'repair, correct'), **hàlittà** 'creature' (pl. **hàlìttū**, cf. **hàlittà** 'create'), **kùrɓā** 'sip' (cf. **kùrɓā** 'sip'), **làlātà** 'immorality' (cf. **lālàtā** 'deteriorate'), **mùrzā** 'massage' (cf. **murzà** 'massage'), **mùsāyā** 'exchange' (cf. **musàyā** 'exchange'), **nōmā** m. 'farming' (cf. **nōmè** 'clear weeds, farm'), **sātà** 'theft' (pl. **sàce-sàce**, cf. **sàtā** 'steal'), **shàrā** 'sweepings, refuse' (cf. **shārè** 'sweep up'), **shūkà** 'plant, crop' (pl. **shùke-shùke**, cf. **shūkà** 'sow, plant'), **sūkà** m./f. 'criticism' (pl. **sòke-sòke**, cf. **sòkā** 'criticize'), **tàmbayà** 'question' (pl. **tambayōyī**, cf. **tàmbayà** 'ask, question'), **tsāgā** 'body scarification' (cf. **tsāgà** 'cut, split'), **yankā** m. 'slaughtering' (cf. **yankà** 'cut, slaughter'), **yàtsinà** 'grimace' (cf. **yātsìnē** 'grimace').

Final **-ī**

āgàjī 'help' (cf. **àgazà** 'help'), **aikì** 'work' (pl. **ayyukà**, cf. **àikā** 'send (on errand)'), **fèshī** 'splashing of rain' (cf. **fēsà** 'splash'), **gàrgàɗī** 'warning' (cf. **gàrgaɗà** 'warn'), **ginì** 'building' (pl. **gìne-gìne**, cf. **ginà** 'build'), **hàƙurī** 'patience' (cf. **hàƙurà** 'be patient'), **jērì** 'line, row' (cf. **jērà** 'line up'), **kōyì** 'imitation' (cf. **kòyā** 'learn'), **kùmburī** 'swelling' (cf. **kùmburà** 'swell up'), **kwatancī** 'description' (cf. **kwatàntā** 'compare, describe'), **ƙārì** 'increase' (cf. **ƙārà** 'increase'), **ƙudùrī** 'resolution, decision' (cf. **ƙudùrā** 'resolve, decide'), **lìssāfì** 'arithmetic' (cf. **lissàfā** 'count'), **mallàkī** 'possession, property' (cf. **màllakà** 'possess'), **mòtsī** 'movement' (cf. **mōtsà** 'move'), **nufì** 'meaning' (cf. **nùfā** 'intend'), **rabì** 'half' (cf. **rabà** 'divide'), **ràiràyī** 'sand' (cf. **ràirayà** 'sift, sieve'), **rìkicī** 'problem, confusion' (pl. **rìkìce-rìkìce**, cf. **rikìtā** 'confuse'), **sanì** 'knowledge' (cf. **sanì** 'know'), **shirì** 'plan, programme (TV/radio)' (pl. **shìrye-shìrye**, cf. **shiryà** 'plan, prepare'), **wankì** 'washing, laundry' (cf. **wankè** 'wash'), **yāgì** 'torn off piece' (cf. **yàgā** 'tear off'), **yāƙì** 'war' (pl. **yàƙe-yàƙe**, cf. **yàƙā** 'wage war on'), **yàshī** 'sand' (cf. **yāsà** 'clean out (water hole)'), **yùnƙurī** 'striving,

effort' (cf. **yunƙùrā** 'strive'), **zāgī** 'abuse, insult' (pl. **zàge-zàge**, cf. **zàgā** 'abuse, insult'), **zàrgī** 'blame, accusation' (pl. **zàrge-zàrge**, cf. **zàrgā** 'blame, accuse').

Final **-ē**

aurē 'marriage' (pl. **àure-àure**, cf. **àurā** 'marry'), **bìncìkē** 'investigation' (pl. **bìncìke-bìncìke**, cf. **bincìkā** 'investigate'), **cìrē** 'grass (pulled out)' (cf. **cirè** 'pull out'), **fàntsàrē** 'coarse flour' (cf. **fantsàrā** 'grind coarsely'), **lèƙē** 'peep' (cf. **lēƙà** 'peep (in)'), **ràrràfē** 'crawling' (cf. **rarràfā** 'crawl'), **turkè** 'tethering post' (pl. **turàkā**, cf. **turkè** 'tether'), **wànkē** 'ink (made from soot)' (cf. **wankè** 'wash'), **zàɓē** 'election' (pl. **zàɓe-zàɓe**, cf. **zàɓā** 'elect, choose'), **zànē** 'drawing, stripe' (pl. **zàne-zàne**, cf. **zānà** 'draw'). Note too the following final **-ē**, often concrete DVNs with a distinctive HHL tone pattern not shared with active verbal nouns: **ɓangarè** 'fragment' (pl. **ɓangarōrī**, cf. **ɓangàrē** 'chip piece off'), **gutsurè** 'piece broken off' (pl. **gutsàttsarī**, cf. **gutsùrā** 'break off piece'), **kēwayè** 'enclosure, environs' (cf. **kēwàyā** 'go around'), **kuskurè** 'mistake' (pl. **kùràkùrai**, cf. **kùskurà** 'dare'), **rinjāyè** 'victory' (cf. **rìnjāyà** 'overcome').

Final **-ō**

ɓōyō 'hiding, concealment' (cf. **ɓōyè** 'hide'), **cikō** 'balance (money)' (cf. **cikà** 'fill'), **dōgarō** 'dependence' (cf. **dōgarà** 'depend on'), **ɗigō** 'drop, full-stop' (cf. **ɗigà** 'drip'), **gādō** 'inheritance' (cf. **gādā** 'inherit'), **kallō** 'look, stare' (cf. **kàllā** 'look at'), **kwaikwayō** 'imitation' (cf. **kwàikwayà** 'imitate'), **sōsō** 'sponge' (cf. **sōsà** 'scratch'), **tsàrō** 'security' (cf. **tsarè** 'guard'), **tsirō** 'shoot, sprout' (pl. **tsìre-tsìre**, cf. **tsìra** 'sprout'), **yàbō** 'praise' (cf. **yàbā** 'praise').

Final **-ū**

bugù 'punch' (pl. **bùge-bùge**, cf. **bùgā** 'punch'), **hūtū** 'holiday' (cf. **hūtà** 'rest'), **kāmù** 'arrest, turn' (cf. **kāmà** 'catch'), **kàřàtū** 'study(ing)' (pl. **kàřànce-kàřànce**, cf. **kařàntā** 'read, study'), **ƙyàstū** 'flint, lighter' (cf. **ƙyastà** 'strike (flint)'), **řùbùtū** 'writing' (pl. **řùbùce-řùbùce**, cf. **řubùtā** 'write'), **sāmù** 'possession, acquisition' (cf. **sāmù** 'get, acquire'), **tumù** 'head of fresh millet' (cf. **tumà** 'roast (fresh millet heads)'.

*7.4. DVNs with the feminine suffix **-iyā** or **-uwā***

Some DVNs are formed with the feminine suffixes **-iyā** or **-uwā** (a few can also function as active verbal nouns). Examples:

-iyā: **bauɗiyā** 'evasive action' (cf. **bauɗè** 'dodge'), **cigiyà** 'search' (cf. **cigìtā** 'search for'), **dàriyā** 'laughter' (cf. **dārà** 'laugh'), **ɗūriyà** 'piece of news' (cf. **ɗūrà** 'pour (liquid)'), **gòdiyā** 'thanks, thanking' (cf. **gōdè** 'thank'), **jūriyā** 'resilience' (cf. **jūrè** 'withstand difficulty'), **kwànciyā** 'lying down' (cf. **kwântā** 'lie down'), **mòriyā** 'benefit, advantage' (cf. **mōrè** 'enjoy oneself'), **rakiyà** 'escorting' (cf. **rakà** 'accompany, escort'), **zāmiyā** 'skid(ding)' (cf. **zāmè** 'skid').

-uwā (all H): **baiwā** (< ***bayuwā**) 'gift' (cf. **bai** 'give'), **dàhuwā** 'cooking' (cf. **dafà** 'cook'), **gaisuwā** 'greeting' (cf. **gaisà** 'exchange greetings'), **gānuwā** 'town wall' (?< **gānō** 'discover, see'), **kāmuwā** 'seizing property, foreclosing' (cf. **kāmà** 'seize'), **mantuwā** 'forgetfulness' (cf. **mântā** 'forget'), **rāmuwā** 'revenge, compensation' (cf. **rāmà** 'get revenge (on)'), **rantsuwā** 'oath' (cf. **rantsè** 'swear, take an oath').

The verbal nouns of the HL gr3b verbs **fāɗì** 'fall', **haihù** 'give birth', and **mutù** 'die' all commonly function as DVNs, i.e. **fāɗùwā** 'drop, fall', **haihùwā** 'offspring, progeny, giving birth', and **mutuwà** 'death' (all formed with the feminine suffix **-ā**).

7.5. Verbs with more than one DVN

Some verbs have more than one fully lexicalized DVN (usually SVNs), e.g.

askè 'shave' > **askì** 'haircut, shave', **askā** 'razor, pen-knife'
tārà 'collect' > **tāràwā** 'sexual relations', **tārì** 'heap, pile', **tàrō** 'meeting'
wankè 'wash' > **wankì** 'laundry', **wànkē** 'ink made from soot', **wankā** 'bath'
yankà 'cut' > **yankì** 'strip of cloth, region', **yànkē** 'cut grass',
yankā 'slaughtering'

Chapter 9
Noun Phrase Syntax

1. Introduction

This chapter looks at noun phrase syntax (see **§11** for sentence-level syntax). The noun phrase (NP) usually functions as clausal subject, object or complement (clausal or prepositional). Basic NPs are headed in the sense that they have core elements (heads), usually simple (sg./pl.) nouns, which are optionally determined or modified by other pre-head and/or post-head elements, e.g. (in)definite determiners, demonstratives, universal quantifiers, numerals and other quantifiers, pronouns, adjectives, genitive phrases, etc. Some of these elements, e.g. specific indefinite determiners, interrogative determiners, distributive universal quantifiers, and 3rd person pronouns, occur pre-head only. Some are restricted to post-head position, e.g. definite determiners, genitive phrases, relative clauses, connective **MAI** expressions, and numerals. (Post-modifying relative clauses are described along with focus constructions and *wh*-questions in **§12**.) A few can occur either pre- or post-nominal, e.g. demonstratives, adjectives, and collective universal quantifiers (see Table 22 and relevant §§ below). The head controls the gender and number of the inflected constituents clustering around it, and some elements can combine to co-determine a head noun, e.g. **wani ɓàrāwòn** 'another thief' (= msg. specific indefinite determiner + msg. head noun + msg. definite determiner), **waccàn yārinyàr̃** 'that girl' (= fsg. demonstrative + fsg. head noun + fsg. definite determiner), **mōtōcin nàn ukù nāsà** 'these three cars of his' (= pl. head noun + demonstrative + numeral + pl. possessive).

Some specifiers, e.g. definite determiners, interrogative determiners and bound genitive forms, have no independent autonomous functions, whereas others, e.g. specific indefinite determiners and explicit demonstratives, can occur as coreferential 3rd person pronouns (NP heads), and these autonomous usages are handled together with the determinative functions.

Table 22. Simple noun phrases

Determiner	Modifier	Head	Determiner	Modifier/ complement		
		mōtǎ			'a/the car'	(1)
		mōtà	**-ř** (DD)		'the car'	(2)
wata (SID)		**mōtǎ**			'a certain car'	(3)
		Hàlīmà			'Halima'	(4)
		ita			'she, her'	(5)
wani (SID)	**tsōhon** (ADJ)	**ministǎ**			'a former minister'	(6)
		yārô		**bàbba**	'a big boy'	(7)
	ƙātòn (ADJ)	**dōkì**	**-nsà** (POSS)		'his big horse'	(8)
		farǎrê	**-n** (DD)		'the white ones'	(9)
duk wani (UNIV, SID)		**yārô**			'every single boy'	(10)
wancàn (DEM)		**mùtûm**		**mài tsawon gāshì**	'that man with long hair'	(11)
		aikì		**dà yawǎ**	'a lot of work'	(12)
		gidâ	**-n can** (DEM)		'that house'	(13)
		mùtumì	**-n nan** (DEM)		'that man'	(14)
		gida	**-n Audù** (POSS)		'Audu's house'	(15)
		gidâ	**-n** (DD)	**dà mukà sàyā**	'the house that we bought'	(16)
		yārinyà	**-ř** (DD)	**mài zamā cân**	'the girl sitting over there'	(17)
wasu (SID)		**gidǎjē**		**à bǎkin tītì**	'some houses by the side of the road'	(18)
		mōtǎ		**mafì waccàn**	'a car better than that one'	(19)
		rìkicī		**mafì mūnì**	'a most ugly conflict'	(20)

Table 22 above exemplifies a range of NPs containing both common and proper nouns and shows that when the head is a common noun, determination with an overt determiner, whether definite or indefinite, is not obligatory. For example, the bare nominal **mōtà** (1) is interpretable as either definite 'the car' or indefinite 'a car' depending upon the referential context. Proper nouns, e.g. **Hàlīmà** (4), and personal pronouns, e.g. **ita** 'she, her' (5), are intrinsically definite, though proper nouns can suffix the definite determiner, e.g. **Hàlīmàr̄** 'the Halima in question'. See also Furniss (1991a), Galadanci (1969), and Newman (2000: chap. 51).

2. Determiners

Determiners are a small, closed-class set of words which function as operators on a head NP, determining its referential (definite or indefinite) properties.

2.1. Specific indefinite determiner (SID) ***wani/wata/wa(ɗan)su*** *(m./f./pl.)*

The pre-head specific indefinite determiner (SID) is a gender/number-inflected morpheme (single orthographic word), formed with a **wa-** deictic prefix plus a bound 3rd person pronoun **-ni** (m.) = **wa-ni**, **-ta** (f.) = **wa-ta**, **-su** (pl.) = **wa-su** 'a (certain/particular) X, some (certain/particular) Xs'. (The **ni** enclitic in **wa-ni** is a petrified reflex of a widespread Chadic 3m. pronoun ***ni**, Newman 1972a: 5-6.) The plural SID optionally inserts the pluralizing morpheme **-ɗan-**, i.e. **wa**(**-ɗan-**)**su**—also present in the interrogative and demonstrative determiners and relative pronouns—the final /**n**/ segment of which could be the plural genitive linker.

When used in affirmative frames, the attributive pre-nominal SID functions as an assertive-existential modifier to particularize/individuate specific indefinite NPs, count and non-count, animate and inanimate, and it can also occur as an autonomous pronoun with the meaning 'a certain one, some' (see below). Its functional distribution is best accounted for in discourse terms (Jaggar 1985: chap. 2, 1988b), and one of its primary tasks is to modify discourse- and hearer-

new NPs (not part of the shared knowledge store of the speaker and hearer) which play an important part in the ensuing linguistic context. The more prominent the intended discourse-role of a given referent, the more likely it is to receive an SID on first mention, with high-profile human subject NPs almost always introduced with an SID. Examples:

wani yārò nà kiràŋkà 'some boy is calling you'
nā ga wasu awākī à gōnařkà 'I saw some goats on your farm'
nā ji wani shìřmē yâu 'I heard some nonsense today'
wata irìn mōtà 'a certain type of car'
(where the number-gender of the SID **wata** (f.) is determined by **mōtà** (f.) 'car', the pragmatically dominant noun following sortal **irìn** 'type of')
inà sô nà àuri wannàn yārinyà dà wata Ø
'I want to marry this girl and another (one)'
(= ellipsis of right conjoin noun after SID)
wata rānā waɗansu 'yan-biřnī nà zàune sai gà wani bàƙauyè tàfe
'one day some city folk were sitting around when along came a (certain) villager'

In the last example the indefinite, referential NPs **waɗansu 'yan-biřnī** 'some (particular) city folk' and **wani bàƙauyè** 'a (certain) villager' are deployed as autonomous, salient arguments throughout the subsequent discourse, hence the accompanying SID. In such contexts, the SID has the attributes of a quantifier, used to specify a determinable, though indefinite, number of entities.

At the other end of the discourse-salience/prominence scale, inanimate nonsubject indefinites are often introduced with no overt determiner, even though they are referential in the sense that they refer to an entity which exists within the universe of discourse, e.g. **ya ɗaukō gāwâř ya kāwō gidā, ya sàmi tsānì**... 'he picked up the body, brought (it) home, got a ladder...', where the referential indefinite noun **tsānì** 'a ladder' appears with no determiner. Categorizing generic and descriptive complement nominals also appear with no overt determiner. Examples:

yanâ sô yà àuri Bàhaushìyā 'he wants to marry a Hausa woman'
Cf. specific **yanâ sô yà àuri wata Bàhaushìyā**
'he wants to marry a certain Hausa woman'
nā sâmē shì yanâ cîn kâzā 'I found him eating chicken'
ìdan màcè tā sâmi cikì... 'if a woman gets pregnant...'
yā tàfi gōnā 'he's gone to the farm'
Mūsā maƙèrī nè 'Musa is a blacksmith'
(= non-referring equational)
(See Jaggar 1985: 18ff., however, for predicative exceptions.)

Important temporal orientations, e.g. **wata rānā** 'one (a certain) day' as in **wata rānā waɗansu 'yan-biřnī**... above, are SID-modified, as are scene-setting spatial orientations, e.g. **à wani gàrī**... 'in a certain town...'. The SID is also used in common existential nominal and adverbial phrases such as **wani àbù** 'something' (cf. **àbù** 'thing'), **wani lōkàcī** 'sometimes' (cf. **lōkàcī** 'time'), and **wani wurī** 'somewhere' (cf. **wurī** 'place'). The SID precedes any prehead modifiers, e.g. **wani tsōhon ministâ** 'a former (old) minister', **wani bàbban mùtûm** 'an important man'. Referential indefinite head NPs followed by a possessive pronoun (bound or free) require an SID, otherwise they would be construed as definite, e.g. **nā bā shì wani littāfînā = wani littāfî nâwa** 'I gave him a book of mine', and the plural SID can co-occur with a posthead numeral, e.g. **wasu àttâjìřai biyu** 'some two merchants'.

An interesting typological characteristic of the SIDs is that they are also used to express the additive-incremental notion 'another, other, (a) different (X/Xs)'. Examples:

sun kōmâ wata ùnguwā (dàban) 'they've moved to another neighbourhood' (i.e. different from the one already mentioned)
wannàn bīřô bā yâ aikì—àkwai wani? (where **wani** is an NP, see below)
'this pen isn't working—is there another one?'

In correlative SID NP...SID NP combinations, the second SID can modify an NP containing a posthead definite determiner (§2.2), in order to express the value 'another, other, (a) different (X/Xs) from a prementioned set X', e.g. **wani ɓàrāwò ya shìga ɗākìn...sai wani ɓàrāwòn kuma ya fāɗō** 'a (certain) thief got into the room...and then another (additional) thief burst in' (lit...SID(m.) thief.DD(m.)...).

The singular SID can also combine with the universal determiner **duk** 'all' (§5.4) to premodify an NP, particularly the external head of a restrictive relative clause, which then takes on an intensified 'every single (whichever)' force, e.g. **an sàllàmi duk wani majìnyàcîn dà ya ji sauƙī** 'every single patient who has improved has been released'.

Hausa has no negative determiner corresponding to 'no X', as used in indefinite quantitative expressions. Instead, NPs with modifying SIDs can be used in negative assertive clauses, i.e. statements which assert the truth of a negative proposition, e.g. negative existentials. In such contexts, they are read as the negative counterpart to the 'some' determination, and are equivalent to either 'not any X' or 'no X' (universal **kō**...*wh* formations also express non-existence, §5.3). Examples:

bābù wata jàkař kuɗī nân
'there is no bag of money here = there isn't any bag of money here'
bâ ni dà wani àbōkī nân gàrîn
'I have no friend here in town = I don't have any friend here in town'
bâ shi dà wata shà'awǎ sai...
'he has no interest = he hasn't any interest except...'

2.1.1. Specific indefinite determiner = pronoun

SIDs also have important usages as nominal heads corresponding to 'someone, some, another one, others, etc.', e.g. (various syntactic roles):

wani dà ka sanĭ yā isō	'someone (m.) whom you know has arrived'
wata tanǎ sallamǎ	'someone (f.) is asking permission to enter'

wasu sunà nēmankà	'some (people) are looking for you'
bằ ni wata	'give me another one (f.)'
dājìn wani kàrkarař wani	'one man's meat is another man's poison'

(lit. uncultivated area of someone (is) the settled area of another)

As heads, SIDs can themselves be determined by plural possessive pronouns or demonstratives with a partitive sense, e.g. **waninsù** 'one (m.) of them', **wasunmù** 'some of us', ...**kō àbòkai, kō maƙwàbtā, kō wanin waďànnân** '...or friends, or neighbours, or one of these (groups)'.

When behaving as antecedent-governed anaphoric pronouns, SIDs substitute for an NP and are equivalent to the English substitutive proform 'one', e.g. **Mustàphā yā sàyi Mařsandî bằra, nī kuma nā sàyi wata bana** 'Mustapha bought a Mercedes last year, and I bought one this year' (notice that the verb **sàyi** takes the same C-form it would before a lexical NP object). When used as a free-standing 3rd person pronoun (NP) in negative clauses, the SID can have either a non-existential interpretation, i.e. **bà kà ga wani à ďākì ba**? 'didn't you see anyone in the room?', or can retain its existential-referential meaning, i.e. **bà kà ga wani à ďākì ba**? 'didn't you see someone in the room?' (though judgements can vary).

2.2. *The definite determiner (DD) suffix* **-`n/-`ř/-`n** *(m./f./pl.)*

The definite determiner (DD) is a bound clitic which typically attaches to nouns. The DD is realized as **-`ř** (< * **-`t**) when suffixed to a host feminine singular noun ending in **-a(a)**, e.g. (f.) **mōtằ** 'car' + **-`ř** → **mōtà-ř** 'the car', and **-`n** with all other nouns (masculine and plural pattern together), e.g. (m.) **yārò̀** 'boy' + **-`n** → **yārò-n** 'the boy', (m.) **nāmằ** 'meat' + **-`n** → **nāmà-n** 'the meat', (pl.) **rīgunằ** 'gowns' + **-`n** → **rīgunà-n** 'the gowns', (f. noun not ending in **-ā**) **màcè** 'woman' + **-`n** → **màcè-n** 'the woman'. The DD is glossed here as 'the' for convenience (= Newman's 2000: chap. 20 "definite article"), though it sometimes corresponds to a demonstrative in English. See Abdoulaye (1992),

Abraham (1962: 692), Galadanci (1969), Gouffé (1971), Newman (1992b), Parsons (1981), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 20).

The DD carries a floating L tone. When suffixed to a final L or Falling (= HL) tone noun, with automatic vowel shortening in the resulting closed syllable, the L is preserved, e.g. **yārò-n** 'the boy' (< **yārò̀**), **yārinyà-r̃** 'the girl' (< **yārinyà̀**), **sâ-n** 'the bull' (< **sầ**). If the final syllable of the host is H tone, the floating L backs up and produces a contour HL = Falling tone, e.g. **rìgâ-r̃** 'the gown' (< **rìgā̀**), **jàkî-n** 'the donkey' (< **jàkī̀**), **mutànê-n** 'the people' (< **mutànḕ**). In some northwestern dialects the feminine DD /-ˋ **r̃**/ appears as /-ˋ **l**/ or /-ˋ **i**/. At a deep historical level, the DD derives from the same deictic source as the genitive linker **na/ta/na** and the copula **nē/cē/nē** (see Schuh 1983, and also Newman 1992b for a summary of various etymological analyses and some alternative hypotheses).

The felicity conditions on the use of the DD are difficult to characterize with any precision (Jaggar 1983: 389ff., 1985: 149ff.), but generally speaking its selection is licensed by the presumed unique identifiability of the constituent, usually a noun, to which it is attached, either because the referent has been previously mentioned in the discourse—hence the traditional label "Previous Reference Marker"—or is context-inferable. Nouns with pre-mentioned, though not implied, referents can also be determined with a demonstrative (§2.3). Although syntactic definiteness is thus a reflection of the cognitive status "identifiable", marking with a DD is neither syntactically nor semantically required for nouns with discourse-old referents, e.g. **dà mukà jāwō tà mukà canjà tayà̀** 'when we pulled it (the car) out we changed the tyre', **sai ya cè wà wànzāmì̀**... 'then he said to the barber...', where the pre-mentioned definite referents **tayà̀** 'the tyre' and **wànzāmì̀** 'the barber' are re-introduced without any overt determiner. Use of the DD, however, does seem to be more prevalent amongst bilingual Hausa-English speakers accustomed to the less constrained distribution of the English definite article 'the'. The DD attaches to both count and noncount common nouns in all syntactic functions. Examples:

kà̀wō littāfì-n! 'bring the (prementioned) book!'
(book.DD(m.), cf. **littāfì̀** 'book')

bầ ni lìttàttàfâ-n̲! 'give me the books (in question)!'
(books.DD(pl.), cf. **lìttàttàfai** 'books')
ìnā takàr̃dâ-r̃?—gầ takàr̃dâ-r̃ (letter.DD(f.), cf. **takàr̃dā** 'letter')
'where's the letter (I asked you for)?—here's the letter'

It is also common as a marker of clause-initial definite topicalized NPs (**§12**:5):

yārinyà-r̃ dai, tā kai wà Mūsā kuɗī
'as for the girl, she took the money to Musa' (girl.DD(f.), cf. **yārinyầ** 'girl')
cikin àkwầtì-n̲ kuma àkwai... 'and in the box there was...'
(box.DD(m.), cf. **àkwầtì** 'box')
à lōkàcî-n̲ kùwa... 'and at the time...'
(time.DD(m.), cf. **lōkàcī** 'time')

Although exploitation of the DD to determine an NP is typical in narrative sequences where a referent is reintroduced into the discourse after a lengthy absence, it can also be used, like demonstratives (§2.3), to "anchor" newly-introduced referents, e.g. **gầ wasu yârā sunầ wầsā, sai (waɗànnân) yârân sukà zō**... 'there were some children playing, then (these) the children came...' (with additional optional pre-head demonstrative).

Examples of the DD used to encode discourse-new definite referents which are inferable from the extralinguistic situational context are:

zân sâ mâ cikin àkwầtìn̲ 'I'll put (it) in the mailbox for you'
tô, kầwō kuɗîn̲ 'OK, give (bring) me the money'
(said after a bargain has been sealed)
yầyầ gàrîn̲? 'how's (life in) the town?'
yầyầ uwar̃gidân̲? 'how's the wife?'
(Notice that in noun+noun compounds, the choice of DD (here = m. **-ˋn**) is usually determined by the gender of the rightmost noun to which it attaches (= m. **gidā** 'house'), not the gender of the entire compound (= f. **uwar̃gidā** 'wife').)

dukkànsù mânyan rīgunà nē, àmmā ɗ'inkìn yā bàmbantà
'all of them are big gowns, but the sewing differs'
(where **ɗ'inkìn** 'the sewing' is an inferable entity, the relational inference being triggered by premention of various types of gown)

The DD can be suffixed to proper names where the referents are identifiable from the (extra)linguistic context, e.g. **kā ga Audùn/Amìnâr̄**? 'did you see (the prementioned) Audu/Amina?', showing that the DD is more than simply a functor which marks definiteness. Otherwise, unique and/or intrinsically definite nouns, e.g. (universals) **rānā** 'sun', **watà** 'moon', (culturally-specific) **Allàh** 'God', **sarkī** 'emir', etc., appear non-determined.

Although basically a nominal suffix, the masculine singular DD **-ˋn** can have phrasal scope, cliticizing to the phrase-final element (verb, adverb, modal particle) of a complex NP, e.g. a relative clause with a definite head already containing a DD or functionally equivalent **MAI**-headed phrase (**§12**:4). Examples:

kā ga mutànên dà sukà zôn? 'did you see the men who came?'
kā ga mutànên dà sukà zō jiyàn? 'did you see the men who came yesterday?'
tồ zân zō gồbên 'OK I'll come tomorrow (as arranged)'
kā ga màsu kāmà ɓàràyîn?
'did you see those who were arresting the thieves?'
shī/ita mân? 'him/her too?' (cf. **shī/ita mā**)

With proforms, e.g. for nouns, propositions, the masculine singular **-ˋn** DD is also the only possible option, even if the proform is grammatically feminine and so controls feminine gender agreement on the TAM subject pronoun. Examples:

nā san waɗàndà sukà sācề tân
'I know the ones who kidnapped her' (= 3f. pro. **ta** + **-ˋn**)
cf. **nā san waɗàndà sukà sācề shîn**
'I know the ones who kidnapped him' (= 3m. pro. **shi** + **-ˋn**)

tātàn [tā]$_{3f.PF}$ **fi tsàdā** 'hers (f. referent) is more expensive'
hakàn [yā]$_{3m.PF}$ **fi = hakàn** [tā]$_{3f.PF}$ **fi** 'this is better'
ìnā waddà kikà nūnâ matàn?
'where is the one (f.) you showed (it) to?' (= 3f. i.o. pro. **matà** + **-ˋn**)

In contexts where a locative noun is cataphorically predetermined by a prolocative adverb, e.g. **nân** 'here', attachment of the DD to the head noun is (near) obligatory, e.g. **à nân ùnguwâř/ƙasâř/gàrîn/ƙauyèn** 'here in this neighbourhood/country/town/village', as it is when the head is emphatically modified, pre- or posthead, by a free possessive pronoun. Examples:

ìnā nākà kwafîn? 'where's *your* copy?'
àmmā gwamnatì bà tà cikà nātà àlkawàřîn ba
'but the government didn't keep *its* promise'
ìnā tākà mōtàř? 'where's *your* car?'
ìnā mōtàř tākà? 'where's that car of yours?'

A DD-marked possessee noun which is part of a genitive construction is linked to the following possessor constituent, e.g. noun, adverb, with one of the free genitive (proform) morphemes **na/ta/na** '(that) of' (m./f./pl.) which is coreferential with the preceding possessee noun. Examples:

kā ga ita bùdurwâř ta Abbà? 'did you see that girlfriend of Abba's?'
(...girlfriend.DD(f.) of(f.) Abba)
kā jē tārôn na jiyà? 'did you go to yesterday's meeting?'
(...meeting.DD(m.) of(m.) yesterday)

In relative clauses with definite antecedents (**§12**:4), a DD is attached to the head before the relativizer **dà**. Examples:

gâ aikìn dà ka bā nì 'here's the work that you gave me'
ìnā yārinyàř dà zā kà àurā? 'where's the girl you're going to marry?'
lōkàcîn dà sukà isō bā nâ nan 'when they arrived I wasn't there'

kāyân dà yakȅ sayâr̃wā 'the goods that he is selling'

Some speakers simplify a head-final F tone to H before the relativizer **dà**, e.g. **lōkàcin dà sukà isō**, **kāyan dà yakȅ sayâr̃wā**, etc.

The DD can, together with the prehead Specific Indefinite Determiner, codetermine a head noun, in order to express an additive-incremental 'another X, some other Xs' meaning, i.e. additional token(s) from a specified set. Examples:

bầ ni wata rȉgâr̃ 'give me another gown'
wasu yârân dà sukà ga haɗ'àr̃în... 'some other boys who saw the accident...'

The DD is also suffixed to the cardinal quantifier **ɗ'aya = gùdā** 'one' in correlative constructions, to express the singular definite meaning 'the other X', i.e. from a pair of referents. If the referent is overtly expressed as an NP, it takes the DD and is pre-determined by **ɗ'aya** (numerals normally follow the head, §4.1). Examples:

ìnā ɗ'ayân/r̃ = ìnā gùdân/r̃? 'where's the other?' (m./f. referent)
ɗ'aya Bàhaushȅ nē, ɗ'ayân kuma Bàyar̃abȅ
'one was a Hausa man, and the other a Yoruba man'
ìnā ɗ'aya kujȅrâr̃? 'where is the other chair?'
(cf. **kujȅrā ɗ'aya** 'one chair')

*2.2.1. Anaphoric **ɗ'în** 'the/that one in focus/question'*

In specifiable environments, an anaphoric form **ɗ'în** 'the/that one in focus/question' (= **kîn** in NH) occurs with a definite determinative posthead function similar to the DD. **Ɗîn** differs, however, in that the constituent it determines is always hearer/discourse-old, and can never be simply context-inferable. The **ɗ'în** functor is composed of a semantically empty host morpheme **ɗ'i-** plus the **-ˋn** DD, e.g. **Mūsā ɗ'î-n** 'the Musa (we were talking about)' (Musa **ɗ'i-**DD(m.)). (The same connective can also suffix the genitive linker **-n**, §2.5.2.) Referential **ɗ'în**

(sometimes [ɗî]) is typically encountered as a marker of discourse anaphora following pronouns, temporal and modal adverbs, common nouns and proper names (persons, places, times, languages, etc.), (NPs +) numerals, complex NPs (e.g. relative clauses), and ideophones (see also Buba 1997a). Examples:

shī/ita/sū/wānè ɗîn
'him/her/them/the so-and-so (under discussion)'
hakà ɗîn yā fi 'that (as specified) is better'
zā à bā dà sanâřwā gòbe ɗîn
'an announcement will be made tomorrow (as mentioned)'
ìnā rȉgā/wàndō/tufāfȉ ɗîn?
'where is/are the gown/trousers/clothes (in question)?'
gȁ yārȍ/yārinyȁ/yârā ɗîn
'there is/are the boy/girl/children (we were talking about)'
kanȁ nufîn Kànde/Mammàn/Audù ɗîn?
'do you mean the Kande/Mamman/Audu (we were talking about)?'
zā à yi tȁrôn à Kanȍ/Zāriyà/Gȍbiř/Landàn ɗîn
'the meeting will be held in Kano/Zaria/Gobir/London (as mentioned)'
mōtàř Audù ɗîn 'the car of the Audu in question'
(where **ɗîn** would usually be interpreted as scoping the possessor N_2)
mun hau Dȁla ɗîn bana 'we climbed Dala Hill this year'
à watàn Jànaiřù ɗîn/Tàlātȁ ɗîn zā à ɗaurà aurē
'the wedding will take place in January/on Tuesday (as arranged)'
zā à fassàřā shi cikin Hausa/Japanancī ɗîn
'it will be translated into Hausa/Japanese'
(rȁgō) biyu ɗîn 'the two (rams) in question'
(= noun + numeral + **ɗîn** order)
ɗȁlìbai gōmà ɗîn dà sukà fāɗì 'the ten students who failed'
kin san ɗȁlìbân dà sukà shigō ɗîn?
'do you know the students who have come in?'
kàzàř-kazař ɗîn yā yi yawȁ 'the restlessness is too much'
(= ideophone head)

Consonant-final nouns (usually loanwords) and unassimilated foreign words also use **ɗîn** as a definite determiner:

ìnā bâs/fensìř/kwâf/làdân/nâs ɗîn?
'where is the bus/pencil/cup/muezzin/nurse?'
gǎ mǎshîn/tēbùř ɗîn dà na sàyā 'here's the motorbike/table that I bought'
'yan-kwastàn sun ƙwācɛ̀ *cocaine* **ɗîn jiyà**
'customs officials confiscated the cocaine yesterday'
gǎ *dissertation* **ɗîn** 'here's the dissertation'

Some speakers simplify F **ɗîn** to H **ɗ̀în** before the relativizer **dà**, e.g. **gǎ mǎshîn/tēbùř ɗ̀în dà na sàyā** 'here's the motorbike/table that I bought'.

If the consonant-final noun has a lexically-determined epenthetic final **-ī/ĭ** alternant (= Newman's 2000: chap. 43 "latent" vowel), then the DD **-̀n** is attached to the vowel-final form as an alternative to the C-final noun + **ɗîn** construction, e.g. **ìnā fensìřîn/kōfîn/tēbùřîn/làdānìn**? 'where is the pencil/cup/table/muezzin?'. Some speakers strongly prefer (only allow) the final **-ī/ĭ** + DD option.

2.3. Demonstratives

Demonstratives display 3rd person number and gender distinctions and are organized along the basic universal dimension of spatial location into a rich, participant-oriented system which is sensitive to the position of both the speaker *and* hearer with respect to the designated referent. When functioning as attributive NP modifiers, demonstrative determiners occur in two forms (Table 23). The more explicit forms occur *before* the (often hearer-new) head noun, e.g. **wannàn aikĭ** 'this work', **waɗ̀annân mutǎnē** 'these people', and the short form demonstrative clitics *follow* the (usually hearer-old) head noun which suffixes the **-n/-ř** genitive linker, e.g. **aikì-n-nân** 'this work' (lit. work-of-here), **rĭga-ř-nàn** 'this gown' (gown-of-here), **mutǎne-n-nàn** 'these people' (people-of-here). The complex forms can also be used as free-standing 3rd person proforms

(pronouns) to substitute for a noun (presumably their original function), e.g. **dùbi wannàn**! 'look at this (one)!', where the Imperative stem **dùbi** takes the same form it would before a lexical noun object. Although hyphens are used in this section, in the orthography both variants, including the posthead clitic, are written as single words, separate from the heads they determine, e.g. **wannan aiki**, **aikin nan**, etc. Table 23 profiles the most common, morphologically segmented forms with their spatial meanings (see below for derivative anaphoric functions):

Table 23. Demonstratives

Spatial	msg.	fsg.	pl.
a. 'this, these' (near speaker)	**wa-n-nàn**	**wa-n-nàn**	**wa-ɗàn-nân** (also **wa-ɗan-nàn**, **wà-ɗan-nàn**)
	X-n-nân/nàn	**X-r̃-nân/nàn**	**X-n-nân/nàn**
b. 'that, those'	**wà-n-nan**	**wà-n-nan**	**wà-ɗàn-nan**
(near hearer)	**X-n-nan**	**X-r̃-nan**	**X-n-nan**
new/contrastive	**wâ-n-nan**	**wâ-n-nan**	**wa-ɗàn-nan**
c. 'that, those' (speaker/hearer-distal)	**wa-n-càn**	**wa-c-càn**	**wa-ɗàn-cân** (also **wa-ɗan-càn**, **wà-ɗan-càn**)
	X-n-cân/càn	**X-r̃-cân/càn**	**X-n-cân/càn**
d. 'that, those' (speaker/hearer-remote)	**wà-n-can**	**wà-c-can**	**wà-ɗàn-can**
	X-n-can	**X-r̃-can**	**X-n-can**
new/contrastive	**wâ-n-can**	**wâ-c-can**	**wa-ɗàn-can**

Morphologically, the complex prehead demonstratives are composed of a H tone deictic formative **wa-** (the same morpheme which is present in the indefinite and interrogative determiners and relative pronouns), followed by the genitive linker (m./pl. = **-n**, f. = **-C** (< **-r̃** < ***-t**, where **-C** = Copy of the following consonant), plus allomorphs of one of the four pro-locative adverbs, i.e. F **nân** 'here (near me the speaker)', H **nan** 'there (near you the hearer)', F **cân** 'there (distal from me and you)', and H **can** 'over there (remote from me and you)'. Demonstratives exhibit the three-cut (m./f./pl.) agreement distinction. The surface tones on the

explicit singular demonstratives (originally autonomous pronouns) are the output of a tonal absorption process, whereby the underlying initial H tone on the F (</= HL) **nân/cân** adverbs spreads to the left. The initial H component is absorbed into the H tone **wan-** component, leaving the residual L on the adverbial element, i. e. **wan-nàn** 'this' (< ***wan-nân**), **wan-càn** 'that' (< ***wan-cân**). The surface H tone adverbs **nan** and **can** both derive from underlying simplified LH ***năn** and ***căn** sequences, the initial L of which similarly spreads to the left, overriding the H tone on **wan-**, and producing **wàn-nan** 'that (near you)' (< ***wan-năn**), **wàn-can** 'that (remote-distal)' (< ***wan-căn**). The FH variants **wân-nan** and **wân-can** are the result of the initial L of the LH sequence merging with (not overriding) the H tone **wan** component and producing a Falling tone. The homophonous masculine and feminine forms in rows (a, b) are a consequence of surface gemination in the feminine, e.g. **wannàn** < ***wat-nàn** (cf. m. **wan-nàn**), **wàn-nan** < ***wàt-nan** (cf. m. **wàn-nan**)—cf. too gemination of the feminine **-t-** in **wa-c-càn** (< ***wa-t-càn**), and **wà-c-can** (< ***wà-t-can**). The plural demonstratives insert a **-ɗàn-** pluralizing infix (normally L tone) between the **wa-** and locative adverb with no linker, e.g. **waɗànnân** 'these (near me)' = **wa-** + **ɗàn** + **nân**, **wàɗànnan** 'those (near you)' = **wà-** + **ɗàn** + **nan** (with L tone **wà-**). The surface tones on some of the plural demonstratives are also the outcome of spreading, e.g. (**waɗànnan**)^{LH} → **wàɗànnan** 'those (near you)'. HHL **waɗannàn**, **waɗancàn** and LHL **wàɗannàn**, **wàɗancàn** are also attested, i.e. with either H **wa-** or L **wà-** and a H **-ɗan-** infix, but are less susceptible to analysis. See Abraham (1941: 80-83, 1959b: 53-55), Jaggar & Buba (1994), Newman (1992b), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 21).

With the head-determiner pattern short forms, the NP consists of a noun plus a suffixed (m./f.) linker **-n/-ř** and one of the above (**nân, nan, cân, can**) prolocative adverbs, analyzable, and glossed in this section only, as a periphrastic genitival 'N-of-here/there' construction, e.g. **yārò-n-nân** 'this boy' (lit. boy-of-here), **mōtà-ř-cân** 'that car' (car-of-there), **mōtōci-n-nàn** 'these cars' (cars-of-

here).[1] The various surface tonal alternations following demonstrative cliticization in **mōtàř-nân** 'this car', etc., result from the same tonal absorption which characterizes the complex forms—the underlying initial H tone on the F (</= HL) **nân/cân** demonstratives spreads to the left (cf. the tonally symmetrical HL explicit forms **wannàn/wancàn**). If the host word ends in a lexical H tone syllable, the initial H component is absorbed, leaving the remaining L on the demonstrative clitic, e.g. **mōtōcin-nàn** 'these cars' (< HHH **mōtōcī** + **n** + HL **nân**), **rìgař-nàn** 'this gown' (< LH **rìgā** + **ř** + HL **nân**). If the host ends in either a L or F (= HL) tone, the demonstrative remains as a F, e.g. **yārinyàř-nân** 'this girl', **sìtôn-cân** 'that store-room'.

With regard to the H tone **nan** and **can** posthead demonstratives, all of which derive from underlying LH ***năn** and ***căn** sequences (cf. the analogous LH explicit forms **wànnan/wàncan**), the initial L also backs up, yielding a surface HL = F tone on a host-final H tone, and the demonstrative then carries the residual H, e.g. **gidân-nan** 'that house' (< HH **gidā** + **n** + **nan**)^{LH}), **kàsuwâř-can** 'that market (yonder)' (< LHH **kàsuwā** + **ř** + **can**)^{LH}). When attached to a word with a final L or F (= HL) tone, the initial L of the clitic is absorbed and the LH sequence spreads over two syllables, e.g. **mōtàř-can** 'that car' (< HL **mōtà** + **ř** + **can**)^{LH}), **rīgunàn-nan** 'those gowns' (< HHL **rīgunà** + **n** + **nan**)^{LH}), **sìtôn-can** 'that store-room' (< LF **sìtô** + **n** + **can**)^{LH}). The **-ř** feminine linker regularly assimilates to and geminates with the initial **/n, c/** consonant of the enclitic, e.g. **mōtàř-nân** [mōtànnâŋ] 'this car', **mōtàř-cân** [mōtàccâŋ] 'that car' (also [mōtàřcâŋ] without assimilation).

Standard Hausa has a basic 4-term demonstrative system which encodes the position of the speaker *and* hearer (the "core-participants") in relation to the designated referent—a so-called "person-oriented" deictic system (Buba 1997b, Galadanci 1969: 283, Jaggar 1985, Jaggar & Buba 1994). The examples below illustrate the complex prehead and short form posthead demonstratives as

[1]The pre-existing determinative NP-linker **-ga** configuration, e.g. **tùlûn-ga** 'this water-pot', and complex **wân-ga tùlū** 'this water-pot' etc. (speaker-proximal) forms are still attested in WH.

nominal modifiers. (See below for actual meaning-differences between the two determinative options).

wannàn rȉgā = rȉgař-nàn nȁ dà kyâu
'this gown [near me the speaker] is beautiful'
wannàn mōtȁ = mōtàř-nân nȁ dà kyâu
'this car [near me the speaker] is beautiful'
waɗànnân rīgunȁ = rīgunàn-nân nȁ dà kyâu
'these gowns [near me the speaker] are beautiful'
waɗànnân mōtōcī = mōtōcin-nàn nȁ dà kyâu
'these cars [near me the speaker] are beautiful'
wànnan gidā = gidân-nan nȁ dà kyâu
'that house [near you the hearer] is beautiful'
wànnan yārinyȁ = yārinyàř-nan nȁ dà kyâu
'that girl [near you the hearer] is beautiful'
waccàn rȉgā = rȉgař-càn nȁ dà kyâu
'that gown [distant from me & you] is beautiful'
waccàn mōtȁ = mōtàř-cân nȁ dà kyâu
'that car [distant from me & you] is beautiful'
wàncan gidā = gidân-can nȁ dà kyâu
'that house [remote-distal from me & you] is beautiful'
wàccan yārinyȁ = yārinyàř-can nȁ dà kyâu
'that girl [remote-distal from me & you] is beautiful'

Singular demonstratives can also be used to determine plural head nouns, e.g. **[wannàn]**$_{sg}$ **[rīgunȁ/mōtōcī]**$_{pl}$ 'this (these) gowns/cars' (Jaggar 1998: 221).

The short posthead demonstratives, although treated as equivalent in meaning to their explicit prehead counterparts in earlier works, represent the basic, unmarked forms, and are generally used to individuate referents which are assumed by the speaker to be uniquely and easily identifiable by the hearer from the (extra)linguistic context. This hearer-familiar cognitive status is also a feature

of the other posthead (definite) 'the' determiner (§2.2), and the speaker-proximal **-nân/nàn** form in particular is often equivalent to a definite article. Examples:

yǎyǎ zân yi dà yāròn-nân? 'what can I do with this/the boy?'
(where the referent 'boy' is assumed to be identifiable)
bǎ ni bĭròn-nan 'give me that pen'
(where 'pen' is identifiable)
gǎ littāfîn-nân 'here is this/the book'
(prementioned, e.g. you asked me to bring it)
dǔbi řàhōtòn-nân 'look at this/the report' (we've been studying)
à ƙasař-nàn tāmù 'in this country of ours' (uniquely identifiable)
ìnā àbîn-nan? 'where's that whatsit?' (you know what I mean)

According to Buba (1997b: 58ff.) the more marked prehead demonstratives are preferred in contexts where the identity of the intended referent is not immediately obvious, though this is not a grammatical absolute. The complex forms thus tend to be used in more ambiguous situations where there might be several possible competing entities and where an accompanying gesture and/or extra descriptive material would be appropriate, or the referent is simply assumed to be non-identifiable. Examples (from Buba 1997b):

tô, gǎ wannàn gùzurī kù shìga mōtǎ dà shī
'OK, here's this travel money for your car fare'
(where the referent 'travel money' is unexpected)
gǎ wannàn takàřdā kà dūbǎ 'here's this paper for you to look at'
(which I assume you've not seen before)

Some speakers prefer NPs containing an initial demonstrative to additionally suffix the definite determiner, which is not simply a marker of definiteness, e.g. **yǎyǎ zân yi dà wannàn yāròn**? 'what can I do with this/the boy?', **dǔbi wannàn řàhōtòn** 'look at this report', **wannàn mùtumìn kuma**... 'and this man...' (= topic NP). Note too **dǔbi wannàn yārô dà wancàn** Ø 'look at this

boy and that (one)', with ellipsis of the noun conjoin after the second demonstrative.

The unmarked posthead demonstratives are also used to modify non-nominal heads, especially time adverbs, to specify a more precise time-point. Examples:

> **ɗə̀zun-nàn** 'just this minute' (< **ɗə̀zu** 'just now'), **jiyàn-nân** 'just yesterday' (< **jiyà** 'yesterday'), **kwə̀nàkin-nàn = kwāna-kwānan-nàn** 'recently, these last few days, in the near future' (< **kwānā/kwə̀nàkī** 'day/s'), **ràn-nan** '(on) that same day' (= clipped form of **rānā** 'day'), **yànzun-nàn** 'just now' (< **yànzu** 'now'). The complex time adverb **bə̀ra wàccan** 'the year before last', with a *post*head full demonstrative, is a conspicuous exception to this rule.

The posthead variants also occur with numerals, e.g. **mū biyun-nàn** 'we two' (lit. we two.of-here), and with connective **ɗi-**, e.g. **shī ɗin-nàn** 'him/the one in question', **yârā biyu ɗin-nàn** 'these two boys'. The explicit prehead demonstratives, on the other hand, because they can be used to modify non-identifiable, hearer-new referents, are the forms which are used cataphorically, e.g. **kàřàntà waɗànnân tambayōyī, sànnan**... 'read these questions (following in the text), then...'.

The explicit FH **wânnan**, **wâncan** etc. variants are used by some speakers, typically as 3rd person locative pronouns to contrastively individuate a referent closest to the addressee. Examples:

bə̀ wànnan bīřò ba, wânnan
'not that pen, *that one* (nearest you)'
bə̀ wàccan mōtə̀ ba, wâccan
'not that car (remote-distal from us both), *that one'*
(remote-distal from us both but closer to you)
bə̀ wàɗàncan mōtōcī ba, waɗàncan
'not those cars, *those* (remote from us both but closest to you)'
bə̀ wànnan ba, wânnan
'not that one, *that one* (closest to you)'

In contrastive environments, identical demonstratives are often used, e.g. **sai wannàn ya dûbi wannàn** 'then this one looked at that (this) one', parallel to the use of correlative SID...SID to express 'one...another' (§2.1.1).

The form-function correlations within the basic spatial domain extend to discourse-anaphoric and temporal contexts. The basic [+identifiable] posthead demonstratives are typically used to anaphorize presupposed discourse referents, with the speaker-proximal short forms indexing antecedents which are highly activated, i.e. present in the immediately preceding linguistic context. They are also common as markers of S-initial topicalized NPs. Examples:

sarkin-nàn kùwa... 'and this (just mentioned) emir...'
yāròn-nân, ai nā san shì 'this (recently mentioned) boy, well I know him'
yâran-nàn 'these (recently mentioned) boys'
yārinyàř-nan 'that girl (under discussion)'
zàncen-nàn dà nakề faɗầ makà yànzun-nàn
'this business I was just telling you about'
Cf. cataphoric: **wannàn zàncên dà zân faɗầ makà**...
'this business I'm going to tell you about...' (with prehead full demonstrative)
rìkicîn-nan, ai nā san wandà ya tā dà shī
'that problem (we were discussing), I know who started it'
Cf. **wànnan rìkicī, ai nā san wandà ya tā dà shī**
'that problem (which is new to you), I know who started it'
à wàncan lōkàcī kuma... 'and at that (distant) time...'
(Note too pronominal (full form only) **wannàn kuma gàskiyā nề** 'and this (what has just now been stated) is true', **wânnan bâ dāmā**! 'that (guy) is really something!'.)

2.4. Independent pronouns as pre-head determiners

In anaphoric discourse contexts, independent pronouns (**§10**:2.1) regularly function as appositional-like determiners before a following definite head noun,

which may be further specified by a definite determiner and/or demonstrative (pre- or posthead). Examples (often human reference):

mū talakāwā munà shân wàhalà sòsai
'we common people are really suffering'
yàyà kū ɗàlìbai kukà yi hakà? 'how come you students did this?'
wàtò ita Hàlīmàř? 'you mean (she) Halima?'
kin ga shī Audù? 'have you seen (him) Audu?'
zā mù sanař dà shī dářaktà
'we will inform (him) the director'
mutànē sun fàhìnci ita cùtař AIDs
'people understand (it) the disease AIDs'
ita dai gwamnatì, tā lālàcē
'as for (it) the government, it has deteriorated'
(with a modal particle **dai** between the determinative pronoun and noun)
shī wannàn mālàmī kùwa yā kōyař dà nī à jāmi'à
'and (he) this teacher taught me at university'
shī wannàn mùtumìn kùwa...
'and (he) this man moreover...'
(with a maximum three definite markers)
sū ɗàlìbân-nan bà sù san àbîn dà sukè yî ba
'(they) those students don't know what they're doing'

A 3rd person pronoun pluralizer **su**, identical with the H tone 3pl. direct object pronoun, can also be used to determine a following singular head in order to exemplify type-tokens, i.e. 'other tokens from within or associated with category X'. As an 'X & Co., X & so on, etc.' type-exemplifier, **su** is often used with animate or inanimate referent proper nouns following a plural count NP denoting the superordinate generic class. Examples:

àkwai Hàusàwā dà yawà à Landàn, kàmař su Gařbà, dà (su) Magàji
'there are many Hausa people in London, like Garba, Magaji & Co.'

àkwai mōtōcī irĩ-irĩ nân, kàmař su Mařsandî, dà (su) Fìjô
'there are different kinds of cars here, like Mercedes, Peugeot and so on'
su Audù sun zō
'Audu & Co. have arrived'

2.5. *Genitive constructions*

Referential NPs can also be determined by genitive phrases. Genitive forms, both nominal and pronominal, occur posthead, use the "(genitive) linker" morpheme, and group into two sets on the basis of their morphosyntax:

1. "Free" genitives which use the full, independent linker (m./f./pl.) **na/ta/na** (§2.5.1), e.g. **kuɗin nàn na Audù** 'this money of Audu's' (lit. money this of Audu).
2. "Bound" genitives which are linked to the preceding head noun with a possessive (m./f./pl.) **-n/-ř/-n** suffix (§2.5.2), e.g. **kuɗi-n Audù** 'Audu's money' (lit. money-of Audu).

The linear order in genitive constructions is possessee X + linker + possessor Y, i.e. possessee noun_1-linker + possessor noun_2 with nouns, and the gender-number of the linking morpheme is determined by the initial head possessee (see below). The enclitic linker (the host + linker = single orthographic word) is also used to connect a pre-modifying adjective to a following head noun (§3.1), e.g. **tsōho-n ministà** 'the former minister' (old-of minister), **sābuwa-ř rìgā** 'new gown' (new-of gown). The term "genitive" is used here to describe a syntactic construction, and although the genitive often expresses a possessive 'of' relationship, especially in the case of the free possessive elements, it also denotes other semantic relations (see below). See also Parsons (1960a, 1961, 1963), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 43).

2.5.1. *Independent "free" possessives* ***na(a)/ta(a)/na(a)*** *(m./f./pl.)*

In certain syntactic contexts, the bound determinative genitives are replaced by their independent "free" forms. If the possessor N_2 is nominal or adverbial, e.g.

'the chief's', 'today's', the possessive element is the free **na/ta/na** linker—**na** if the controlling possessee head is masculine singular or plural, and **ta** if it is feminine singular, regardless of final vowels. (This basic and historically original **na/ta/na** pattern is widespread throughout Afroasiatic, see Greenberg 1960.) Examples:

[littāfîn-nan]$_{m}$ [na]$_{m}$ ɗālìbinkà	'that book of your student's'
[rìgâř]$_{f}$ [ta]$_{f}$ Audù	'the gown of Audu's'
[kwàsàkwàsân]$_{pl}$ [na]$_{pl}$ sāshèn	'the courses of the department'

When prefixed to a personal pronoun in the free-standing independent ('mine, yours', etc.) possessive pronoun paradigm, the genitive linker allomorphs are long **nā-** (m./pl. possessee) and **tā-** (f. possessee), e.g. **nāmù yā fi nāsù** 'ours (m.) is better than theirs (m.)', **wannàn rìgā tằwa cè** 'this gown (f.) is mine (f.)' (see §**10**:2.4 for complete set).

These absolute elements regularly function as independent proforms substituting for ellipted but recoverable possessive NPs, typically in possessive coordinate structures and in all syntactic roles. Examples:

nā ga mằtařkà dà tằwa à kằsuwā
'I saw your wife (f.) and mine (f.) at market'
wannàn bīřồ nằwa nề—ìnā nākà?
'this pen (m.) is mine (m.)—where's yours (m.)?'
tākà tā fi tāsà tsằdā
'yours (f.) is more expensive that his (f.)'
shānun$_{i}$ Bellò sun tsinkề, àmmā na$_{i}$ Mammàn sunằ nân
'Bello's cattle (pl.) have broken loose, but Mamman's (those of Mamman) are here'
aikìn$_{i}$ bằra yā fi na$_{i}$ bana
'last year's work (m.) was better than this year's'
rìgař$_{i}$ Mūsā tā yi kàmā dà ta$_{i}$ Lawàl
'Musa's gown (f.) is like Lawal's (that of Lawal)'

The same genitive proforms are also regularly used as posthead determiners in contexts where the possessee head N1 is already determined by another post-positional element, e.g. demonstrative, definite determiner (including anaphoric **ɗîn**), adjective, or numeral, and so is separated from its possessor. Examples:

ƙasař nàn tāmù tā lālàcē	'this country of ours has deteriorated'
gà littāfîn na Fātimà	'there's the/that book of Fatima's'
gà aikìn nàwa	'here's that/the work of mine'
ìnā *dissertation* **ɗîn na ɗālìbinkà**?	'where's that dissertation of your student's?'
mōtà jā ta Audù	'Audu's red car'
mātā huɗu na Gařbà	'Garba's four wives'

The independent pronouns are also used as determiners in emphatic-contrastive possessive constructions, in which case they occur pre-head, and the following referentially definite head NP takes the definite determiner. Examples:

zā sù kafà tāsù ƙasâř	'they will set up *their own* state (country)'
à nàwa řa'àyîn...	'in *my* opinion...'
ìnā nākà lìttàttàfân?	'where are *your* books?'

The independent possessive pronouns and basic **na/ta/na** linker can also combine to premodify a following coreferential reflexive pronoun (§6.1), in order to get an emphatic-exclusive determinative construction, equivalent to possessive 'of my/your own, etc.'. Examples:

nā sàmu gidā [nàwa na kâinā] 'I've got a house of my own'
(lit...[of(m.).1sg. of(m.) self.1sg.])
Magàji yā sàyi kòmfūtà [tāsà ta kânsà]
(...[of(f.).3m. of(f.) self.3m.])
'Magaji has bought a computer of his own'
Note too the pronominal usage with a reflexive in **kin sàyi [tākì ta kânkì]**? 'did you buy your very own?'.

The independent linker is also used to form ordinal numbers (§4.2):

nā kařàntà littāfì na ukù	'I've read the third book' (...book of three)
ita cè ta biyu	'she is the second (one)'

and can also be used to express genitives of material, as an alternative to the bound linker, e.g. **wani gidā na sìmintì** 'a cement house' (= **wani gidan sìmintì**).

The free linker and genitive noun or absolute genitive pronoun also regularly function, for bilingual Hausa-English speakers, as "objective genitives" following phrases consisting of the general verb **yi** 'do' + an English 'ing'-participial form, e.g. **sun yi** *disqualifying* **na ɗan-wàsân** 'they disqualified the player', **sun yi** *disqualifying* **nāsà** 'they disqualified him'. (This construction is syntactically parallel to the verbal noun + bound linker formation described below in §2.5.2.) The same elements are also used with English loanwords in possessive constructions if the head cannot directly take the bound linker, e.g. **ìnā àlāwùs nāmù**? 'where's our allowance?' (= **ìnā àlāwùs ɗinmù**? with linking **ɗi-**, see §2.5.3), **wani bâm na 'yan-ta'àdda** 'a terrorist bomb', especially if the recent loanwords are not totally assimilated, e.g. **gà wata** *friend* **tà̀wa** 'here's a friend of mine' (= **gà wata** *friend* **ɗīnā**), **shī nè** *Pele* **na ƙungìyařmù** 'he's the Pele (star soccer player) of our team'.

2.5.2. *Bound genitives* **-n/-ř/-n** *(m./f./pl.)*

Bound "noun-of (pro)noun" genitives function as posthead determiners only. As with the cognate and segmentally identical definite determiners, as well as the copula, the choice of the enclitic linker is controlled by the gender-number features of the lexical (vowel-final) possessee N_1 head: **-n** (< ***na**) if the controlling host is masculine singular or plural (regardless of final vowel, the two falling together), or **-ř** (< ***t** < ***ta**) if it is feminine singular *and* ends in **-a(a)**.[2]

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[2]See Schuh (1974a) for evidence that fixed insults such as **uwākà**! 'screw you!' (lit. mother.your), and **ùbākà**! 'screw you!' (father.your) are vestiges of a widespread Chadic distinction whereby inalienable possessees are expressed with direct juxtaposition, i.e. with no overt linker.

Closed syllable long vowels automatically shorten following attachment of the linker. The possessor element in the superordinate genitive NP can be a noun (common or proper), pronoun, or adverb. Examples (host + linker = single orthographic words, with linking hyphens added for clarity in this section):

àgōgo-n̲ yārò nē 'it's the boy's watch' (cf. **àgōgo** m.)
sìtô-n̲ ɗan-kằsuwā nề 'it's the trader's storeroom' (cf. **sìtô** m.)
kâ-n̲ sarkī 'postage stamp'
(lit. head-of emir, cf. **kâi** m., with diphthong reduction)
mōtà-r̲ mālàmī cề 'it's the teacher's car' (cf. **mōtằ** f.)
màta-r̲ Mūsā cè 'it's Musa's wife' (cf. **màtā** f.)
rāna-r̲ Tàlātằ cē 'it's Tuesday'
(= usually clipped **ran Tàlātằ**, cf. **rānā** f. 'day')
yâra-n̲ maƙề̀rī nề 'they're the blacksmith's children' (cf. **yârā** pl.)
mōtōci-n̲ Gwamnà nē 'they're the Governor's cars' (cf. **mōtōcī** pl.)
rīgunà-n̲ Audù nē 'they're Audu's gowns' (cf. **rīgunằ** pl.)
Gwamnà-n̲ Jihằr̃ Kanò nē 'it's the Governor of Kano State'
(cf. **Gwamnà** m.)
Tèku-n̲ Pāshà 'the Persian Gulf' (ocean-of Persia, cf. **tèku** f.)
bằba-n̲ yārinyằr̃ nē 'it's the girl's father' (cf. **bằba** m.)
bābà-r̲ yārinyằr̃ cē 'it's the girl's mother' (cf. **bābà** f.)
dāwôwa-r̲̃tà 'her return(ing)' (cf. **dāwôwā** f. 'return(ing)')
rȉga-r̲̃sà cē 'it's his gown' (cf. **rȉgā** f.)
yārò-n̲tà nē 'it's her boy' (cf. **yārò** m.)
tàkàr̃du-n̲sù nē 'they are their papers' (cf. **tàkàr̃dū** pl.)
àku-n̲sà cē 'it's his parrot'
(**àku** = f. noun not ending in **-a(a)**)
àbi-n̲-hannu 'wealth'
(thing-of-in the hand = irregular genitive of **àbù** m. 'thing')
ɗan-sànda-n̲-ciki 'detective'
(policeman-of-inside, cf. **ɗan-sàndā** m.)

mùtumì-n dâ 'old-fashioned person'
(person-of formerly, cf. **mùtûm** m.)

Noun-of-noun compounds use the bound linker internally, e.g. **gida-n-saurō** 'mosquito net' (house-of-mosquito), **kāwunà-n-sarkī** 'postage stamps' (heads-of-emir), **ɗ'a-n-ƙwằyā** 'drug user' (son-of-drug), **'ya-ř-kằsuwā** 'market woman' (daughter-of-market), **'ya-n-kūrā** 'cart pushers' (children-of-cart).

Both linkers assimilate with abutting consonants, though the spelling is usually etymological. With **-n**, assimilation is automatic, e.g. **mōtōci-n Mammàn** = [mōtōcim mammàŋ] 'Mamman's cars', **mōtōci-nmù** [mōtōcimmù] 'our cars', **tùlu-n Kànde** [tùluŋ kànde] 'Kande's water-pot', **tùlu-nkì** [tùluŋkì] 'your water-pot'. Coda-position assimilation of the **-ř** linker is also common (especially in WH), e.g. **mōtà-ř Mammàn** [mōtàm mammàŋ] 'Mamman's car', **rĩ̀ga-ř-ruwā** [rĩ̀garruwā] 'raincoat', **rĩ̀ga-ř-barcī** [rĩ̀gabbarcī] 'pyjamas' (gown-of-sleeping), **fādà-ř sarkī** [fādàs sarkī] 'the emir's palace', **hù̀la-ř-kwānṑ** [hù̀lakkwānṑ] 'crash-helmet' (hat-of-metal bowl), **mōtà-řkà** [mōtàkkà] 'your car', **mōtà-řsà** [mōtàssà] 'his car'.

Some consonant-final nouns, mostly Arabic or English loans, epenthesize a lexically-determined default **/i(i)/** vowel before the enclitic **-n** linker. If the host noun ends in a Falling (= HL) tone, the L docks on the rightwards transitional vowel, leaving the H on the preceding syllable. With final L tone nouns, the transitional vowel has H tone. Examples:

fensìř-ī-nā 'my pencil' (cf. **fensìř** 'pencil'), **gìlāsh-ì-n mōtà̀** 'car window' (cf. **gìlâs** 'glass (window)', with **s** → **sh** palatalization before the **/i(i)/**), **Kōf-ì-n Dūniyà̀** 'World Cup' (cf. **kōfĩ̀ = kwâf** 'cup'), **là̀dān-ì-n gàrinmù** 'the muezzin of our town' (cf. **là̀dân** 'muezzin'), **mālàm-i-n-makařantā** 'schoolteacher' (cf. **mālàm** 'teacher'), **mùtum-ì-n nan** 'that man' (cf. **mùtûm** 'man'), **ōfìsh-i-nkà** 'your office' (cf. **ōfìs** 'office'), **tēbùř-i-n nàn** 'this table' (cf. **tēbùř** 'table')

Note too the partitive numeral **takwàsh-i-nmù** 'eight of us' < **takwàs** (which can also use connective **ɗ'i-**, see §2.5.3). If the vowel of the final syllable of the

noun is /**u**/, the epenthetic vowel can be a copy /**u**(**u**)/, e.g. **ƙāmùs-u-nkà** or **ƙāmūs-ù-nkà** (= **ƙāmùsh-i-nkà** for some speakers) 'your dictionary' (cf. **ƙāmùs** 'dictionary').

Consistent with cross-linguistic tendencies, possessee N_1 referents are typically definite across discourse. (The toneless genitive linker **-n/-ɾ̃** and the definite determiner **-ˆn/-ˆɾ̃** both derive from the same deictic source, and cannot co-occur on the same noun.) If an indefinite reading is required on the possessee noun, it is coded with a specific indefinite determiner with a partitive sense, e.g. **nā hàɗu dà wani àbōki-nsà** 'I met with a friend of his', **gā wasu àbōkai-nā** 'here are some friends of mine'.

In addition to conveying a conventional possessive meaning, postmodifying genitive constructions can express a range of occasionally overlapping notions, some of which are semantically equivalent to adjectives, and including:

1. Genitives of material, e.g. **gida-n sìmintì** 'a cement house' (house-of cement), **rìga-ɾ̃ sìlikì** 'a silk dress' (dress-of silk).
2. Genitives of function, e.g. **àbi-n-shâ** 'drink' (thing-of-drinking), **ɗākì-n hayā̀** 'a room to let' (room-of hire), **gida-n àbinci** 'eating place' (house-of food), **gida-n-saurō** 'mosquito net' (house-of-mosquito), **kè̀ke-n-ɗinkì** 'sewing-machine' (machine-of-sewing), **tashà-ɾ̃-mōtà** 'lorry-park' (station-of-car), **māgàni-n sanyī** 'protection against the cold' (medicine-of cold).
3. Genitives of origin, e.g. **ɾ̃àhōtò-n Mūsā** 'Musa's report' (report-of Musa), **làbāɾ̃ì-n Kànde** 'Kande's story' (story-of Kande).
4. Descriptive genitives, e.g. **aikì-n banzā** 'useless work' (work-of uselessness), **ruwa-n sanyī** 'cold water' (water-of cold), **hali-n yârā** 'children's behaviour' (behaviour-of children), **makaɾ̃anta-ɾ̃ fiɾ̃āmàɾ̃è** 'primary school' (school-of primary), **mùtumì-n kirkì** 'a good man' (man-of goodness).
5. Genitives of measure, e.g. **tàfiyà-ɾ̃ kwānā bakwài** 'seven days journey' (journey-of day seven), **ɗa-n shè̀karā̀ gōmà** 'a boy of ten years' (boy-of year ten).

6. Partitive genitives, e.g. (head = numeral or universal quantifier/pronoun) **ɗaya-nsù** 'one of them', **takwàshi-nmù** 'eight of us' (= **takwàs ɗi-nmù**), **dukkà-n mutânên** 'all of the people', **dukkà-nkù** 'all of you', **dukkàni-n gidâjên** 'all of the houses', **kōwànne-nsù** 'each one of them', **wani irì-n àbinci** 'a certain kind of food' (with quality-partitive **irì-n** 'kind-of').

Genitive (pro)nouns also regularly function as the (pro)nominal complements or "objective genitives" of strong verbal nouns, to which they are connected, as semantic objects, with the bound linker. Examples:

yanâ sô-ntà sôsai	'he really loves her'
3m.IMPF love.VN-of.3f really	
sunâ sūkà-ř gwamnatì	'they are criticizing the government'
anâ kirà-ntà Hàlīmà	'she's called Halima'
inâ kôyo-n Hausa	'I'm learning Hausa'

Phrasal verbs, e.g. formed with the general verb **yi** 'do', also use the linker before nonfinite complements. Examples:

nā yi niyyà-ř tàfiyâ yâu	'I intended going today'
yā yi shirì-n tāshì gôbe	'he plans to leave tomorrow'
tā ji tsôro-n fìtā dà dare ita kaɗai	'she was afraid to go out alone at night'

With verbal noun heads, the genitive phrase can be subjective (= subject-verb relationship), e.g. **zuwà-nsà** 'his arrival' (arrival-of.3m), **kàřâtu-n ɗâlìbai** 'the students' studying', or objective (= verb-object relationship), e.g. **ɗaurì-n fuřsùnà** 'the imprisonment of the prisoner', **cî-n-àmānâ** 'betrayal' (eating-of-trust). Where a verbal noun can be used either transitively or intransitively, potential ambiguity can arise, though the reading would normally be clear from the context, e.g. **harbì-n fuřsunōnī** could be construed as either subjective 'the prisoners' shooting' or objective 'the shooting of the prisoners'.

Genitive nouns and pronouns also occur as the objects of "genitive prepositions" in mainly locative complements, e.g. **bāya-n waɗàncân mutânē**

'behind those people' (cf. **bāyā** 'back'), **ciki-ntà** 'inside it' (cf. **cikī** 'inside, interior'), **gàba-nkà** 'in front of you' (cf. **gàbā** 'front, chest'), **kâi-nā** 'on top of me' (cf. **kâi** 'head'), **ƙàřƙashi-nsù** 'under them' (cf. **ƙàřƙashī** 'underside'), **à ƙasà-n gwīwǎ** 'below the knee' (cf. **ƙasà** 'below').

*2.5.3. Possessive **ɗ'in***

The **-n** genitive linker can also attach to the connective morpheme **ɗ'i-** to produce **ɗ'i-n** (= orthographic **ɗ'in**, sometimes reduced to [ɗn]). Possessive **ɗ'i-n** occurs in the following contexts, some of which overlap with the distribution of anaphoric F tone **ɗ'î-n** (§2.2.1). See also Buba (1997a).

2.5.3.1. Following (NP +) numerals. Possessive **ɗ'i-n** may be used to link a numeral to a following possessive NP with a multiplicative sense, as an alternative to the simple linker, as well as to determine a preceding numeral in possessive-partitive 'of' phrases. Examples:

sun yi biyu ɗ'i-n àbîn dà mukě̀ bùkātǎ
= sun yi biyu-n àbîn dà mukě̀ bùkātǎ
'they were twice as many as we needed'
bǎ ni gōmà ɗ'i-nsù = bǎ ni gōmà-nsù
'give me ten of them'
bǎ ni bìyař ɗ'i-nsù = bǎ ni bìyař-nsù
'give me five of them'

2.5.3.2. Following consonant-final nouns and unassimilated loanwords. Possessive **ɗ'i-n** is often used to determine consonant-final (loan) nouns and unassimilated foreign nouns which do not epenthesize **/i(i)/**. Alternatively, an independent possessive form (§2.5.1) may be used. Examples:

kařàs ɗ'in Mūsā 'Musa's carrots' (= **kařàs na Mūsā**), **bǎbûř ɗ'inkà** 'your motorcycle' (= **bǎbûř nākà**), **lāsîn ɗ'insà** 'his licence', **mǎshîn ɗ'in nàn** 'this motorbike', **tsit ɗ'intà** 'her reticence' (= ideophone head), **kwâs ɗ'in ɗ'ǎlìbai** 'the

students' course'; *friend* **ɗīnā** 'my friend' (= *friend* **nā̀wa**), *e-mail* **ɗin wani mālàmī** 'the e-mail of a certain teacher' (= *e-mail* **na wani mālàmī**)

Some C-final nouns with the epenthetic **/i(i)/** variant can also take **ɗi-n** as an alternative in possessive constructions (though the epenthetic formation is generally preferred), e.g. **kōfìnsà = kwâf ɗinsà** 'his cup', **lā̀dānìnmù = lā̀dân ɗinmù** 'our muezzin', **ř̀àsīɗìn Audù = ř̀àsît ɗin Audù** 'Audu's receipt' (< ***ř̀àsîɗ**).

Possessive **ɗi-n** is also regularly used following independent pronouns, time adverbs, proper names, compound nouns, and recent loanwords. Examples:

shī ɗin banzā 'he the good-for-nothing'; **jiyà ɗin nàn** '(the) yesterday', **Dìsambā̀ ɗin bana** 'December of this year'; **Amīnà ɗinsà = Amīnàř̀sà** 'his Amina', **Sīdì ɗinmù = Sīdìnmù** 'our Sidi'; **bàř̀kṑnon-tsōhuwā ɗin 'yan-sàndā** 'the police's tear-gas', **dàfā̀-dukà ɗinmù** 'our jollof rice'; **bīdiyṑ ɗīnā = bīdiyṑnā** 'my video', **bīzā̀ ɗin nàn = bīzàř̀ nân** 'this visa'

Some (but not all) speakers also allow possessive **ɗi-n** with common vowel-final nouns, e.g. **ìnā rì̀gā ɗin Audù**? 'where is Audu's gown?' (cf. the more common **ìnā rì̀gař̀ Audù**?), **ìnā tàkàř̀dū ɗinkà**? 'where are your papers?' (cf. **ìnā tàkàř̀dunkà**?). The **ɗi-n** construction can also be used to form objective genitives following phrases consisting of the general verb **yi** 'do' + an English 'ing'-participial form, e.g. **sun yi** *disqualifying* **ɗinsà** 'they disqualified him' (= **nāsà**, see §2.5.1), **tā yi** *interviewing* **ɗin ministàn** 'she interviewed the minister' (= **na ministàn**).

2.6. Generic reference

Generic count/noncount nouns used to denote the members of a class in its entirety normally occur as bare singulars, i.e. with no determiners, and control singular agreement. Examples:

ìdan [mùtûm]$_{sg}$ yā gan tà... 'if a person sees her...'

[namijì]$_{sg}$ bā yà sàduwā dà [màcè]$_{sg}$ lōkàcin azùmī
'a male doesn't have sex with a female during the fasting (Ramadan) period'
[yārò]$_{sg}$ dai [yārò]$_{sg}$ nē
'boys (lit. boy) will be boys (boy)'
[tsìrē]$_{sg}$, à tukùbā akè gasà shi
'kebabs (kebab), one grills them (it) on an ash mound'
[shàmuwā]$_{sg}$ takàn yi ƙaurā zuwà Afìrkà ta Kudù
'the white-billed stork migrates to South Africa'
sunà ƙīràr̃ [far̃tanyà]$_{sg}$
'they make hoes (hoe)'
[lāfiyà]$_{sg}$ uwar̃ jìkī
'good health is paramount (the mother of the body)'
[zīnār̃ì]$_{sg}$ yā fi [azùr̃fā]$_{sg}$ tsàdā
'gold is more expensive than silver'

Count nouns, especially those denoting humans and including ethnonymns, can, however, be plural with generic reference, e.g.

[talakāwā]$_{pl}$ sunà shân wàhalà sōsai à Nàijēr̃iyà
'common people are really suffering in Nigeria'
àbinkà dà [Bàtūr̃è]$_{sg}$ = [Tùr̃àwā]$_{pl}$
'you know what the European is = Europeans are like'
[mazā]$_{pl}$ sun fi [mātā]$_{pl}$ à wannàn jāmi'à
'men outnumber women at this university'
[Hàusàwā]$_{pl}$ sun cê... 'Hausa people say...'

3. Adjectives

In formal terms, adjectives are identifiable through their ability to function syntactically as attributive modifiers within an NP (see also Newman 2000: chap. 4). They differ semantically from nouns in that they are essentially property-

denoting items, often describing physical attributes such as size, height, appearance, colour, etc. Morphologically, adjectives pattern with nouns, overtly inflecting for number-gender in accordance with the rules for nouns, with number and gender grammatically determined by the head, e.g. (simple) **baƙī/baƙā/baƙàƙē** (m./f./pl.) 'black', **sābō/sābuwā/sàbàbbī = sàbbī** (m./f./pl.) 'new', (derived) **dàfaffē/dàfaffiyā/dàfàffū** (m./f./pl.) 'cooked'. (See §4 and §5 for the various morphological classes of simple and derived adjectives, and their feminine and plural formations.)

Some adjectives, especially those denoting physical attributes, function basically as NP modifiers, e.g. **dōgō** 'tall, long', **gàjērē** 'short', **huntū** 'naked', **jā** 'red', **ƙàzāmī** 'filthy', **mūgù** 'ugly', **sābō** 'new'. Some (typically human-denoting) items have dual class membership, behaving more or less equally as simple adjectives and also as independent nouns, e.g. **mânyā** (pl.) 'large, adults, elders', **tsōhō** 'old (man/person)', **wāwā** 'fool(ish)'. These words can function, for example, as clausal subjects or objects and take determiners—cf. **mânyan gàrī sun zō** 'the elders/dignitaries of the town have arrived' and **mânyan garurrukà** 'large towns', **yàyà tsōhonkà**? 'how's your old man/father?' and **wannàn tsōhō nè** 'this one is old', **kin ga wāwân**? 'did you see the fool?' and **wannàn wāwan mùtûm nē** 'this is a foolish man'. Other items are basically analyzable as a subset of nouns which may also be used adjectivally (though the functional distinctions are scalar), e.g. **àzzālùmī** 'tyrant, tyrannical', **bàƙō** 'stranger, strange', **guntū** 'stub/butt, short', **bēbē** 'deaf-mute (person)', **gurgù** 'cripple, lame', **gwànī** 'expert', **jāřùmī** 'brave (person)', **shēgè** 'bastard'. Note too **baƙī** 'black(ness)' (also 'consonant'), and **kōřè** 'green(ness)'. See also Diso (1982), Mohammed (1977, 1984?), Mohmed (1980), and Parsons (1963).

3.1. Attributive adjectives (pre- or postnominal)

When acting as attributive NP modifiers, most adjectives are free to occur either in the slot to the left (the norm) or right of the head. Adjectives are gender/number "targets" for their controller nouns, i.e. the normally overt gender/number of the head triggers obligatory concordial agreement on its target

adjective, whether prehead or posthead. When used in prehead position, following any determiners, they are connected to the head with the same bound genitive linker used by nouns. The linker matches the gender-number features of the host adjective which are in turn determined by the following head (**-n** if masculine/plural, **-r̃** if feminine), e.g. (simple adjectives) **[ƙàrami-n]**$_{m}$ **[yārò]**$_{m}$ 'small boy' (lit. small-of boy), **[ƙàrama-r̃]**$_{f}$ **[yārinyà]**$_{f}$ 'small girl' (small-of girl), **[ƙanānà-n]**$_{pl}$ **[yârā]**$_{pl}$ 'small children' (small-of children). Attributive adjectives may also appear in posthead position, directly juxtaposed to the noun without any linking element, e.g. **[yārò]**$_{m}$ **[ƙàramī]**$_{m}$ 'small boy' (boy small), **[yārinyà]**$_{f}$ **[ƙàramā]**$_{f}$ 'small girl' (girl small), **[yârā]**$_{pl}$ **[ƙanānà]**$_{pl}$ 'small children' (children small). With adjectives ending in **-a**(**a**), e.g. **bàbba** 'large', **jā** 'red', etc., the masculine and feminine forms fall together, and gender is marked on the linker, e.g. **ja<u>r̃</u> [mōtà]**$_{f}$ 'red car' vs. **ja<u>n</u> [zanè]**$_{m}$ 'red wrapper/body-cloth'.

The pre-nominal linked genitive phrase position is semantically unmarked and is the more common option (the linked NP construction is also the unmarked demonstrative determiner choice, §2.3). Though frequently described as semantically equivalent, the postpositional direct juxtaposition strategy is thought by some (but not all) speakers to be more emphatic, and a contrastive tag is possible, though the exact order-meaning correlates remain to be worked out. Examples:

tā sâ <u>sābo-n</u> zanè 'she put on a new body-cloth'
3f.PF put on new(m.)-of(m.) body-cloth(m.)
tā sâ zanè <u>sābō</u> (bà tsōhō ba)
3f.PF put on body-cloth(m.) new(m.) (NEG old(m.) NEG)
'she put on a *new* body-cloth (not an old one)'

Note too the fully emphatic-contrastive postpositional variant frontshifted to the clause-initial focus position:

zanè <u>sābō</u> (nè) ta sâ (bà tsōhō ba)
body-cloth(m.) new(m.) COP(m.) 3f.FOC-PF put on (NEG old(m.) NEG)
'(it's) a *new* body-cloth she put on (not an old one)'

nā sàyi fara-ř mōtà̀
1sg.PF buy white(f.)-of(f.) car(f.)
'I bought a white car'
Cf: **nā sàyi mōtà̀ farā (bà̀ baƙā ba)**
1sg.PF buy car(f.) white(f.) (NEG black(f.) NEG)
'I bought a *white* car (not a black one)'
and: **mōtà̀ farā (cè) na sàyā (bà̀ baƙā ba)**
car(f.) white(f.) COP(f.) 1sg.FOC-PF buy (NEG black(f.) NEG)
'(it's) a *white* car I bought (not a black one)'
nā ga shûďďa-shûďďa-n rīgunà̀ à kàntī
1sg.PF see bluish(pl.)-of(pl.) gowns(pl.) in shop
'I saw some bluish gowns in the shop'
Cf: **nā ga rīgunà̀ shûďďa-shûďďa à kàntī (bà̀ farà̀re-farà̀re ba)**
1sg.PF see gowns(pl.) bluish(pl.) in shop (NEG whitish(pl.) NEG)
'I saw *bluish* gowns in the shop (not whitish ones)'
and: **rīgunà̀ shûďďa-shûďďa (nè) na ganī à kàntī (bà̀ farà̀re-farà̀re ba)**
gowns(pl.) bluish(pl.) COP(pl.) 1sg.FOC-PF see in shop (NEG whitish(pl.) NEG)
'(it's) *bluish* gowns I saw in the shop (not whitish ones)'

The basic unmarked adjective-linker + head order is predictably used in compound NPs, e.g. **bàbbař-rī̀gā** 'large gown', **farař-hù̀lā** 'civilian' (lit. white-of cap), **farin-watà̀** 'new moon' (white-of moon), and in other fixed, often institutionalized expressions, e.g. **tsōhon ministà̀** 'the former minister' (old-of minister), **ƙàramař hùkūmà̀** 'local authority' (small-of authority), **Ƙàramař Sallà̀** '*Id-el-Fitr* religious festival' (small-of festival), **Sābon Gàri** 'New Town (area outside old town)'. It is also the only linear order possible with the diminutive modifiers **ďan/'yař/'yan** 'little', e.g. **wani ďan yārò̀** 'a certain small boy', **wata 'yař wàhalà̀** 'a certain small difficulty', **wasu 'yan lìttàttàfai** 'some small books' (see §3.5).

With coordinate strings of two (rarely more) attributive adjectives, the positioning of the adjectives is variable, under poorly-understood conditions, and

speaker judgements are not consistent. All pre-nominal adjectives suffix the linker, e.g. **ɗan ƙàramin yārò** 'a wee small boy'. Examples:

Head + adjectives (= direct juxtaposition):
wata rìgā tsōhuwā (kuma) baƙā 'an old (and) black gown'
(with optional conjunctive **kuma**)
Adjectives + head:
wata tsōhuwař baƙař rìgā
Adjective + head + adjective (preferred by some speakers):
wata tsōhuwař rìgā baƙā or **wata baƙař rìgā tsōhuwā**
(with the phrase-final adjective more emphatic)
Note too: **wani zanè sābō jā, wani sābon jan zanè**
wani sābon zanè jā, wani jan zanè sābō
'a new red body-cloth'
wata màcè sìřīřìyā kyàkkyāwā, wata sìřīřìyař kyàkkyāwař màcè
wata sìřīřìyař màcè kyàkkyāwā, wata kyàkkyāwař màcè sìřīřìyā
'a tall beautiful woman'

Posthead adjectives follow any determiners, e.g. **yārinyàř nân kyàkkāwā** 'this beautiful girl', **'yammātā ukù kyāwâwā** 'three beautiful girls'.

With conjoined nouns (§8.1), prehead is the unmarked attributive position, e.g. **yā sâ baƙin wàndō dà farin tākàlmī** 'he put on black trousers and white shoes', **yanâ dà tsōhuwař mōtâ dà sābon bâbûř** 'he's got an old car and a new motorbike', **tā sàyi mânyan tukwânē dà ƙananàn tūlunâ** 'she bought large cooking-pots and small water-pots'. If the same conjoin adjective is used to modify gender/number-identical heads, the non-initial occurrence can be ellipted leaving a single antecedent adjective, e.g. (in coordinate NPs) **yā sâ baƙin wàndō dà (baƙin) tākàlmī** 'he put on black trousers and (black) shoes', **yanâ dà sābon kèkē dà (sābon) bâbûř** 'he's got a new pushbike and (new) motorbike'. Similarly, a head noun in the right conjoin can be ellipted when accompanied by different adjectives, where the NPs denote different tokens of the same set, e.g. **yā sàyi jař mōtâ dà farā** Ø 'he bought a red car and a white

(one)', **yanầ dà rȉgā baƙā dà Ø shūɗìyā** 'he has a black gown and a blue (one)' (= posthead attributive adjectives, §3.2).

3.2. Posthead only attributive adjectives

There are a number of adjectival formations which occur only to the right of the head. For example, the postnominal = emphatic-specific correlation noted above extends to environments where the adjective is itself further modified by an intensifier adverb or ideophone, e.g. **inầ dà dōkȉ bàbba ainùn/baƙī ƙirin** 'I've got a really big/jet black horse'. The same correlation is also a feature of the quasi-idiomatic emphatic-intensive construction—and of diminutive and augmentative adjectives (§5.6.2, 6.4)—where the postpositional adjective is extended with **dà** 'with' plus a head-coreferential independent pronoun (= adjectival phrase). Examples:

wani yārò̀ ƙànƙanè̀/dōgō/gàjērē dà shī	'a real small/tall/short boy'
wata yārinyầ kyàkkyāwā dà ita	'a real beautiful girl'
wata rȉgā farā dà ita	'a real white gown'

Ideophones (§15:7) can also occur attributively as invariant adjectival modifiers in posthead position, e.g. **nā ga àbù ɗìl** 'I saw a small thing', **gầ bȁkin yāròn dumū-dùmù̀ (dà cākùlàn)** 'look at the child's mouth all messy (with chocolate)'.

Phonologically heavy adjectives, e.g. fully reduplicated and compound adjectives, are also restricted to posthead position. Examples:

wasu mōtōcī zungurā-zùngùrầ	'some stretch limos (long cars)'
shìnkāfā tsakuwà-tsakuwà	'grainy, stony rice'
yārò̀ tàɓaɓɓe-tàɓaɓɓe	'a slightly crazy boy'
yādȉ ruwan-gwâl	'gold-coloured cloth'
fataŕā gàmà-gàri	'everyday hardship/need'
wani mùtûm dūkàn-iskầ	'a deranged man'

3.3. Predicate adjectives

Adjectives can all be used to postmodify a noun predicatively in equational or identificational constructions, agreeing in number and gender, like the clause-final copula, with the head, whether overt or understood.[3] Examples:

wannàn yārò̀ ƙàramī nè̀	'this boy is small'
mutânen nàn duk mahàukàtā nè̀	'these men are all mad'
dōguwā cè̀	'she's tall'

3.4. Adjectives as heads of elliptical NPs

All adjectives, regardless of whether they can function as autonomous nouns, can act as heads of elliptical NPs, i.e. when the "understood" noun, from which they get their gender-number, is omitted but is context-recoverable, and where English normally uses a substitutive proform 'one'. As heads, adjectives can, like nouns, function as clausal subjects, objects, etc., and can take determiners and even adjectival modifiers. Examples (simple and derived forms):

wàcè rìgā zā kì sàyā?—jâ-ř kō farâ-ř?
which(f) dress(f) FUT 2f buy—red-DD(f) or white-DD(f)
'which dress are you going to buy?—the red (one) or the white (one)?'
Audù yā ginà bàbban gidā, Mammàn kuma ƙàramī
Audu 3m.PF build big(m).of house(m) Mamman and small(m)
'Audu has built a big house, and Mamman a small one'
sābô-n/ƙàramî-n yā fi 'the new/small one is better'
new-DD(m)/small-DD(m) 3m.PF exceed
ìnā farâ-ř/gyàrarrê-n? 'where's the white/repaired one?'
where white-DD(f)/repaired-DD(m)

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[3]See §**11**:6.2.1 for predicative adjectival notions expressed by an Imperfective TAM followed by possessive **dà** 'with' + (quality) NP predicate, e.g. **wannàn àkwâtì yanà dà nauyī** 'this box is heavy' (lit. this box 3m.IMPF with heaviness).

nā sàyi wata <u>bàbba</u> kōřìyā 'I bought a green big one'
1sg.PF buy SID(f) big(f) green(f)
inǎ sô ìn sàyi wata <u>sābuwâ-ř</u> 'I want to buy another new one'
1sg.IMPF want.VN 1sg.SJN buy SID(f) new-DD(f)
darē rìgař <u>mūgǔ</u> 'night is the cloak for the evil one'
night gown.of evil(m)

*3.5. Diminutive prehead modifier **ɗa-n** ('son-of'), etc.*

Nouns can be premodified by a diminutive (DIM) modifier **ɗan/'yař/'yan** (m./f./pl.) 'little, small, minor, etc.', consisting of the genitival form of the words for 'son/daughter/children', i.e. **ɗa-n** 'son-of' (+ masc. head), **'ya-ř** 'daughter-of' (+ fem. head), **'ya-n** 'children-of' (+ pl. head). (See also §5:4 for compound NPs formed with **ɗa-n**, etc.) Examples:

tā řubǔtà wani <u>ɗan littāfì</u>/wata <u>'yař takàřdā</u>
3f.PF write SID(m) DIM(m) book(m)/SID(f) DIM(f) letter(f)
'she wrote a short book/letter'
gǎ wasu <u>'yan kùrǎkùrai</u>
PRES SID(pl) DIM(pl) mistakes(pl)
'here are some small mistakes'

3.6. Adjectival phrases

Adjectival phrases are headed by adjectives and function as posthead modifiers. They consist of a simple adjective normally followed either by an intensifying postmodifier ideophone, or a complex phrase, e.g. a prepositional phrase following a past participial adjective. Examples (attributive):

yā sàyi wata mōtǎ <u>sābuwā ful</u> 'he bought a brand-new car'
3m.PF buy SID(f) car new(f) very

tā ga wani mùtûm màtaccē (à) bàkin hanyà
3f.PF see SID(m) man dead(m) at edge.of road
'she saw a man dead by the side of the road'

Some speakers allow an NP-postmodifying adjective to co-occur with an adverbial intensifier such as **ainùn, ƙwařai, sòsai** 'very (much), really, etc.', where the adverb functions inside a clause element, e.g. **yā sàyi wata mōtà bàbba ainùn** 'he bought a really big car' (3m.PF buy SID(f) car big(f) really). With intensifiers the adjective can alternatively occur in the prehead slot, e.g. **yā sàyi wata bàbbař mōtà ainùn** 'he bought a really big car'.

Examples of predicative adjectival phrases, where the copular element is positioned between the adjective and intensifying adverb or ideophone, are:

dōkìnsà bàbba nè sòsai 'his horse is really big'
horse.of.3m big(m) COP(m) really
rìgař nàn bāƙā cè wuluk 'this gown is jet-black'
gown this black(f) COP(f) very

Other common postnominal modifiers are **dàbam (dàbam)** 'different' and sortal **irì irì** 'different kinds' (cf. **irì** 'kind, sort', lit. 'seed'). Examples:

itātuwà dàbam dàbam 'different trees'
motà dàbam 'a different car'
(= non-reduplicated form with a sg. head)
mutànē irì irì 'different sorts of people'
àbinci irì irì 'different types of food'

*3.7. Adjectival modifiers formed with connective **mài/màsu** and **maràs/maràsā** + NP*

Quality-denoting adjectival notions can also be, and often are, expressed using a postmodifying phrase containing the linking functor **mài** (sg.) or **màsu** (pl.)

'possessing (the quality of)' + qualitival (abstract) noun, e.g. **yārinyà [mài kyâu]** 'a beautiful girl' (lit. girl **MAI** beauty) = **kyàkkāwař yārinyà** (with prehead adjective). Connective **mài/màsu** is here represented with small caps **MAI**.[4] When functioning as the link element in a postmodifier phrase, **mài** (sg.) and **màsu** (pl.) agree with the preceding head noun in number (though not gender), and denote an attribute of the head, i.e. X **MAI** Y, where X = head and Y = quality noun, and where **MAI** is roughly equivalent to 'the possessor of'. In related constructions where Y = concrete noun, **MAI** expresses straightforward possession (see below). See also Newman (2000: chap. 45). Examples (attributive and predicative):

nā sàmu wasu gidàjē màsu kyâu	'I've found some beautiful houses'
nā ji wani làbāřì mài ban-dàriyā	'I heard an amusing story'
wannàn àbinci mài dāɗī nè	'this food is nice'
rījìyař nàn bà mài zurfī ba cè	'this well is not deep'

(where the **bà**...**ba** negators bracket the **mài** + Y phrase)

Note too: **màcè mài faɗà** 'a quarrelsome woman', **gàrī mài girmā** 'a large town', **mōtōcī màsu tsàdā** 'expensive cars', **dabbà mài àmfànī** 'a useful animal', **ƙasā mài zāfī** 'a hot country', **Kasā Mài Tsarkī** 'the Holy Land (Saudi Arabia)', **shûgàban ƙasā mài rìtāyà** 'the retired head of state', **jàřīdà mài farin jinī** 'a popular newspaper', **ruwā mài sanyī** 'cold water', **mùtûm mài gàskiyā** 'an honest man', **'yan-kàsuwā màsu ařzìkī** 'rich traders', **yārinyà mài hankàlī** 'a sensible girl', **jàrīrì mài lāfiyà** 'a healthy baby', **aikì bàbba mài wùyā** 'important difficult work' (where the **MAI**-phrase follows the posthead adjective), **rìgā mài aikì** 'a decorated gown' (gown **MAI** work), **wani mài tàusàyī** 'a sympathetic person', **màcè mài cikì** 'a pregnant woman' (woman **MAI** stomach/pregnancy), **ƙasàshē màsu tāsôwā** 'developing countries'.

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[4]The etymology of **MAI** is uncertain. It is possibly cognate with an original possessive marker/pronoun which functions synchronically as an indirect object marker **mà** (dial.), with a fused 3pl. pronoun **su** in the plural, or could alternatively be an irregular grammaticalized agentive **ma**-formation formed with the general verb **yi** 'do' (§5:3.1.1).

The attribute-denoting Y constituent can be a nonfinite verbonominal phrase:

yā bā nì wani aikì mài cîn-râi 'he gave me some boring work'
(lit...**MAI** eat.VN.of-mind)
zâi saukè shèkarà mài zuwà 'he'll graduate next year'
(...**MAI** come.VN)
wani yārò mài sôn wàsā 'a fun-loving boy'
(...**MAI** love.VN.of fun)

When **MAI** is followed by a concrete noun, the head is interpreted as simply possessing the object Y:

wàtò Mūsā mài bàbban gidā/kudī/tsìnin hancì/Mařsandî?
'you mean Musa with the big house/money/pointed nose/Mercedes?'
wani mài sūnā Yūsufù 'someone with the name Yusuf'
mōtà mài lambà BW1 003 'a car with the registration number BW1 003'
ita mài wuyàn wundì 'the one (gown) with the circular neck'
(with an independent pronoun head)
mài shèkarà takwàs 'an eight year old' (**MAI** year eight)

The corresponding negative functors are **maràs** (sg.), **maràsā** (pl.) 'the one(s) lacking' (= **MARAS**). These link elements are agential **ma**-formations derived from the verb **rasà** 'lack', and the singular is a clipped form without the final **-ī**. Examples (attributive and predicative):

kā ji wannàn yārinyà maràs kunyà? 'do you hear this shameless girl?'
(...this girl **MARAS** shame)
waɗànnân rījiyōyī maràsā zurfī nè 'these wells are shallow'
(these wells **MARAS** depth COP)
ìnā yāròn maràs lāfiyà? 'where's the sick boy?'
(...boy.DD **MARAS** health)
yanà dà ōfìs maràs iyàkwàndishàn
'he has an office without air-conditioning' (= concrete noun object)

For many speakers the final /s/ of the singular form **marâs** either assimilates/geminates with the following consonant, rhotacizes to /r̃/, or deletes, e.g. **yāròn maràs̲ lāfiyâ = yāròn maràl̲ lāfiyâ = yāròn maràr̲ lāfiyâ = yāròn marà̲ lāfiyâ** 'the sick boy' (...**MARAS** health).

In addition to functioning as link elements in phrasal adjectival modifiers, both **MAI** and **MARAS** can also occur as heads of complex NPs. Examples (see also below for examples with nonfinite phrases):

mầsu kuɗī sun gồyi bāyansà	'rich people supported him'
(**MAI** money...)	
maràsā hankàlī nề sukà yi wannàn	'it was senseless people who did this'
ìnā mài wannàn?	'where's the owner of this?'
mầsu lantar̃kì̀ bâ su dà yawà	'those with electricity are few'

MAI (but not **MARAS**) formations are functionally comparable to constructions with Imperfective TAMs in terms of the predicates they can take, e.g. nonfinite phrases, dynamic nouns, adverbial statives, etc. When the predicate NP describes an activity, e.g. a nonfinite phrase or dynamic noun, the **MAI** expression typically denotes the person (actor) who performs the action, i.e. 'one who does...'. Examples (see also below):

mầsu sàyen wannàn jàr̃ìdà̀ sun ràgu
'buyers of this newspaper have reduced in number'
mầsu gōyon bāyansà sun tầru
(**MAI** support.VN.of back.of.3m...)
'his supporters have assembled'
àkwai mài zuwà̀ Kàtsinà?
'is there anyone going to Katsina?' (**MAI** go.VN...)
bābù mài iyà fid dà kai
'there is no one who can sack you' (there is not **MAI** can...)
kā ji mài màganà̀? 'did you hear the speaker?'
wata jàkā mài ƙùnshe dà miyầgun ƙwāyōyī 'a bag containing drugs'

wằnē nề wancàn mài zamā bằkin hanyằ?
'who's that sitting by the side of the road?'

See also: **mài bìncìkē** 'investigator', **mằsu yājìn aikì** 'strikers', **mài sayař dà hůlā** 'cap-seller', **mài yī minì kīwồ** 'my herdsman' (**MAI** do IOM.1sg herding), **kàrē mài cīzồ** 'a dog that bites', **mài lůřā dà shiyyằ ta ukù** 'the one in charge of zone three', **mằsu kōyař dà Tūřancī** 'the ones teaching English', **watằ mài zuwằ** 'next month' (**MAI** come.VN, = general ordinal number, see §4.2).

A few **MAI** + NP formations have become lexicalized, some as (near) compound NPs:

mài aikō (manà) dà lằbāřì '(our) correspondent' (**MAI** send (IOM.1pl) news), **mài ďākì** 'wife' (**MAI** room/hut), **mài gādì** 'watchman', **màigidā** 'householder' (usually written as one word), **mài girmā** 'the honourable', **mài hōrař dà**... 'coach, trainer', **mài kàřằtū** 'the reader (of this)', **mài mařtabằ** 'his excellency', **mài ùnguwā** 'ward-head'

It is also possible to postmodify a head noun with a transitive stative expression linked by **MAI** (**§15**:2.1.5):

nā hàďu dà wata tsōhuwā mài ďàuke dà tůlū
'I met an old woman carrying a water-pot'
wani mài rĩƙe dà jàkař kuďī 'someone holding a bag of money'

Agentive **MAI** + nonfinite clauses can all be used as paraphrases for tensed subject relative clauses (RCs) with a Focus Imperfective TAM and nonfinite VP, and with a progressive or habitual meaning. Examples (affirmative only):

kinằ jîn mài màganằ? 'can you hear the speaker?'
(**MAI** + dynamic noun)
= kinằ jîn wandà kề màganằ? (RC)
'can you hear the one who is speaking?'

sōjōjîn mầsu kashè 'yan'uwanmù à Bosniyà
'the soldiers killing our brethren in Bosnia' (**MAI** + infinitival clause)
= sōjōjîn dà sukề kashè 'yan'uwanmù à Bosniyà
'the soldiers who are killing our brethren in Bosnia' (RC)
àkwai mutầnē dà yawầ mầsu ɗaukàř ƙwāyōyin cũtař AIDS
'there are many people carrying the AIDS virus' (**MAI** + verbal noun)
= àkwai mutầnē dà yawầ waɗàndà kề ɗaukàř ƙwāyōyin cũtař AIDS
'there are many people who are carrying the AIDS virus' (RC)
ìnā mài zuwầ Kàtsinà?
'where is the one going to Katsina? (**MAI** + verbal noun)
= ìnā wandà kề zuwầ Kàtsinà?
'where is the one who is going to Katsina?' (RC)
mài irìn wannàn ařzìkī...
'one with this kind of wealth...' (possessive **MAI** + NP)
= wandà kề dà irìn wannàn ařzìkī...
(RC with possessive HAVE predicate)
'one who has this kind of wealth...'

Finally, in more formal journalistic Hausa there are sporadic examples of **MAI** acting as an optional connective between a 3rd person singular Imperfective TAM and a nonfinite VP. These constructions are typically used to report past-time events. Examples:

yanầ mài nūnì dà cêwā...
'he was indicating that...'
yanầ mài gồdiyā gà dukkàn waɗàndà sukà bā shì haɗìn kâi
'he was thankful to all who had given him co-operation'

3.8. Noun + non-specific ***kàzā*** *'such-and-such'*

The posthead modifier **kàzā** conveys a non-specific 'such-and-such' value with inanimate reference only, singular or plural, and can occur as a multiple conjoin **kàzā dà kàzā (dà kàzā)**. Examples:

yā bā nì kuɗī kàzā
'he gave me such-and-such (an amount of) money'
zā tà tàfi jāmi'ā̀ kàzā
'she's going to such-and-such a university'
tā sàyi kāyā kàzā dà kàzā 'she bought various (unspecified) things'
nā yi hakà don dàlĩlai kàzā dà kàzā 'I did this for such-and-such reasons'

Kàzā (with preceding **dà**) can also function as an anaphoric proform to express similarity, substituting for an implied noun or hypernym with a similar meaning to preceding nouns. Examples:

yā jē Kanò, dà Zāriyà, dà Kàdūna, dà kàzā dà kàzā
'he went to Kano, Zaria, Kaduna, and so-on and so-forth'
mālàm yā kōyā̀ manà Hausa, dà Lāřabcī, dà Tūřancī, dà kàzā dà kàzā dà kàzā
'the teacher taught us Hausa, Arabic, English, and so-on and so-on and so-on'

It can also occur in isolation, substituting as a proform for a whole proposition, e.g. **yā cê (dà) kàzā dà kàzā dà kàzā** 'he said blah-blah-blah', with reinforcing **dà** optionally inserted before the first **kàzā** as with NP conjoins (see §8.1). (See §7 for the corresponding non-specific human proform **wānè** etc. 'so-and-so'.)

3.9. Noun + prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases can postmodify NP heads, e.g.

wata mōtā̀ [gàban tashàř] 'a car in front of the station'
kwānā biyu [kā̀fin bìkī] 'two days before the party'
wata bishiyā̀ [kusa dà gōnařsà] 'a tree next to his farm'
wani ɗan-kā̀suwā [dàgà Kanò] 'a businessman from Kano'
iyā̀kwàndishàn [don mânyan bā̀ƙī] 'air-conditioning for important guests'
wani mālàmī [dàgà Jāmi'àř Kanò] 'a teacher from Kano University'

*3.10. Comparison with attributive **mafì** phrases*

Since adjectives in Hausa are not gradable, higher degrees of comparison are expressed syntactically, either with a verbal construction containing the lexical verb **fi** 'exceed, surpass' (**§11**:7.1), or with a periphrastic NP-modifying construction headed by the quantifier **mafì** (pl. **mafìyā**) 'more, most' + qualitival standard-of-comparison noun. (**Mafì/mafìyā**, lit. 'exceeder(s)', are grammaticalized agential nouns derived from the same verb **fi**.) The resulting adjectival phrase—the comparative counterpart to adjectival phrases formed with connective **mài/màsu** (§3.7)—occurs in posthead position, usually with number agreement, and the comparative or superlative (absolute superiority) reading is contextually determined. See also Newman (2000: chap. 14). Examples (in attributive and predicative phrases):

nā ga wata yārinyà̀ [mafì kyâu] à makaɗantā
'I saw a most beautiful girl at school'
Cf. **jiyà nā ga wata yārinyà̀ [mài kyâu]** 'yesterday I saw a beautiful girl'
Audù [mafì tsawō] nè̀ 'Audu is the taller/tallest'
'yan-wàsā [mafìyā kyâu] 'the best players'
rīgunàn nân sū nè̀ [mafìyā tsàdā]
'*these gowns* are the more/most expensive'
wannàn ita cè̀ hanyà̀ [mafì saukī] '*this* is the easier/easiest route'
wannàn littāfì shī nè̀ [mafì àɗàhā] '*this book* is the cheaper/cheapest'

Note too **dàbāɗà̀ [mafì <u>wannàn</u> àmfànī]** 'a plan more useful than this one', where the object-of-comparison is overtly expressed, and **ita cè̀ àl'ummà̀ [mafì <u>daɗè̀wā</u> à dūniyà̀]** 'it is the oldest Muslim community in the world' (lit...the one exceeding spending some time in world), where the measure-of-comparison is a nonfinite phrase containing a (weak) verbal noun. Some speakers use an invariant **mafì** form whatever the number of the head, e.g. **rīgunàn nân sū nè̀ [mafì] tsàdā** '*these gowns* are the more/most expensive'. A universal pronoun

(as the compared object) can occur before **mafì**, e.g. **wannàn aikì shī nè duk mafì wàhalà dà na taɓà yî** 'this work is the most difficult that I've ever done'.

4. Numerals and other Quantifiers

See Newman (2000: chap. 53) for detailed discussion.

4.1. Cardinal numbers

The basic (non-systematic) cardinal numbers 0-10 are:

0 **sifìřī** (< Ar.), 1 **ɗaya** (also **gùdā** in some contexts), 2 **biyu**, 3 **ukù** (also **ukkù**), 4 **huɗu**, 5 **bìyař**, 6 **shidà** (also **shiddà**), 7 **bakwài**, 8 **takwàs**, 9 **tařà**, 10 **gōmà**

The decades, all Arabic-based, are as follows:[5]

20 **àshìřin**, 30 **tàlàtin**, 40 **àřbà'in**, 50 **hàmsin**, 60 **sìttin**, 70 **sàbà'in**, 80 **tàmànin**, 90 **càsà'in** (also **tìs(ì)'in**)

Additional numbers are: **ɗàrī** '100', **dubū** '1,000' (less commonly **zambàř** in multiples), and **mìliyàn = miliyàn** '1,000,000' (< Eng.).

Numerals do not inflect for gender-number, though **ɗàrī**, **dubū** and **mìliyàn** operate the quantity noun plurals **ɗarūruwà** 'hundreds', **dùbbai** 'thousands' and **miliyōyī** 'millions'. Multiples are formed by adding a smaller number, e.g. **ɗàrī biyu** '200' (100 2), **dubū bìyař = zambàř bìyař** '5,000', **dubū ɗàrī ukù** '300,000', **mìliyàn huɗu** '4,000,000'. There are also some higher numerals

[5]The pre-existing system used multiples of the form **gồmiyā** (cf. **gōmà** '10'), e.g. **gồmiyā bìyař** '50'.

borrowed from Arabic which are less commonly used, including: **minyà** '100', **mètan** '200', **àřbàminyà** '400', and **hàmsàminyà** '500'.

Cardinal numbers from 11-19 are systematically derived by adding the lower number after **gōmà** '10', with a linking element **shâ**, e.g. (**gōmà**) **shâ ɗaya** '11', (**gōmà**) **shâ bìyař** '15', (**gōmà**) **shâ bakwài** '17' (with **gōmà** optional). Numerals with a value of 1 or 2 lower than a multiple of ten (18, 19, 28, 29, 38, 39, etc.) can be expressed by using the negative existential functors **bābù** (phrase-final) or **bâ** (phrase-medial) to subtract from the higher number, e.g. **àshìřin biyu/ɗaya bābù** '18/19' (lit. 20 2/1 there is not) = **àshìřin bâ biyu/ɗaya** (20 there is not 2/1) (both = (**gōmà**) **shâ takwàs/tařà**). 'Zero' can be expressed as a negative (existential) value, i.e. **bâ kō ɗaya** (there is not even 1). Numbers 21 upwards have the same higher-lower number order and are conjoins linked with the conjunction **dà** 'with, and'. Examples:

29	**àshìřin dà tařà**
255	**ɗàrī biyu dà hàmsin dà bìyař**
8,600	**dubū takwàs dà ɗàrī shidà**
200,555	**dubū ɗàrī biyu dà ɗàrī bìyař dà hàmsin dà bìyař**
5,100,360	**mìliyàn bìyař dà dubū ɗàrī ɗaya dà ɗàrī ukù dà sìttin**

Cardinal numerals co-occur as postnominal attributives with either singular (m./f.) heads, e.g. [**mōtâ**]$_{sg}$ **biyu/huɗu** '2/4 cars', or plural count nouns, e.g. [**yârā**]$_{pl}$ **biyu/huɗu** '2/4 children'. They follow any posthead enclitic determiners, e.g. **'yā'yansà gōmà** 'his 10 children' (children.of.3m 10), **'yā'yan nàn gōmà** 'these 10 children' (children these 10). The numeral '1' **ɗaya** (= **gùdā**) co-occurs only with morphologically singular count nouns, e.g. [**yārò**]$_{sg}$ **ɗaya/gùdā** '1 boy', [**yārinyà**]$_{sg}$ **ɗaya/gùdā** '1 girl'. Selection of a morphologically plural head usually conveys the specific-sortal notion of differentiation/individuation, and is especially common with nouns denoting (more salient) human/animate referents. Examples:

[**mātā**]$_{pl}$ **huɗu** '4 wives' [**'yan-kàsuwā**]$_{pl}$ **tàlàtin** '30 traders'

[mutânē]$_{pl}$ shidà '6 people'
[maƙèrā]$_{pl}$ bìyař '5 blacksmiths'
[yârā]$_{pl}$ sū gōmà '10 children (precisely)'
(where use of the 3pl. independent pronoun **sū** indicates a degree of exactness)
[tumākī]$_{pl}$ tařà '9 sheep'
[rīgunà]$_{pl}$ huɗu shûɗɗā '4 blue gowns'
(with an attributive adjective following the numeral)

Numerals higher than '1' can also co-occur with plural independent pronoun heads, e.g. **mū biyu** 'we two/the two of us', **kū gōmà** 'you 10', **sū bakwài** 'the 7 of them'.

The unit-numeral **gùdā** 'one (unit)' can be inserted between a plural head and modifying numeral, e.g. **ɗākunà** (**gùdā**) **ukù** '3 rooms'. It is especially common in anaphoric, pronominal reference contexts, e.g. (in response to a question using the posthead interrogative numeral **nawà** 'how many?'), **gùdā nawà kikà kāwō**?—**gùdā gōmà** 'how many did you bring?—10'. It is also used when the numeral is separated from the preceding head noun by other determiners/modifiers and with complex compound NPs. Examples:

àkwai gidàjē mầsu ruwan famfồ gùdā nawà?
'how many houses with piped water are there?'
sōjōjîn gùdā hàmsin 'the 50 soldiers'
'yā'yansà gùdā gōmà 'his 10 children'
= 'yā'yā gōmà nāsà
(with an independent possessive pronoun following the numeral)
mōtōcin nàn na àbōkīnā gùdā bìyař 'these 5 cars of my friend'
'yan-gudùn-hijiřā gùdā àshìřin '20 refugees'

The numeral or quantified NP can also be premodified by an approximating ('about', 'nearly') preposition:

fuřsunōnī wajen hàmsin sun tsērè 'nearly 50 prisoners have escaped'
nā yi wajen shèkarà̀ bìyař à Kanồ 'I spent about 5 years in Kano'

kàmař kwānā nawà zā kà yi à Lēgàs?
'approximately how many days will you spend in Lagos?'
kusan mutànē gōmà sun mutù 'close to 10 people have died'

Numerals can also function as equational predicates with an optional copula:

mātankà nawà (**nē**)?—**mātānā huďu** (**nè**)
'how many wives do you have?—I have 4 wives' (lit. wives.of.1sg 4 (COP))
jīkōkinsà tàmànin (**nè**) 'he has 80 grandchildren'
kûnnenkà nawà?—**kûnnēnā biyu**
'how many ears do you have?—I have 2 ears'
(i.e. 'are you listening?—yes I am')
hannunsà ďaya (**nè**) **yànzu** 'he has 1 arm now'
ďàlìbanmù gōmà (**nē**) **bana** 'we have 10 students this year'
shèkàrunsà gōmà cif/cuř 'he is exactly 10 years old'
(where the ideophones **cif = cuř** 'exactly' are used to convey precision)

To get a distributive reading on the head, matching the numeral with individual tokens of the designated set, the numeral is repeated in full, and the head can take the singular or plural form. Examples:

kà rabà̀ musù ďaya ďaya (usually contracted to **ďaiďai**)
'divide amongst them one by one'
nā bā sù naiřà̀ biyu biyu (**= bibbiyu**) 'I gave them 2 naira each'
kōwànè ajì nà̀ dà ďālìbī/ďàlìbai tàlàtin dà bìyař bìyař
'each class has 35 students' (with final lower numeral repeated)
nawà nawà?—**kwabò̀ hàmsin hàmsin** 'how much each?—50 kobo each'

With plural, especially human-denoting NPs, a 3pl. independent pronoun **sū** can be inserted between the noun and numeral to express a distributive meaning, e.g. **mātā sū ukù** '3 women', **yârankà sū takwàs** 'your 8 children'.

Conjoined NPs, with paired singular or plural nouns, can also be modified as a group by a following numeral, i.e. where the numeral has scope over the entire co-ordinated NP. Examples:

[**sàmârī dà 'yammātā**] **àshìřin**	'20 youths and girls'
[**rìgā dà hùlā**] **ukù**	'3 gowns and caps'
[**mazā dà mātā**] **gōmà**	'10 men and women'
[**fařètanī dà gařèmanī**] **bìyař**	'5 small hoes and large hoes'

The numeral could also be construed as quantifying the rightmost conjoin, e.g. **sàmârī dà** [**'yammātā àshìřin**] '(some) youths and 20 girls', **rìgā dà** [**hùlā ukù**] 'a gown and 3 caps', though the conjunction **kuma** 'also, and' can be inserted to resolve any potential ambiguity, e.g. **sàmârī dà kuma** [**'yammātā àshìřin**] '(some) youths and also 20 girls', **rìgā dà kuma** [**hùlā ukù**] 'a gown and also 3 caps'. Note too **mazā dà mātā gōmà gōmà** '10 men and 10 women', **fařètanī dà gařèmanī bìyař bìyař** '5 small hoes and 5 large hoes', where the numeral is repeated to get an individual distributive interpretation.

With noncount mass nouns, exact quantities can be expressed with appositional structures composed of a [noun] + quantifying [singular unit-measure noun + numeral]. Examples:

[**hatsī**] [**damì biyu**]	'2 bundles of corn' (lit. corn bundle 2)
[**fētùř**] [**galàn gōmà**]	'10 gallons of petrol'
[**ruwā**] [**jařkâ huďu**]	'4 jerry-cans of water'
[**gawàyī**] [**bùhū àshìřin**]	'20 sacks of charcoal'
[**giyâ**] [**kwalabā shidà**]	'6 bottles of beer'
[**kànànzîř**] [**galàn ukù**]	'3 gallons of paraffin'
[**dāwâ**] [**mūdù huďu**]	'4 measuring-bowls of guineacorn'
[**tābâ**] [**kwālī ukù**]	'3 cartons of cigarettes'
[**àyàbà**] [**lābâ ďaya**]	'1 pound of bananas'
[**tsakuwâ**] [**tīfâ biyu**]	'2 tipper-trucks of gravel'

Genitival unit-measure constructions are also possible, e.g. **damìn hatsī biyu** '2 bundles of corn' (bundle.of corn 2), **bùhun gawàyī àshìr̃in** '20 sacks of charcoal', etc.

The quantificational notion 'more than' is expressed by the complex preposition **fìye dà**, the stative form of the lexical verb **fi** with the prep. **dà**. It is typically followed by a measure NP, e.g. **yanà dà 'yā'yā fìye dà gōmà = yanà dà fìye dà 'yā'yā gōmà** 'he has more than 10 children', or by a complex NP, e.g. (relative clause) **yā yi minì tambayōyī fìye dà yaddà ya kàmātà** 'he asked me more questions than was appropriate'. (See also §3.10 for higher degree comparison expressed by complex adjectival phrases headed by the (agential) quantifier **mafì** m./f. (pl. **mafìyā**) 'more, most' (also < **fi**).)

4.2. Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are genitival configurations systematically formed by inserting the independent possessive linker (m./f./pl.) **na/ta/na** (§2.5.1) between the N_1 head if overt, with which the free linker agrees in gender and number, and a following N_2 cardinal number, e.g. [**bābì**]$_m$ [**na**]$_m$ **ɗaya** 'the 1st chapter' (lit. chapter of 1). Examples (ordinals above '1st' co-occur with singular count nouns):

littāfì na ukù	'the 3rd book'	**(jimlà) ta biyûn**	'the 2nd (sentence)'
mātātā ta huɗu	'my 4th wife'	**(rānā) ta bìyar̃**	'the 5th (day)'
(mìsālì) na biyu	'the 2nd (example)'		
Yāƙìn Dūniyà na Biyu	'the Second World War'		

The general ordinals 'first', 'middle', and 'last' are formed with (sometimes deverbal) nouns, i.e. **farkō = fārì(i)** 'beginning' (< **fārà** 'begin', sometimes used in preference to **na/ta ɗaya**), **tsakiyà** 'middle', and **ƙàrshē** 'end' (< **ƙāràsā** 'end, finish'). 'Next' is expressed either by the adverb **gàba** 'in front, ahead' or by the adjectival phrase **mài/mâsu zuwà** (lit. **MAI** coming). All can modify plural as well as singular nouns with the free possessive marker. Examples:

zuwằnā na farkō kề nan 'it's my first visit'
ajì na farkō 'the first class'
r̃àhōtồ na ƙàrshē 'the last report'
sū nề na ƙàrshē '*they* are the last'
mātā na fārì 'the first women'
mōtằ ta tsakiyằ 'the middle car'
Tàlātằ ta gàba 'next Tuesday' (= **Tàlātằ mài zuwằ**)
zā mù sàuka à tashằ ta gàba (= **tashằ mài zuwằ**)
'we'll get out at the next station'

'First' and 'last' can also be connected to the preceding head with the bound genitive linker, e.g. **gwajìn farkō** 'the first test', **wằsan ƙàrshē** 'the final game' (cf. too **rānar̃ gōmà gà watàn** 'the 10th day of the month'). If the noun already contains a posthead determiner, ordinals (like cardinals) come phrase-final, e.g. **ita cề mằtātā ta biyu** '*she* is my second wife'. A noun can be quantified by both a cardinal and general ordinal number (in that order), e.g. **ɗằlìbai [ukù] [na farkō]** 'the first three students', **mutằnē [biyu] [na farkō]** 'the first two persons'.

The multiplier 'double, twice' is formed by using **biyu** '2' in a genitive construction with a head quantity noun:

nauyin wannàn yā yi biyun wancàn
weight.of this one 3m.PF do 2.of that one
'this one is twice the weight of that one'
àlbâshīnā yā yi biyun na Audù = biyun nāsà
salary.of.1sg 3m.PF do 2.of that.of Audu = 2.of that.of.3m
'my salary is twice that of Audu's = twice his'
(where the quantifying construction contains a bound genitive followed by a free possessive proform)
Note too: **inằ sôn dōbùl àlbâshinsà** 'I want double his salary' (< Eng. 'double').

In addition to their function as NP modifiers, both cardinal and ordinal numerals can also stand as autonomous feminine gender heads or 3rd person pronouns, with determiners if required. Examples:

àkwai takwàs	'there were 8 (of them)'	**ukùnsù sun gudù**	'3 of them fled'
kằwō gōmànsù	'give me 10 of them'	**nī nề na farkō**	'*I* am the first'
ìnā ɗayâř?	'where's the other one (f.)?'		
biyu/huɗu tā fi ɗaya	'2/4 is more than 1'		

4.3. Fractions

The main fractions, most of which are Arabic loans, are as follows: **rabì̀** 'a half' (< **rabằ** 'divide'), **sulùsī** 'one third', **kwatằ** 'a quarter' (< Eng.) = **řubù'ī** 'one fourth', **humùsī** 'one fifth', **ushìřī** 'one tenth'. They are linked to a following quantity noun in a possessive-partitive construction. Examples:

humùsi-n dūkìyařsà	'a fifth of his wealth'
sulùsi-n gādònsà	'a third of his inheritance'
yā ci rabì-n hanyằ	'he reached half way' (lit. 3m.PF eat half.of road)

Fractions can also be expressed as digits using the preposition **bisà** 'over, on', e.g. **ɗaya bisà ukù** 'one third' (1 over 3), **bakwài bisà takwàs** 'seven eighths'.

4.4. Dates and clock-times

Hausa has day-month-year order in genitive constructions, often using the clipped form **ran** (< **rāna-ř**) for 'day-of', and **alìf** (< Ar.) to express 1,000 in dates. Examples:

rāna-ř/ran gōmà gà watàn 'the 10th day of the month'

Nìjēřiyằ tā sằmu 'yancìn-kâi à ran ɗaya gà watà-n Òktōbằ, à shề̀karà-ř alìf dà ɗàrī tařà dà sìttin

'Nigeria gained independence on the 1st (day-of) of (month-of) October, (in year-of) 1960'

ran gōmà shâ bìyař gà watà-n Safàř, B.H. 1415
'the 15th day of Safar (2nd Muslim month), B.H. 1415'
(where B.H. = **Bāyan Hijiřā** 'After the Flight', i.e. the Prophet Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina in A.D. 622, when the Muslim calendar begins)

Times of the day are expressed using **ƙarfè** 'o'clock' (lit. metal) and **mintì** 'minute' (< Eng.) with a numeral, e.g. **zân dāwō dà ƙarfè biyu** 'I'll return at 2 o'clock' (= PP headed by **dà**), **yànzu ƙarfè gōmà dà mintì àshìřin** 'it's now 10:20', **ƙarfè shidà tā yi** 'it's 6 o'clock' (lit. o'clock 6 3f.PF do), where the NP controls feminine singular agreement on the subject pronoun even though **ƙarfè** itself is masculine. Clock-times before the hour can be expressed as a negative value, e.g. **yànzu ƙarfè gōmà bâ kwatà** 'it's now 9:45' (now o'clock 10 there is not quarter), or by using **saurā** 'remainder', e.g. **yànzu ƙarfè takwàs saurā mintì gōmà** 'it's now 7:50' (now o'clock 8 remainder minute 10).

4.5. Percentages and decimals

Percentages are expressed by the formula **kashì** X **bisà ɗàrī** (part X over 100) = **kashì** X (**dàgà**) **cikin ɗàrī** (part X (from) in 100, cf. **kashì** 'part'). The quantificational phrase either postmodifies the count noun appositionally, or premodifies the noun in a free possessive (**na** 'of') construction. Examples:

gidàjē kashì tàlàtin bisà ɗàrī sunà dà ruwan famfò
houses part 30 over 100 3pl.IMPF with water.of pipe
= **gidàjē kashì tàlàtin (dàgà) cikin ɗàrī sunà dà ruwan famfò**
houses part 30 (from) in 100 3pl.IMPF with water.of pipe
= **kashì tàlàtin bisà ɗàrī na gidàjē sunà dà ruwan famfò**
part 30 over 100 of(pl.) houses 3pl.IMPF with water.of pipe
= **kashì tàlàtin (dàgà) cikin ɗàrī na gidàjē sunà dà ruwan famfò**
part 30 (from) in 100 of(pl.) houses 3pl.IMPF with water.of pipe
'30% of houses have piped water'

Decimals are formed by inserting the word **ɗigō** 'point, period' (lit. 'drop (of liquid)') between the integer and the decimal fraction, e.g. **hàmsin ɗigō biyu** '50.2'.

4.6. Multal ('many, much') and paucal ('a few, a little') quantifier expressions

Multal and paucal quantifiers, like numerals, occur posthead. Multal quantifiers are phrasal and are formed with the quantity nouns **yawà** 'quantity, amount, abundance, etc.' or **dāmā** 'lot, quantity, equal (amount)', preceded by either the preposition **dà** 'with', i.e. **dà yawà**, **dà dāmā** 'many, much, a lot of', or the linking functor **mài/màsu** (sg./pl.) 'possessor(s) of' (§3.7), i.e. **mài/màsu yawà**, **mài/màsu dāmā**. The corresponding paucal quantifier is **kàɗan** 'few, a little', in addition to **'yan ƙàlīlàn** 'a few, a minority', usually combined with the plural diminutive **'yan**. Like the corresponding interrogative quantifier **nawà** 'how much, how many?', the multal and paucal quantifiers co-occur with both count (sg./pl.) and noncount nouns. Examples:

àkwai mutànē dà yawà à Lēgàs = àkwai mutànē màsu yawà à Lēgàs
'there are lots of people in Lagos'
nā gayà masà sàu dà yawà = nā gayà masà sàu dà dāmā
'I told him many times/often' (= complex time-adverb)
nā shā wàhalà dà yawà = nā shā wàhalà mài yawà
'I've suffered much/a lot of trouble'
nā ci àbinci dà dāmā = mài dāmā 'I've eaten much/a lot of food'
nā ga àlhàzai dà dāmā à Makkà
'I saw many pilgrims in Mecca'
yanà dà dabbōbī kàɗan 'he has a few animals'
zân ci àbinci kàɗan 'I'll eat a little food'
nân dà 'yan kwànàkī kàɗan 'within the next few days'
anà sāmùn mân fētùr̃ à gidàjen mâi 'yan ƙàlīlàn
'petrol is obtainable in a few petrol stations'

These quantifier expressions can be modified by an intensifying degree adverb like **gàske** 'truly, really' linked with possessive **-n**, by another quantifying NP like **ɗimbin** 'abundance/multitude of', by a maximizing NP like **matuƙař** 'the limit/extreme of' (both with connecting **mài/mầsu**), or by a preceding diminutive **ɗan/'yař/'yan** 'quite, very'. Examples:

an kāmà ɓàrầyī dà dāman gàske
'truly many thieves have been caught'
nā ga mōtōcī dà yawàn gàske à hanyầ
'I saw a really large number cars on the road'
gaisuwā mài ɗimbin yawầ...
'many greetings (to you)...'
nā ga mōtōcī mầsu matuƙař yawầ à hanyầ
'I saw exceedingly many cars on the road'
yā yi aikĩ dà ɗan dāmā
'he did quite a lot of work'
nā san mutầnē 'yan kàɗan à Landàn
'I know a (very) few people in London'
zân ci àbinci ɗan kàɗan 'I'll eat a (very) little food'
zā mù shā miyầ 'yař kàɗan 'we'll drink a (very) little soup'

The quantity noun **yawầ** is also used in a periphrastic construction following the quantifier **mafĩ** 'more, most' (< **fi** 'exceed, surpass'), in order to express comparative ('more') and superlative ('most') notions, where the appropriate comparative or superlative interpretation is context-determined. (The same **mafĩ**-formation is used for the comparative and superlative of adjectival phrases formed with MAI + quality noun, §3.7.) Quantifying **mafĩ**-phrases occur either posthead or to the left of the head noun as pronouns in partitive-possessive (**yawàn** 'quantity of') constructions. Examples:

mầsu zàngà-zangà mafĩ yawầ 'the larger/largest group of demonstrators'
mafĩ yawàn mutầnē sun san shì 'most of the people know him'

Mafì-expressions can also occur as predicative pronouns in equational constructions, e.g. **sū nè mafì yawâ à nân gàrîn** '*they* are the majority (the most) in this town'.

Superlative 'fewest/least' expressions often use the paucal quantifier **kàɗan** 'few, a little' preceded either by the plural diminutive **'yan** with plural heads, e.g. **yā yi kùrâkùrai 'yan kàɗan à ajìn** 'he made the fewest mistakes in the class', or by the quantifier **mafì**, e.g. **kuɗinsà mafì kàɗan nè** 'he has the least money'. Note too superlative 'least' as expressed in **wannàn aikì shī nè mafì rashìn wàhalâ** 'this work is the least difficult' (lit...one exceeding lack.of difficulty), **wannàn mōtâ ita cè mafì rashìn tsâdā** 'this car is the least expensive' (...one exceeding lack.of expensiveness).

Many of these quantifier expressions, like numerals, can also function as free-standing pronouns. Examples:

àkwai dà yawâ dà kè cêwā...	'there are many who say...'
munâ bùƙātàř dà yawâ	'we need a lot'
mafì yawâ bā sâ sôn hakà	'most don't like this'
dàgà cikinsù ('yan) kàɗan nè kè dà kyâu	
'among them a (very) few are good'	
(ɗan) kàɗan yā ìsa	'a (very) little is enough'

Some have adverbial usages:

inâ ganintà dà yawâ	'I see her a lot'
dâkàtā kàɗan	'wait a bit'
inâ sôn wannàn dà dāma-dāma	'I like this in moderation'

(Note that reduplicated adverbs convey a detensified meaning.)

The quantity partitive-possessive NPs **gālìbin**, **yawancin**, and **akasàřin** 'most/majority of' are used with similar meanings, e.g. **gālìbin mutânen gàrī** 'most of the townsfolk', **yawancin jàma'â** 'most of the people', **akasàřin ma'àikàtā** 'the majority of the workers'.

5. Universal Quantifiers (Determiners and Pronouns)

See also Newman (2000: chap. 73), and Schuh (1998: 234ff.) on universal expressions in the related language Miya.

*5.1. Universal-distributive **kō-**...wh-word determiners ('every, each X')*

*Table 24. Universal-distributive **kō**...wh-forms*

Question word	Universal **kō**...*wh*-word	Gloss
wā̀ 'who?'	**kōwā** (m.)	'everyone'
mè̀ 'what?'	**kōmē** (m.)	'everything'
wànnē (m.), **wàccē** (f.),	**kōwànnē** (m.), **kōwàccē** (f.),	'every one, each
wàɗànnē (pl.) 'which one(s)?'	**kōwàɗànnē** (pl.)	(one)'
wànè X (m.), **wàcè** X (f.),	**kōwànè** X (m.), **kōwàcè** X (f.),	'every, each X'
wàɗànnè X (pl.) 'which X(s)?'	**kōwàɗànnè** X (pl.)	
ìnā 'where?'	**kō'ìnā**	'everywhere'
yàushē = yàushè 'when?'	**kōyàushē = kōyàushè**	'always'
yā̀yā̀ 'how?'	**kō yā̀yā̀**	'in every way'

Universal-distributive **kō-**...*wh*-word determiners are morphologically complex, single orthographic words composed of a prefix **kō-** (the subordinator-complementizer **kō** 'whether, (even) if'), followed by the gender/number-sensitive interrogative ('which X?') determiners, i.e. **wànè** → **kōwànè** (m.), **wàcè** → **kōwàcè** (f.), **wàɗànnè** → **kōwàɗànnè** (pl.) 'every, each X'. When functioning as distributive universal quantifiers, **kō-**...*wh*-word determiners are indivisible compounds, usually modify only singular count nouns, and, although intrinsically indefinite, are singulative-distributive in the sense that they quantify the individual members of the NP set unit-by-unit, e.g. **nā dūbà kōwàcè mōtā̀** 'I looked at every/each car' (cf. the universal quantifier **DUK** 'all' which ranges over a set of possible referents *collectively*, §5.4). (See also §**12**:3 for *wh*-words, §5.2

for the related universal pronouns **kōwànnē**, **kōwàccē** 'each/every one (m./f.)', and **§14**:3.3.4 for generic *wh*-ever usages of these **ko**-formatives.) Examples:

kōwànè ɗan Nìjēřiyà, ìdan yā hàɗu dà ɗan'uwansà...
'every/any Nigerian, if he meets a compatriot...'

an kēɓè kōwàcè Tàlātà...	'each Tuesday has been set aside...'
àkwai kàsuwā à kōwànè gàrī	'there's a market in every town'
kōwàcè yārinyà zā tà sàyi zanè	'each girl will buy a body-wrapper'

Although recorded in earlier works, some speakers are reluctant to use the plural determiner **kōwàɗànnè** 'each and all' as a universal, preferring instead either a notionally plural singular form (as in the above examples), or an NP quantified by some form of the collective universal quantifier **DUK** 'all' (§5.4), e.g. **dukkàn mutânên sun dāwō gidā** 'all of the men have returned home'. It is, however, regularly used with the partitive-sortal NP **irìn** 'kind of', e.g. **kōwàɗànnè irìn kāyā** 'all kinds of clothes'.

These universal **kō-**...*wh* determiners do not have equivalent negative ('no one, nothing', etc.) forms. Instead, under the scope of clausal negation, the same forms express meanings equivalent to the English 'any' and 'no' determiners, an interpretation which falls out naturally from their universal quantificational force, e.g. **bàn ga kōwànè ɓārāwò̀ ba** 'I didn't see any thief = I saw no thief'. To convey the equivalent of an emphatic negative 'not every...' universal construction (see also §5.3), the **kō-**...*wh* expression is placed in the initial focus position and the clause is bracketed with the **bà̀**...**ba** negative markers, e.g. **bà̀ kōwànè ɗālìbī zâi gānè wannàn ba** 'not every student will understand this'. Alternatively, a universal **DUK** 'all' construction can be used (§5.4).

*5.2. Universal-distributive **kō**...wh-word proforms ('everyone, everything' etc.)*

The universal-distributive proforms are quantifiers which, like their English equivalents 'everyone, everybody, everything', etc., behave like nominals. These universal pronouns are handled here because they have the same semantics and

morphology as the above head-associated determiners. They are formed by combining **kō-** with a *wh*-word, and the same formations function as heads of generic conditional '*wh*...ever' clauses (see **§14**:3.3.4). In the compound forms **kōwā** 'everyone' and **kōmē** 'everything', the L tone *wh*-pronouns **wà** 'who?' and **mè** 'what?' surface with H tone.[6]

Like their cognate interrogative counterparts (**§12**:3.1), the universally quantified 3rd person pronouns **kōwā** 'everyone' and **kōmē** 'everything' control default masculine singular concord, even if the referent is notionally plural. Unlike *wh*-words, and the related generic conditional usages (**§14**:3.3.4), however, they take general (non-focus) TAMs in tensed clauses. Universal-distributive expressions occur in all syntactic roles. Examples:

kōwā yā san hakà 'everyone knows this'

yā san kōwā à nân gàrîn 'he knows everybody in this town'

(where **san** is the C-form of the verb which occurs before a direct object noun)

kōmē yā yi daidai? 'is everything OK?'

zân gayà masà kōmē 'I will tell him everything'

tā nūnà wà kōwā 'she showed (it) to everyone'

(where **wà** is the form of the indirect object marker used with an indirect object noun)

Because they function like nouns, **kōwā** and **kōmē** can be modified by a following relative clause (Bagari 1987: 80), though some speakers prefer a relative clause with the collective universal determiner **DUK** 'all' (§5.4). Examples:

kōwā dà mukà ganī yā sâ bàbbař rìgā

= duk wandà mukà ganī yā sâ bàbbař rìgā

'everyone that we saw had put on a large gown'

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[6]In some (north)western dialects, e.g. Ader Hausa (Caron 1991), these interrogatives have H tones, i.e. **wā**, **mī**.

kōmē dà kikɛ̀ bùƙātà nakàn bā kì = duk àbîn dà kikɛ̀ bùƙātà nakàn bā kì
'everything that you need I give you'

The specific-partitive universal pronouns **kōwànnē** (m.), **kōwàccē** (f.) 'each/every one' are normally followed by a partitive phrase, including plural possessive pronouns. Examples:

kōwànnē dàgà cikinsù yā sàyi mōtà
'every one (m.) of them has bought a car'
duk mātan nàn, kōwàccensù tā yi aurē
'all these women, each one (f.) of them has married'
(where the NP **mātan nàn** is first quantified with the collective universal **duk** 'all', then further quantified with a distributive **kō**-*wh* universal pronoun)

Universal adverbial **kō**-*wh* forms, e.g. universal pro-locative **kō'ìnā** 'everywhere = every place', pro-temporal **kōyàushē** 'all the time = every time', **kōwànè lōkàcī** 'every time', and pro-manner **kō yǎyà** 'in every way', also express quantificational notions. These elements can also be considered as substitutes for generalized noun phrases and so are treated together with the other proforms in all functions. In neutral sentences, these proforms usually occur as adjuncts after the verb, and the same core prepositions which can precede adverbial direct question ('when, where?', etc.) words can also be inserted into most of the adverbial **kō**-*wh* expressions to indicate a more specific meaning. (Prepositional insertion is possible with an even greater range of **kō**-*wh* constituents in generic constructions, see **§14**:3.3.4.) Examples:

gǎ mōtōcī kō'ìnā 'look at the cars everywhere'
sukàn tàfi masallācī kō dà yàushē (= **kōyàushē**)
'they go to the mosque all the time/always'
takàn zō ajìnā kō dà wànè lōkàcī (= **kōwànè lōkàcī**)
'she comes to my class every time'
'yan-kǎsuwā sunà cîn rībǎ kō ta yǎyà (= **kō yǎyà**)
'traders make a profit in every way'

5.3. *Negation and* ***kō****-wh expressions ('no one, nothing', 'not everyone, not everything')*

Hausa does not have negative proforms corresponding to 'no one, nobody, nothing, no X, nowhere', etc. Instead, these interpretations are associated with negative statements, and the same universally quantified **kō-***wh* formations are exploited to express both nonassertive ('anyone, anything', etc.) and negative ('no one, nothing', etc.) values. Thus, a negative sentence such as **bàn gayầ wà kōwā ba** (NEG.1sg.PF tell IOM everyone NEG) can mean either 'I didn't tell anyone' or 'I told no one'. See also Parsons (1981: 589-601). Examples:

bàn ga kōwā ba
'I didn't see anyone/I saw no one'
bā nầ sôn kōwā yà bař ɗākìn
'I don't want anyone to leave the room/I want no one to leave the room'
gwamnatì bà tà cê kōmē ba
'the government didn't say anything/said nothing'

bābù kōwā nân	'there isn't anybody/there's no one here'
bâ kōmē cikin àkwầtìn	'there isn't anything/there's nothing in the box'
bà zân jē kō'ìnā ba	'I'm not going anywhere/I'm going nowhere'
bā yầ zuwầ kō(dà)yàushē	'he doesn't come at any time/he never comes'
bà zân jē ba kō(ta)yầyầ	'there's no way I'll go'

kadà kōmē yà ɓātà dàbāřàř
'don't let anything spoil the plan/nothing should spoil the plan'

Outside prohibitive Subjunctive TAM clauses initiated by **kadà**, **kō-***wh* proforms are restricted to occurrence as syntactic *objects* of verbs or existential complements (as in the above exx.). To express the equivalent of a negative 'no one, nothing, etc.' pronoun as a clausal *subject,* Hausa uses the negative existential functor **bābù/bâ** plus a relative phrase headed by a relative pronoun or generic noun, e.g. **bâ wandà** 'no one' (lit. there is not the one who), **bâ àbîn dà** 'nothing' (there is not the thing that) (see also §**12**:4). Examples:

bâ wandà ya zō tārôn	'no one came to the meeting'
bābù waddà zā tà zō	'no one (f.) will come'
bâ àbîn dà ya fārù	'nothing happened'

The same negative relative clause construction can also be used as a slightly more emphatic paraphrase for the **kō**-*wh* forms operating as non-subjects (as above):

bâ wândà na ganī	'I saw no one/I didn't see anyone'
bâ àbîn dà gwamnatì ta cè	'the government said nothing/didn't say anything'
bābù yaddà zā mù yi	'there is nothing we can do' (there is not how...)

To get a negative emphatic universal ('not everyone', etc.) interpretation, i.e. where the negative scope extends over the whole clause, the equational/sentential **bà̀...ba** negative markers are used to bracket the corresponding affirmative clause, the universal **kō**-*wh* form is placed in the initial focus position with an optional copula, and the TAM takes the focus form. Examples:

bà̀ kōwā (nè) kè̀ sôn wannàn jàřīdà̀ ba	'not *everybody* likes this newspaper'
bà̀ kōmē (nè) nakè̀ kařàntâwā ba	'it's not *everything* I read'
bà̀ kō'ìnā (nè) akè̀ sāmùnsà ba	'it's not *everywhere* it's found'
bà̀ kōyàushē (nè) nakàn jē cōcì ba	'it's not *always* I go to church'

5.4. Universal-collective quantifier ***DUK*** *('all')*

The universal-collective quantifier **DUK** 'all' has two allomorphs (all surface variants represented by **DUK**)—**dukà** and **duk**. For some speakers, the **duk** allomorph can appear as **duG** (where **G**(eminate) = copy of the following abutting consonant), or **dū** (dial.) There is also a common variant **dukkàn** which is restricted to prehead pronominal usage. **DUK** is extremely versatile both in terms of its position in relation to other sentence elements—possibly a case of quantifier float—and also its syntactic function, i.e. determinative, pronominal, or

adverbial. **DUK** as a universal 'all' quantifier differs from the corresponding distributive universal **kō**-...*wh* 'every, each X' expressions in that it has a more collective "single set" scope, and does not inflect for number or gender. See also Newman (2000: chap. 53), and Parsons (1981: 603-606).

5.4.1. ***DUK*** *= determiner*

When functioning as a nominal determiner, head-associated universal **DUK** appears as **dukà** or **duk** (including **duG**) and can occur either before or after the head NP without any apparent meaning difference. In the determiner-head pattern, **duk** is more common than **dukà**, and in the converse head-determiner construction **dukà** seems to be preferred. **DUK** occurs before any prehead or after any posthead determiners, and can universally quantify singular count nouns, e.g. **duk wannàn gàrī yā ƙōnè** 'all this/this whole town burned down', plural count nouns, e.g. **nā ga mutànên dukà** 'I saw all the people' (= dial. **nā ga mutànên dū**), or noncount mass nouns, e.g. **tā ci àbincin nàn dukà** 'she ate all this food'. Examples:

duk(à)/duw waɗàncân gidājên sun rūshè
= waɗàncân gidājên duk(à)/dus sun rūshè
'all those houses have collapsed'
duk(à)/dum Mùsùlmī iyāyē mātā zā sù tausàyā musù
= Mùsùlmī iyāyē mātā duk(à)/duz zā sù tausàyā musù
'all Muslim mothers will take pity on them'
duk(à)/duf fāsinjōjîn sun mutù cikin haɗàřī
= fāsinjōjîn duk(à)/dus sun mutù cikin haɗàřī
'all the passengers died in the accident'
duk(à)/dum mutànen ƙasař nàn sunà dà 'yancìn...
= mutànen ƙasař nàn duk(à)/dus sunà dà 'yancìn...
'all citizens of this country have the freedom to...'
duk(à)/duf fāɗ'in ƙasâř = fāɗ'in ƙasâr duk(à) 'the whole breadth of the land'

DUK occurs freely in negative environments with its universal meaning:

bàn kaɽàntà duk lìttàttàfân ba 'I didn't read all the books'
bâ duk bâƙī sukà zō ba 'not all the guests have come'

DUK regularly pre-determines the singular NP head of a relative clause to get a generic 'all/any X who, whichever X, etc.', interpretation:

duk yāròn dà ya dòki mālàmī, sai à kòrē shì
'any boy who strikes a teacher should be expelled'
duk ɗan-gàrîn dà yakȅ jîn yunwȁ...
'whichever townsman feels hungry...'

DUK (all variants) also combines with and determines a following relative pronoun (HL **wandà**, FL **wândà**, etc.), to introduce universal-generic relative clauses with indefinite, non-referring 'anyone who, whoever, no matter who, whichever one, etc.' readings (lit. all/every (the) one who), e.g. **duk wandà ya san asalin wannàn rìkicī**... 'anyone who knows the origin of this conflict...'. These quantified generic relative **DUK** constructions are used as more or less synonymous alternatives to generic-conditional **kō**-*wh* expressions, e.g. **kōwā ya san asalin wannàn rìkicī**... 'whoever/anyone who knows the origin of this conflict...' (§**14**:3.3.4). The universally quantified head containing the relative clause can also be a generic lexical noun (see also below), e.g. **duk àbîn dà** 'whatever' (all the thing that), locative **duk indà** 'wherever' (all place that), temporal **duk lōkàcîn dà** 'whenever' (all the time that). The non-subject universal relative clauses can occur either in sentence-initial position, like the semantically equivalent **kō**-*wh* concessive-conditionals, e.g. [**dukà àbîn dà kikà gayȁ minì**] **zân yi** '[whatever you tell me] I will do', or can be placed in the canonical non-subject argument slot, e.g. **zân yi** [**dukà àbîn dà kikà gayȁ minì**] 'I will do [whatever you tell me]'. Further examples are:

duk wandà ya ƙi bîn dōkōkin nàn... 'whoever refuses to obey these laws...'
kà bā nì duk àbîn dà kakȅ sô 'give me whatever you want'

dukà àbîn dà ya fằru, kâř kì dằmu 'whatever happens, don't worry'
duk indà ka jē à gàrin nàn... 'wherever you go in this town...'
duk indà kikà jē daidai nề 'wherever you go is OK'
duk lōkàcîn dà sukà zō aikì̀ sai macì̀jîn yà kồrē sù
'whenever they came to work the snake would scare them off'

The relative clause can be headed by a noun pre-determined by a specific indefinite determiner (§2.1), e.g. **duk wani mālàmī dà ya yi řìtāyằ sai à yi masà lìyāfằ** 'every single teacher/any teacher who retires should get a party'.

DUK can also quantify a numeral (prehead only), e.g. **duk(à) ďaya nề** 'it's all the same' (lit. all 1 COP), **duk(à) huďu** 'all 4'. It also combines with **biyu** '2' to express dual number 'both' quantification, often determined by a coreferential 3pl. independent pronoun **sū** or the quantifier unit-noun **gùdā** '1 (unit)'. Because the 'both' phrase is intrinsically definite, an overt definite marker is usually included in the superordinate NP, e.g. a plural definite determiner **-`n** or possessive pronoun on the plural count head noun or on the numeral itself if no noun is overtly expressed. Examples (determinative and pronominal, with **DUK** and **biyu** in various positions in relation to the head):

dukà mằlàmân sū biyu zā sù bař aikìnsù
= mằlàmân dukà gùdā biyu zā sù bař aikìnsù
'both the teachers will leave their work'
dukà biyûn sun zō 'both have come'
tā bā nì duk biyûn 'she gave me both'
duk biyunsù sun sằmu aikì̀ 'both of them have got a job'

DUK also regularly determines temporal and locative NPs to form complex adverbs, e.g. **duk kwānā ukù** 'every 3 days', **duk shềkarằ** 'every year', **duk watằ** 'every month', **duk dūniyằ** '(in) all the world', **duk ƙasâř** '(throughout) the whole country', **duk gàrī** '(in) all the town'. (The above time expressions

have a distributive meaning and so are semantically equivalent to **kō**...*wh* constructions.)

*5.4.2. **DUK** = pronoun*

DUK can also function as an autonomous pronoun:

duk nā gānề	'I understand all (of it)'
duk mun gudù	'we all fled'
duk kun ci jařřàbâwā	'you've all passed the exam'
duk zā sù zō	'all (of them) will come'
nā nūnầ masà dukà	'I showed him all'
duk an kàrɓē sù	'they have all been accepted'
dukà anầ fàɗā	'all (these variants) are said'

It can also co-occur with plural independent personal pronoun heads:

bầ zā à kàrɓē kù kū dukà ba	'you will not all be accepted'
mū dukà zā mù zō	'we'll all come'

Pronominal **DUK** can also be used in a partitive-genitive ('all.of X') construction, in which case it usually appears as **dukkàn**, followed by a (pro)noun.[7] Examples:

kà gai dà dukkàn àbồkan aikìnkà	'greet all of your colleagues'
dukkàn ƙasầshen dūniyầ	'all of the countries of the world'
nā cînyē dukkàn àbincīnā	'I've eaten up all my food'
dukkànsù matầsā nề	'all of them are adolescents'

The full partitive form **dukkànin** 'the entirety/totality of' can be used to get a more emphatic universal force:

nā ga dukkànin mutầnên	'I saw all of the people'

[7]Structurally, **dukkàn** could be a clipped form of the full partitive form **dukkànin** (below), or be composed of **dukkà** plus the linker **-n**.

dukkàninmù zā mù zō	'all of us will come'
yā cînyē dukkànin gōr̃òn	'he ate up the entire kolanut'

A partitive pronominal variant **dukàn**, i.e. without the geminate /**kk**/, is also attested, e.g. **dukàn mutȁnên sun zō** 'all the people have come', **nā cînyē dukàn àbincîn** 'I ate up all the food', but its distribution is unclear.

The partitive quantifier **ɗ'àukacin** 'the entirety of, every single one of, each and every one of' can also be used as a prehead determiner, either by itself or (less commonly) pre-modified by **DUK**. Examples:

(duk) ɗ'àukacin ɗ'ȁlìbân sun shìga zàngà-zangà
'each and every one of the students have joined the demonstration'
(duk) ɗ'àukacin jàma'àr̃ Kanȍ sun san wannàn lȁbārr̃ì
'the entire population of Kano know this news'

5.4.3. ***DUK*** *= adverb*

The **duk** (including **duG**) allomorph can also be used as a maximizing adverb with the meaning 'completely, entirely, totally, etc.', with the verb or entire verb phrase within its scope. As an adverb, **duk** usually occurs before the TAM and verb and is often sentence-initial if there is no overt subject NP, though post-verbal position is possible. Examples:

duk nā mântā dà shī	'I completely forgot about it'
duk nā gàji (= **nā gàji duk**)	'I'm completely tired out'
dub bàn yàr̃da ba	'I disagree absolutely'
duk an wātsȅ	'they scattered en masse'
zāfī duk yanȁ dāmȕnā	'the pain is totally bothering me'
ōfîshīnā duk yā ƙōnȅ	
'my office burned down completely'	
wannàn duk yā lālàtā manà al'amur̃r̃ȁ	
'this has absolutely ruined things for us'	

Note too the following complex adverbs, subordinators, conjunctions and prepositions all headed by DUK: **dukà-dukà** 'all in all', **duk dà hakà** 'for all that, nevertheless', **duk dà yakè** 'although', **duk dà cêwā** 'in spite of the fact that', **duk dà** 'for all, in spite of'.

6. Reflexives and Reciprocals

6.1. Reflexives

Reflexive pronouns in Hausa are phrasal anaphors, formed with the masculine singular noun **kâi** 'head' plus the masculine linker **-n** and a bound possessive pronoun which copies the person/number/gender features of the antecedent, e.g. [**yārinyàřᵢ**] **tā cǜci** [**kântàᵢ**] 'the girl harmed herself' (lit. girl.DD(f.) 3f.PF harm head.of.3f.), where the reflexive pronoun is the direct object of the verb and is anteceded by the coreferential clause subject. With 1st and 2nd person reflexives, the antecedent is implicit, e.g. **kun cǜci kânkù** 'you (pl.) harmed yourselves'. Reflexive pronouns can be grouped into two functional categories—"basic" and "emphatic" (see Jaggar 2001, Newman 2000: chap. 63, and Yalwa 1992). The full set of reflexive pronouns in given in Table 25:

Table 25. Reflexive pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1	**kâinā**	1	**kânmù**
2m	**kânkà**	2	**kânkù**
2f	**kânkì**		
3m	**kânsà/kânshì**	3	**kânsù**
3f	**kântà**		

6.1.1. Basic reflexives

Basic reflexives occur as postverbal objects or complement NPs in clauses where the antecedent, usually the subject, and reflexive expression denote the same

referent. The reflexive pronoun can occur in all syntactic (NP) functions except subject. Many speakers allow only human referents to function as reflexives, whether basic or emphatic. Examples:

Mūsā yā yànkí kânsà 'Musa cut himself' (= d.o. reflexive)
fuřsùnàn yā kashè kânsà 'the prisoner committed suicide'
(= d.o. reflexive)
zā tà jāwō wà kântà wàhalǎ 'she'll bring trouble on herself'
(= i.o. reflexive)
sunǎ jîn kânsù 'they have confidence in themselves'
(= objective genitive reflexive)
nā ajìyē aikǐ don kâinā 'I retired voluntarily (because of myself)'
(= prep. object reflexive)
kā ji řa'àyin ɓàrāwòn bisà kânsà?
'did you hear the thief's opinion of himself?' (= prep. object reflexive)
mun bā dà mākǐ gà kânmù 'we gave marks to ourselves'
(= prep. object reflexive)
ɗ'àlìbân sun kā dà kânsù 'the students failed themselves'
(= oblique object reflexive)

With coreferential possessor ('own') reflexives, the unmarked determinative construction consists of a bound linker on the possessed N_1 followed by a reflexive. Examples:

zā sù sàyi gidǎjen kânsù 'they will buy their own houses'
yā kafà kamfànin kânsà 'he set up his own company'
ɗ'ālìbâř tā kařàntà takàřdař kântà 'the student read her own paper'

To get a more emphatic-exhaustive ('very own') interpretation, a head plus bound or free possessive pronoun is further determined by an independent possessive morpheme **na/ta** plus reflexive. Examples:

zā sù sàyi gidǎjensù na kânsù (lit...houses.of.3pl of themselves)
= zā sù sàyi gidǎjē nāsù na kânsù (...houses of.3pl of themselves)
'they will buy their very own houses'
yā kafà kamfànisà na kânsà = yā kafà kamfànī nāsà na kânsà
'he set up his very own company'
ɗālìbâř tā kařàntà takàřdařtà ta kântà
= ɗālìbâř tā kařàntà takàřdā tātà ta kântà
'the student read her very own paper'

Possessor reflexives are considered unnatural, however, with an inalienable noun, e.g. a kin-term or body-part:

yāròn yā zǎgi bābàřsà (not ***bābàř kânsà**) 'the boy abused his (own) mother'
nā ji ràunī à ƙafàtā (not ***ƙafàř kâinā**) 'I was wounded on my (own) leg'
yāròn yā ɓōyè littāfîn à bāyansà (not ***bāyan kânsà**)
'the boy hid the book behind him(self)'
(= object of genitive prep. < body-part noun)

Some speakers allow the plural form **kāwunǎ** (lit. 'heads') to bind a plural antecedent in order to express a distributive reading (though this usage is marginal). Examples:

zā mù wankè kāwunànmù dàgà zàrgîn dà akè manà
'we will clear ourselves of the accusation against us'
mutǎnē dà yawǎ sun kashè kāwunànsù 'many people have killed themselves'

The bare reflexive noun **kâi** can be used to coindex an antecedent 4pl Impersonal subject pronoun (**§6:**17) with arbitrary generic reference:

gāra à tàimàki kâi 'one should help oneself' (better 4pl.SJN help self)
à nèmi àbin kâi 'one should seek one's own thing'

It is also used with a generic sense in compound [noun.of-**kâi**] NPs:

girman-kâi rawànin tsìyā	'self-importance breeds poverty'
importance.of-self turban.of poverty	
yā cikà yàbon-kâi	'he is too conceited' (praise.of-self)
shī mùtûm nē mài sôn-kâi	'he's a selfish person' (love.of-self)
Nìjēřiyà tā sàmu mulkìn-kâi tun tùni	
'Nigeria got self-government long ago'	(rule.of-self)
Note too: **tàimakon kâi dà kâi yanà dà àmfànī**	
'self-help is useful'	
(where the reflexive is repeated in a **dà**-conjoined phrase)	

Reflexive pronouns can also be focus-fronted with an optional copula (and Focus TAM):

kânsà (nē) ya cůtā	'it was *himself* he harmed'
kânsù (nē) sukà bai wà mākì	'it was *themselves* they gave marks to'

Reflexives, as with most languages, occur in the same clause as the local antecedent subject. Examples:

[**Dèlu**$_i$ **tanà sô** [**mijìntà yà sàkē tà**$_i$]] (not reflexive ***sàki kântà**)
'Delu$_i$ wants her husband to divorce her$_i$'
[**Kànde**$_i$ **tanà jîn cêwā** [**Hàlīmà**$_j$ **tā cůci kântà**$_j$]]
'Kande$_i$ thinks that Halima$_j$ harmed herself$_j$'
[**Mūsā**$_i$ **yā san cêwā** [**Audù**$_j$ **yā faďà wà 'yan-sàndā gàme dà kânsà**$_j$]]
'Musa$_i$ knows that Audu$_j$ told the police (something) about himself$_j$'

With perception verbs, taking sensation or stative predicates, e.g. **dūbà** 'look at', **ganī** 'see', **ji** 'hear', **kàllā** 'look at', **sō** 'like, love', etc., resumptive direct object pronouns can be used with a coreferential reflexive interpretation, as a

synonymous alternative to reflexive pronouns (though speaker judgements differ with regard to this construction). Examples:

Kànde tā dūbà ta (= dūbà kântà) à madūbîn
'Kande looked at herself in the mirror'
(in the above example the 3rd person resumptive pronoun **ta** could coindex a referent other than the same-clause subject 'Kande')
nā gan nì (= ga kâinā) à talàbijìn jiyà
'I saw myself on television yesterday'
sai na jī nì (= ji kâinā) à rēdiyò 'then I heard myself on the radio'
in na kàllē nì (= kàlli kâinā) kūkā nakè yî 'if I look at myself I cry'
tā sō tà (= sō kântà) à wannàn hòtō 'she loves herself in this photo'

In some reflexive constructions involving perception/sensation verbs, a resumptive d.o. pronoun is the only option:

tā san tà dà faďà 'she knows herself to be quarrelsome'
dùbè ka! 'look at you/yourself!'
kâi, kā gan/jī kà dai! 'well, you should have known!' (...you see/hear you...)

A plural reflexive anaphor can, for some speakers, refer back inclusively to a singular antecedent subject, with matching person features. Examples (with literal translations):

[**nā**]$_{1sg.PF}$ **sō** [**kânmù**]$_{1pl}$ **à wannàn hòtō** 'I like ourselves in this photo'
[**kā**]$_{2m.PF}$ **bā wà** [**kânkù**]$_{2pl}$ **kunyà** 'you (m.) shamed yourselves'
[**yā**]$_{3m.PF}$ **tàimàki** [**kânsù**]$_{3pl}$ 'he helped themselves'

6.1.2. Emphatic reflexives

Emphatic reflexive pronouns are phrases which occur in appositional relation to their antecedent, subject or non-subject, and typically consist of an independent pronoun followed by a reflexive pronoun, e.g. (noun head) **Hàlīmà [ita kântà]**

zā tà zō 'Halima herself will come', (pronoun head) **[shī kânsà] yā řubùtà takàřdâř** 'he himself wrote the paper'. Emphatic reflexives serve to reinforce the identity of the antecedent, sometimes contrasting it with another referent. Further examples (various syntactic roles) are:

yârā [sū kânsù] sun gamà aikìn
'the children finished the work themselves'

[nī kâinā] nā gyārà mōtàř	'I fixed the car myself'
sun kāwō tà [ita kântà]	'they brought her herself'
mun ga Sarkī [shī kânsà]	'we saw the Emir himself'
munà sàuràron Shātā [shī kânsà]	'we are listening to Shata himself'

zā kà yi màganà dà manajà [shī kânsà]?
'will you speak with the manager himself?'

Like basic reflexive pronouns, emphatic reflexives can be focus-fronted (with a Focus TAM):

[mū kânmù] nē mukà zàɓē shì	'it was *we ourselves* (who) elected him'

[sū kânsù] nē sukà sòki gwamnatì
'it was *they themselves* (who) criticized the government'

[shī kânsà] mukè sàuràrō	'it's *him himself* we're listening to'

Emphatic reflexives can also be topicalized, e.g. **[sū kânsù] kùwa, zā sù amìncē dà shirìn** 'as for they themselves, they will agree to the plan'.

Unlike their basic counterparts, emphatic reflexives are positionally mobile and can be postponed when the antecedent is the subject:

Mūsā [shī kânsà] yā gayà minì	'Musa himself told me'
= Mūsā yā gayà minì [shī kânsà]	'Musa told me himself'
[kai kânkà] kā gyārà ta?	'did you yourself fix it?'
= kā gyārà ta [kai kânkà]?	'did you fix it yourself?'
[sū kânsù] zā sù zō	'they themselves will come'
= zā sù zō [sū kânsù]	'they will come themselves'

If the antecedent of the emphatic reflexive is an overt subject NP, the independent pronoun is optional, leaving the head and reflexive pronoun in direct juxtaposition:

Kànde (**ita**) [**kântà**] **tā niƙà bàřkònôn** 'Kande herself ground the pepper'
màlàmai (**sū**) [**kânsù**] **sun yi yājìn aikì**
'the teachers themselves went on strike'
yārònā (**shī**) [**kânsà**] **yakàn ɗēbō ruwā dàgà rījìyā**
'my boy himself draws water from the well'

Emphatic 3rd person reflexive phrases containing overt subject NP heads and independent pronouns can appear in the reverse order, i.e. [pronoun + reflexive] [NP], where the prehead emphatic reflexive phrase functions like a cataphoric determiner. Examples:

[**Mūsā**] [**shī kânsà**] **yakàn shārè ɗākì** 'Musa himself sweeps the room'
= [**shī kânsà**] [**Mūsā**] **yakàn shārè ɗākì** (lit. he himself Musa...)
[**Kànde**] [**ita kântà**] **tanà dakàn dāwà**
= [**ita kântà**] [**Kànde**] **tanà dakàn dāwà**
'Kande herself pounds the guinea-corn'
[**ɗàlìbai**] [**sū kânsù**] **sun yi yājìn aikì**
= [**sū kânsù**] [**ɗàlìbai**] **sun yi yājìn aikì**
'the students themselves went on strike'

Emphatic subject reflexives can also be prepositional phrases consisting of a reflexive pronoun preceded by the instrumental-comitative preposition **dà** 'with, by', in which case they express an exclusive-exhaustive force, often paraphraseable as 'X and nobody else', and glossed below as 'by myself, on my own, etc.'. The antecedent subject in this emphatic subtype is typically a volitional human actor, and the predicate denotes some type of (often transitive) activity. The unmarked position for exclusive **dà**-headed reflexives, as PPs, is to the right of the verb. Examples:

Gàmbo zâi iyà gamà aikìn [dà kânsà]
'Gambo will be able to finish the work by himself'
(i.e. without anyone helping him)
nā zō [dà kâinā] 'I came by myself'
tā gayǎ manà [dà kântà] 'she told us herself'
inǎ dafà àbinci [dà kâinā] 'I cook food by myself'
mǎtātā tā iyà gyārà mōtàr̃mù [dà kântà]
'my wife can fix our car on her own'

It is also possible to insert an independent pronoun at the beginning of the emphatic reflexive phrase:

zā mù zō [mū dà kânmù] 'we will come by ourselves'
sun gamà aikìn [sū dà kânsù] 'they finished the work by themselves'

To convey an even greater degree of emphatic focus—the whole system is organized in terms of a strength hierarchy—the exclusive-exhaustive **dà**-headed reflexive phrase can occur in the pre-TAM focus position, in which case it triggers an obligatory switch to the Focus form of the (Perfective/Imperfective) TAM, with an optional copula. Examples:

[(mū) dà kânmù] (nē) [mukà]$_{\text{FOC-PF}}$ **kammàlà aikìn**
'we (by) *ourselves* finished the work'
Cf. **[mun]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **kammàlà aikìn [(mū) dà kânmù]**
'we finished the work (by) ourselves'
[dà kânsà] (nē) ɗan maƙèrī [ya]$_{\text{FOC-PF}}$ **sassàƙà ƙōtǎ**
'the blacksmith's son (by) *himself* made the handle'
Cf. **ɗan maƙèrī [yā]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **sassàƙà ƙōtǎ [dà kânsà]**
'the blacksmith's son made the handle (by) himself'
Kànde [dà kântà] (cē) [takè]$_{\text{FOC-IMPF}}$ **dakàn dāwǎ**
'Kande (by) *herself* pounds the guinea-corn'
Cf. **Kànde [tanǎ]**$_{\text{IMPF}}$ **dakàn dāwǎ [dà kântà]**
'Kande pounds the guinea-corn (by) herself'

Basic reflexives and emphatic **dà**-marked reflexive expressions can even co-occur in the same clause:

ɗǎlìbân sun kā dà [kânsù] [dà kânsù]
'the students themselves failed themselves'
mǎsu zàngà-zangà sun jāwō wà [kânsù] wàhalǎ̀ [dà kânsù]
'the demonstrators themselves brought trouble on themselves'

6.2. Reciprocals

Table 26. Reciprocal pronouns

1pl	**jūnanmù**	(**jūnā**)
2pl	**jūnankù**	(**jūnā**)
3pl	**jūnansù**	(**jūnā**)
4pl	**jūnā**	

Reciprocal pronouns use the word **jūnā** 'each other, one another',[8] with an optional linker **-n** and bound 1/2/3rd person plural possessive pronoun, selection of which makes the reciprocal more specific. Reciprocals have plural reference and occur in a range of non-subject syntactic roles. Examples:

zā mù tàimàki jūnanmù (= **jūnā**) 'we will help each other' (= d.o.)
kun ga jūnankù (= **jūnā**) **à Landàn**?
'did you (pl.) see each other in London?' (= d.o.)
Gàmbo dà Mūsā sun yabǎ̀ wà jūnansù (= **jūnā**)
'Gambo and Musa praised one another' (= i.o.)
sunǎ̀ wà jūnansù (= **jūnā**) **kallon hadarìn kǎ̀jī**
'they were giving each other contemptuous looks' (= i.o.)
sun mai dà maƙtànī gà jūnansù (= **jūnā**)
'they got back at each other' (= prep. object)

[8] **Jūnā** itself derives from the noun **jìkī** 'body' plus a (?plural) suffix **-nā**.

With possessor reciprocals, there seems to be a preference for the bare form **jūnā**:

mun kařàntà tàkàřdun jūnā 'we read each other's papers'
Kànde dà Jummai sunà kulàwā dà 'yā'yan jūnā
'Kande and Jummai look after each other's children'
kukàn gyārà aikìn jūnā? 'do you (pl.) correct each other's work?'

The simple form **jūnā** is also used when the antecedent is an Impersonal plural subject pronoun 'one, people, etc.', or universal pronoun **kōwā** 'everyone', which controls singular agreement on other targets. Examples:

an san jūnā à nân? 'do people know each other here?'
yā kàmātà à tàimàki jūnā 'one should help one other'
anà girmàmà jūnā à nân 'one respects one another here'
kōwā yā san jūnā nân 'everyone knows each other here'

It can also occur in phrases without an overt antecedent, e.g. **tàron ƙārà wà jūnā ilmì** 'seminar' (lit. meeting.of increase for each other knowledge).

Reciprocal pronouns, like reflexives (§6.1), occur in the same clause as the local antecedent:

['yan-sàndā$_i$] **sun san cêwā** [[**fuřsunōnī$_j$] zā sù zàrgi** [**jūnā$_j$**]]
'[the police$_i$] know that [the prisoners$_j$] will blame [each other$_j$]'
[**Kànde dà Hàlīmà$_i$] sunà jîn cêwā** [[**Dèlu dà Fātimà$_j$] sun cùci** [**jūnā$_j$**]]
'[Kande and Halima$_i$] feel that [Delu and Fatima$_j$] harmed [each other$_j$]'

7. Non-specific Pronouns ('so-and-so')

Table 27. Non-specific pronouns ('so-and-so')

m.	f.	pl.	
wānè	**wancè**	**su-wānè** (m.)	'so-and-so'
		su-wancè (f.)	

Glossed as 'so-and-so', these non-specified proforms use the deictic prefix **wa(a)**- but are idiosyncratic in that the feminine singular form **wa-n-cè** adds the **-cè** suffix to the masculine base **wā-n**. (The **-nè/-cè** suffix is probably the same variant of the copula **nē/cē** which is found in relative pronouns and interrogative determiners.) The pseudo-plural is formed by prefixing the **su-** 3rd plural pronoun to the masculine and feminine forms, i.e. **su-wānè** 'so-and-so's (m.)', **su-wancè** 'so-and-so's (f.)' (= orthographic **su wane, su wance**). The non-specific pronouns can be used to modify known but non-specified 3rd person referents only. Examples:

kàmā dà wānè bầ wānè ba nề	'appearances can be deceptive'
like so-and-so(m.) NEG so-and-so(m.) NEG COP(m.)	
kin ga wancè à kầsuwā?	'did you see so-and-so (f.) in the market?'
su-wancè sun zō	'the whatsits (f./pl.) have arrived'

The corresponding non-human proform is **kàzā** 'such-and-such, so-on, etc.', e.g. **yā jē Kanỗ, dà Zāriyà, dà Kàdūna, dà kàzā dà kàzā** 'he went to Kano, Zaria, Kaduna, and so-on and so-forth' (see §3.8).

8. NP Coordination

*8.1. 'And' = **dà***

Hausa conjoins any number of lexical nouns with the conjunction **dà** 'and' (which is identical with the comitative preposition **dà** 'with'). Unlike clausal coordination which is normally asyndetic (§**14**:2.1), NP coordination is syndetic—the grammatically plural constituents are overtly linked with **dà**. A reinforcing **dà** can also be inserted before the first conjoin, producing a correlative 'both X and Y' expression if binary. See also Schwartz (1989, 1991), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 19). Examples (**dà**-conjoined simple and complex NPs and pronouns with various syntactic functions):

[dà [yârā] dà [mânyā] dà [mātā]] duk sunà nan
'children and adults and women are all here' (= triple syndetic coordination)
[dà [nī] dà [kai] dà [Bellò]] duk mun yàřda
'me and you and Bello are all agreed'
(with the 1st person pronoun first in the coordinate sequence)
[dà [wà] dà [wà]] kikà ganī à makařantā?
'whom (pl.) did you see at school?' (= distributive plural *wh*-pronoun)
nā sàyi [[tābà] dà [gōřò]]
'I've bought cigarettes and kolanuts'
àkwai [[tābà] dà [gōřò] dà [àlāwà mài kyâu]] nân
'there are cigarettes and kolanuts and nice sweets here'
nā sàyi [dà [rìgā] dà [hùlā] dà [wàndō]]
'I've bought a gown, and a cap, and a pair of trousers'
an hařàmtà [[zub dà cikì] dà [kisàn kâi]]
'abortion and suicide are illegal'
bà zân nūnà wà [[Audù] dà [Mūsā]] ba
'I'm not going to show (it) to Audu and Musa'
Note too: **[dà [nī] dà [ìyālì]] mun zō** 'both me and family (we) have come', with the normative pronoun plus noun order and plural concord on the TAM.

The additive connective particle **kuma** 'also, and' can be inserted before the rightmost conjoin, e.g. **nā sàyi [dà [rìgā] dà kuma [jař hùlā]]** 'I bought a gown and also a red cap', and is common (without **dà**) in coordinated adjectival phrase complements, e.g. **Audù [[wāwā] nè kuma [miskìlī]]** 'Audu is foolish and difficult'. When acting as posthead attributive modifiers, multiple adjectives occur without any conjunction, e.g. **nā ga wata yārinyà sìřīřìyā kyàkkyāwā** 'I saw a tall beautiful girl', though **kuma** can be used before the final adjective, e.g. **tā sàyi wani zanè sābō kuma jā** 'she's bought a new (and) red body-cloth' (see §3.1 for ellipsis in coordinate NPs containing adjectives).

Some distributive universal, non-specific and interrogative pronouns are conjoins linked by **dà** (like numbers 21 upwards, §4.1). Examples:

[kōwā dà kōwā] yā zō 'everyone has come'
sun yi [kàzā dà kàzā] 'they did such-and-such'
[dà wǎ dà wǎ] sukà mutù? 'who (pl.) died?'
Note too: **[[yâu] dà [gôbe]] kâ iyǎ** 'in time (today and tomorrow) you'll be able to' (= conjoined time adverbs)

Because pronominal clitics, e.g. indirect and genitive objects, cannot be conjoined, the conjoins are first expressed as a coreferential plural pronoun, then individuated in an appositional phrase. Examples:

zân nūnǎ musù, dà shī dà ita 'I'll show them, both him and her'
tsàkāninkù, kai dà shī 'between you (pl.), you (m.) and him'
nā sanař dà kū, kē dà shī 'I informed you (pl.), you (f.) and him'
anǎ nēmansù, shī dà àbōkinsà 'they're being looked for, him and his friend'

When the coordinate plural NP consists of a pronoun + singular (pro)noun (Y), the pronoun can appear in the appropriate syntactic position of the noun as a grammatical anticipatory plural with the structure [pronoun$_{[pl = X + Y]}$ ... **dà** Y], e.g. (prep. phrase) [**tsàkāninmù**]$_{1pl}$ **dà** [**kai**]$_{2m}$ **bâ kunyǎ** 'between me (us) and you (m.) there is no feeling of embarrassment'. This construction is known as "asymmetric coordination" (Schwartz 1989), and a parallel type, also involving a single event/activity, occurs with **dà** in its related role as a comitative preposition, including with "sociative verbs". Examples:

mun sǎdu dà ita à makāřantā 'I (we) met her at school'
zân haďǎ ku dà shī 'I'll introduce you (sg., lit. you (pl.)) to him'
sun zō tàre dà Hàlīmà 'he (they) came with Halima'
(All the above plural pronouns could be referentially plural of course.)

With conjoined NPs, the selection of the enclitic genitive linker or definite determiner is locally governed by the gender/number of the final constituent, e.g.

tuwō dà miyà-r̃-sà 'his *tuwo* (food) and soup' (*tuwo*(m.) and soup(f.)-of(f.).3m.), **ìnā tuwō dà miyà-r̃ dà kikà shiryà̃**? 'where's the *tuwo* and soup that you prepared?' (...soup(f.)-DD(f.)...). With the free possessive morpheme, on the other hand, concord is with the conjoined *plural* NP, e.g. **tuwō dà miyàr̃ nāsà nē** 'the *tuwo* and soup are his' (*tuwo*(m.) and soup(f.).DD(f.) of(pl.).3m. COP(pl.)).

8.2. 'Or' = ***kō***

As a central coordinator, **kō** 'or, either' introduces an alternative and often exclusive meaning, and, like the NP coordinator **dà** 'and', it can be optionally inserted before the initial conjoin to reinforce the phrasal coordination, i.e. in a correlative **kō** X **kō** Y 'either X or Y' pair. (**Kō** also functions as a clausal coordinator, see §**14**:2.2.) The second occurrence can be strengthened with an additive particle, e.g. **kuma**, **mā** or **kùwa** 'and, also, else, etc.'. Examples:

yā kàmātà [kō [nī] kō [kai]] mù yi aikìn
'either I or you should do the work'
kanà̃ sôn [kō [wannàn] kō kuma [wancàn]]?
'do you want this one or else that one?'
zā kà gayà̃ wà [[Mammàn] kō [Audù]]?
'will you tell Mamman or Audu?'
zâ ni [kō [Amìr̃kà] kō [Ingìlà]]
'I'm off to either the USA. or England'
kā zō [[à mōtà̃] kō [à ƙafà]]?
'did you come by car or on foot?' (= coordination of PPs)
zân tāshì [kō [gòbe] kō kùwa [jībi]]
'I'll leave either tomorrow or else the day after' (= time adverb coordination)
zā kà sàyi [[wannàn kòmfūtà̃] kō [wata Ø]] dàbam?
'will you buy this computer or another different (one)?'
(with ellipsis of final noun conjoin)

Hausa does not have negative coordinators equivalent to English 'neither...nor'. Instead, the negative 'neither X nor Y' reading can, for some speakers, be expressed by using the same correlative **kō...kō** pairing within the scope of a negative, e.g. **bàn ga kō mālàmîn kō ɗ'ālìbân ba** 'I didn't see either the teacher or the students = I saw neither the teacher nor the students'. If the **kō**-conjoined nouns are clausal subjects, they are followed by the negative existential functor **bābù/bâ** plus a relative clause headed by a relative pronoun, e.g. **bâ wandà** (m.) 'no one' (lit. there is not the one who). Examples:

kō Tìjjāni kō Gàmbo bâ wandà zâi sàmu sùkōlàshîf
'neither Tijjani nor Gambo will get a scholarship'
(lit. either Tijjani or Gambo no one (m.) will get scholarship)
kō Amìnā kō Bìntu bâ waddà ta jē Makkà
'neither Amina nor Bintu went (on pilgrimage) to Mecca'
(lit. either Amina or Bintu no one (f.) went to Mecca)

Alternatively, for some speakers, the NP conjoins are part of an initial-position PP headed either by the core preposition **dàgà** 'from', e.g. **dàgà Amìnā haɗ Bìntu bâ waddà ta jē Makkà** 'neither Amina nor Bintu went to Mecca' (lit. from Amina even (including Bintu) no one went to Mecca), or by the genitive preposition **tsàkānin** 'between', e.g. **tsàkānin Tìjjāni dà Gàmbo bâ wandà ya sàmu sùkōlàshîf** 'neither Tijjani nor Gambo got a scholarship' (lit. between Tijjani and Gambo no one got scholarship).

*8.3. 'But' = **àmmā** or **sai dai***

Contrastive coordination is expressed by **àmmā** 'but' or **sai dai** 'but, except, only', and can be used to conjoin adjectives or adjectival phrases as well as nouns. Examples:

wannàn rìgā [[mài kyâu] cē àmmā kuma [mài tsàdā]]
'this gown is nice but expensive'

Hàlīmà [[kyàkkyāwā] cè àmmā = sai dai [matalaucìyā]]
'Halima is beautiful but poor'
bà mù ga [[màtaɾsà] ba sai dai [màmaɾsà]]
'we didn't see his wife but his mother'

9. Apposition

Apposition entails a sequence of coreferential equal constituents, e.g. NPs, with the same grammatical function, either of which can be felicitously omitted and often interchanged. Apposition is thus similar in some respects to NP coordination (§8) but does not necessarily involve any explicit linking elements. It is handled here under NP syntax because it is principally a relationship between two juxtaposed NPs (see also Newman 2000: chap. 8). Examples (proper nouns, common nouns, and appositives all bracketed off):

[Audù] [maƙèrī]	'Audu the blacksmith'
[Bàlā] [Bàtūɾè]	'Bala the European'
[Tamburāwā] [gàrin Mālàm Gwàja]	
'Tamburawa the town of Malam Gwaja'	
[wasu Mùsùlmī] [mātā]	'some Muslim women'
[àbòkanmù] [Mūsā dà Mammàn]	'our friends Musa and Mamman'
(= conjoined appositive)	
[yārinyàtā] [Jummai]	'my girlfriend Jummai'
[Bellò] [mijìntà]	'Bello her husband'
[mùtumìn nan] [diɾēbà]	'that man the driver'
[marìgāyī] [Ìbɾāhìm]	'the late Ibrahim'
[wani mùtûm] [majèmī]	'a certain man a tanner'

Like relative clauses (§**12**:4), NP apposition may be restrictive or nonrestrictive (typically in more complex verbal sentences). In restrictive

apposition, the first appositive is identified via the second modifying appositive, e.g. **[Mūsā] [diřēbà] zâi kai kà** 'Musa the driver will take you'. In nonrestrictive apposition, the subordinate appositives are not critical to the identification of the independently identifiable antecedent, typically constitute a separate intonational unit, and are graphologically marked off with commas, e.g. **[Mūsā], [diřēbà], zâi kai kà** 'Musa, the driver, will take you', **[matầsân], [yawancinsù ɗầlìbai]**... 'the youths, most of them students...'.

Overt conjuncts such as **wầtồ** (= **wầtàu**) 'namely, that is, I mean, etc.' (= equivalent), (**alàl**) **mìsālì** 'for example', and **hař dà** 'including' (= inclusive), are regularly used between appositive-like NPs in a nonrestrictive relationship. Examples:

[ɗan'uwānā], [wầtồ Abbà], yā sầmu dìgìřî
'my brother, that is Abba, has got a degree'
[wasu ƙasầshen Afîřkà], [mìsālì Nìjēřiyầ, dà Gānà, dà Cādì]...
'some African countries, for example Nigeria, Ghana, and Chad...'
yā sàyi [kāyan àbinci dà dāmā], [hař dà nāmầ, dà shìnkāfā, dà àlbasầ]
'he bought a lot of food, including meat, rice, and onions'

Another quasi-appositional construction further identifies an initial NP, definite or indefinite, by using a proper name as the second appositive. The constituents are linked by the indicator **wai** 'named/called' (also a complementizer and indirect quotation marker, §**13**:3.2), usually followed by a coreferential 3rd person independent pronoun. Examples:

[wata yārinyầ] [wai ita Jummai]	'a certain girl called Jummai'
[wani gàrī] [wai shī Dồso]	'a certain town by the name of Dosso'
[mùtumìn] [wai shī Tankò]	'the man called Tanko'
[bàbban àbōkīnā] [wai shī Audù]	'my best friend named Audu'

Other constituents which regularly participate in sometimes partial appositional constructions include:

Pronouns

Subject, direct object, indirect object, and genitive pronouns can be postmodified by an appositive phrase containing a coreferential independent pronoun. Examples:

sai [mù] tàfi [nī dà kai] 'let's go, me and you'
duk an kashè [su] [sū ɓàrâyîn]
'they've all been killed, those (them) thieves'
ai nā nūnâ ma[sà] aikìn [shī mālàmîn]
'well I showed him the work, (him) the teacher'
anâ nēman[sà] [shī ɓàrāwòn]
'he's being looked for, (him) the thief'

Emphatic reflexive pronouns

Emphatic reflexives (§6.1.2) contain an independent pronoun followed by an appositional reflexive pronoun. Examples:

yā řubǔtà takàřdâř [shī] [kânsà]
= [shī] [kânsà] yā řubǔtà takàřdâř 'he wrote the letter *himself*'
ɗàlìbai [sū] [kânsù] sun san hakà 'the students *themselves* know this'

Sortal ('sort/kind of') constructions

Appositional sortal constructions are typically formed with a noun + the NP **irì-n** 'sort/kind-of' + a free-standing genitive morpheme **na/ta/na** (m./f./pl.) + noun (where the free genitive agrees with the initial head noun). Examples:

[sàmârī] [irìn na zāmànī] 'modern youth'
youths(pl.) kind.of of(pl.) modern time
[wata shâsshāwâ] [irìn ta Gōbiřāwā] 'Gobir-type facial marking'
facial marking(f.) kind.of of(f.) Gobir people
[tufāfì] [irìn na sarākunâ] 'royal-type clothes'
clothes(pl.) kind.of of(pl.) emirs

Note too **[bàbban gidā] [irìn nāmù]** 'a big house like ours' (with a free possessive pronoun), and **[mutànē] [irìn su Gàmbo]** 'men like Gambo & Co.' (men kind.of 3pl. Gambo, with the 3rd person plural pronoun **su** type-exemplifier).

9.1. Right dislocation

A related subtype of identificational NP apposition entails use of a less explicit proform, e.g. a pronoun (including subject-agreement pronouns), in the base position, followed by a more explicit coreferential NP later in the sentence which serves to clarify the identity of the referent (= "right dislocation"). The right dislocated afterthought constituent is often prosodically segregated from the initial clause by a preceding comma-pause and separate intonational unit. Because it is context-recoverable, the NP, common or proper, often takes one or more definite determiner, e.g. an independent pronoun (especially common), demonstrative, or possessive. See also Newman (2000: chap. 6). Examples:

yā yi arzìkī, shī àbōkinkà	'he's been fortunate, your friend'
3m.PF do fortune 3m. friend.of.2m.	
nā gan tà, ita yārinyàr nan	'I saw her, that girl'
1sg.PF see 3f. 3f. girl that	
nā san shì, mālàmîn nan ba	'I know him, that teacher (or not)'
1sg.PF know 3m. teacher that NEG	
zā sù tāshì, sū mutànên?	'will they leave, those people?'
FUT 3pl. leave 3pl. people.DD(pl.)	
nā gayà masà làbārìn, shī Audùn	'I told him the news, that Audu'
1sg.PF tell IOM.3m. news.DD(m.) 3m. Audu.DD(m.)	

The reinforcing post-predicate element can be an independent pronoun (+ noun) further determined by deictic-anaphoric **d'în** 'the one in question' (§2.2.1). Examples:

tīlàs sù ɗàuki jařřàbâwā, sū ɗîn	'they must take the exam, I mean them'
kā gan tà, ita Hàlīmà ɗîn?	'did you see her, that Halima?'
inà sô kì tàfi yànzu, kē ɗin nàn	'I want you to go now, you that is'

A reflexive pronoun can also be used appositionally as a reinforcing tag mechanism, e.g. **bā nà̀ sôn hakà, nī kâinā** 'I don't like this, I myself'.

Right-dislocated amplificatory NPs are often introduced by the deictic appositional conjunct **wà̀tò̀** (= **wà̀tàu**) 'namely, that is, I mean' (also used in nonrestrictive relative clauses, §**12**:4.2). Examples:

ɗan'uwānā, wà̀tò̀ Mūsā	'my brother, that is Musa'
yā kàmātà kà sàyā, wà̀tò̀ ita Mařsandî	
'you should buy (it), I mean the Mercedes'	
dōgō nè̀, wà̀tò̀ shī Mūsân	'he's tall, I mean that Musa'
dōguwā cè̀, wà̀tò̀ ita màtātā	'she's tall, I mean my wife'

The right-dislocated constituent can also be a nominalized nonfinite VP:

mun wunì munà̀ yînsà, wà̀tò̀ nēman zōbè̀
= mun wunì munà̀ yîn hakà, wà̀tò̀ nēman zōbè̀
'we spent the afternoon doing it/this, in other words looking for a ring'

Chapter 10
Personal Non-Subject Pronouns

1. Introduction

Pronouns are closed sets of morphemes which are dependent, as deictic elements, on the (extra)linguistic context for recoverability and appropriate interpretation. In functional terms, Hausa pronouns group into two major sets—personal pronouns and non-personal pronouns. The first set contains intrinsically definite personal pronouns, which further divide into two types: (a) inflectional *subject* (agreement) pronouns which occur preverbally as part of the "person-aspect complex" within the tense/aspect-marking TAM system, e.g. **yârā** [**sun**]$_{3pl.PF}$ **dāwō** 'the children (they) have returned'; and (b) *non-subject* pronouns, i.e. all other pronouns, e.g. **nā gan** [**sù**]$_{3pl}$ d.o. pro 'I saw them', **yāròn**[**sù**]$_{3pl}$ poss. pro 'their boy'. Although subject and non-subject personal pronouns together constitute a core, high-frequency class with shared morphological properties, copying the person, number and gender features of the controlling antecedent, the two sets fulfil different syntactic functions. (Preverbal subject-agreement pronouns within the TAM system are described separately in §6.)

Members of the second, non-personal pronoun set differ from personal pronouns in that they are not marked for person, but are often marked for gender and number. They substitute for and behave syntactically like 3rd person nouns, and some have important determinative functions. The class of non-personal pronouns includes demonstratives, e.g. **wancàn** m. 'that (one)', interrogatives, e.g. **wà** m. 'who(m)?', specific indefinite pronouns, e.g. **wata** f. 'someone', relative pronouns, e.g. **waɗàndà** pl. '(the ones) who(m)', and universal pronouns, e.g. **kōwā** m. 'everyone'. See **§9** and **§12** for descriptions of their morphology and syntactic (including determinative) usages, and for various treatments of pronouns, see: Abraham (1959b: 19ff.), Gouffé (1978), Hodge

(1967), Kraft (1974), Newman (1979b, 1995), Parsons (1960b: 13), Pilszczikowa (1969: 16-19), Wolff (1993: chap. 3), Bello (1992) and Caron (1991) for dialect variants, and especially Newman (2000: chap. 59).

2. Personal Pronoun Sets

In the non-subject personal pronoun paradigms, there are eight distinct categories: five forms in the singular (1sg, 2m, 2f, 3m, 3f), and three in the plural (1pl, 2pl, 3pl). The 2nd and 3rd persons thus display the maximal three-way m./f./pl. contrast, whereas there is no m./f. distinction present in the 1st person, or in any of the plural personal pronouns. (In the preverbal subject-agreement pronoun TAM sets, there is an additional Impersonal plural (4pl) pronoun with no gender/number variation.) Non-subject personal pronouns can be grouped into the following eight subclasses, based on morphology and syntactic function:

1. Independent free-standing pronouns (§2.1), e.g. **kē** 'you' (2f), **shī** 'he' (3m), **kū** 'you' (2pl).
2. Direct object "strong" pronouns with H tone (§2.2.1), e.g. **ki** 'you' (2f), **shi** 'him' (3m), **ku** 'you' (2pl).
3. Direct object "weak" clitic pronouns with L tone (§2.2.2), e.g. **-kì** 'you' (2f), **-shì** 'him' (3m), **-kù** 'you' (2pl).
4. Indirect object pronouns (§2.3), e.g. **mi-kì** 'to/for you' (2f), **ma-sà** 'to/for him' (3m), **mu-kù** 'to/for you' (2pl).
5. Free possessive pronouns (§2.4), e.g. (masculine possessee referents) **nā-kì** 'yours' (2f), **nā-sà** 'his' (3m), **nā-kù** 'yours' (2pl).
6. Bound genitive pronouns (§2.5), e.g. **yāròn-kì** 'your (2f) boy', **yāròn-sà** 'his (3m) boy', **yāròn-kù** 'your (2pl) boy'.
7. Reflexives (§2.6), consisting of **kâi** m. 'head' plus (the linker **-n** and) a genitive pronoun suffix, e.g. **kân-kì** 'yourself' (2f), **kân-sà** 'himself' (3m), **kân-kù** 'yourselves' (2pl).

8. Reciprocals (§2.7), formed with **jūnā** m. 'body' plus (the linker **-n** and) a plural genitive pronoun suffix, e.g. **jūnan-kù** 'one another' (2pl), **jūnan-sù** 'each other' (3pl).

Table 28 below displays the eight distinct paradigms of non-subject personal pronouns and shows that the pronominal elements vary mainly in tone and/or vowel length (syllable weight). From the point of view of tonal specification, there are two subgroups: (1) intrinsically H tone independent and "strong" direct object pronouns; and (2) L tone clitic pronouns, e.g. "weak" direct object and bound genitive pronouns. Morphological segmentation of the various pronouns is indicated in the relevant sections following Table 28.

Table 28. Non-subject personal pronouns

	Independent	Strong object	Weak object	Indirect object
1sg	**nī**	**ni**	**-nì**	**minì/mîn**
2m	**kai**	**ka**	**-kà**	**makà/mâ/mā**
2f	**kē**	**ki**	**-kì**	**mikì**
3m	**shī**	**shi**	**-shì**	**masà/mishì/mâs/mâř**
3f	**ita**	**ta**	**-tà**	**matà**
1pl	**mū**	**mu**	**-mù**	**manà**
2pl	**kū**	**ku**	**-kù**	**mukù**
3pl	**sū**	**su**	**-sù**	**musù**

	Free possessive		Bound genitive	
	m./pl. referent	f. referent	m./pl. host	f. host
1sg	**nằwa**	**tằwa**	**-nā**	**-tā**
2m	**nākà**	**tākà**	**-nkà**	**-řkà**
2f	**nākì**	**tākì**	**-nkì**	**-řkì**
3m	**nāsà/nāshì**	**tāsà/tāshì**	**-nsà/-nshì**	**-řsà/-řshì**
3f	**nātà**	**tātà**	**-ntà**	**-řtà**
1pl	**nāmù**	**tāmù**	**-nmù**	**-řmù**
2pl	**nākù**	**tākù**	**-nkù**	**-řkù**
3pl	**nāsù**	**tāsù**	**-nsù**	**-řsù**

	Reflexive	Reciprocal
1sg	**kâinā**	
2m	**kânkà**	
2f	**kânkì**	
3m	**kânsà/kânshì**	
3f	**kântà**	
1pl	**kânmù**	**jūnanmù (jūnā)**
2pl	**kânkù**	**jūnankù (jūnā)**
3pl	**kânsù**	**jūnansù (jūnā)**

2.1. Independent pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1	**nī**	1	**mū**
2m	**kai**	2	**kū**
2f	**kē**		
3m	**shī**	3	**sū**
3f	**ita**		

Independent free-standing pronouns all have a H tone, bimoraic structure—either a long vowel (1sg **nī**), diphthong (2m **kai**) or two syllables (3f **ita** only). They function syntactically as autonomous proforms for coreferential nouns in the following contexts:

1. As the subject or predicate argument of nonverbal equational and identificational sentences typically formed with a copula, e.g. **kai nè mālàminsà**? 'are you his teacher?', **shī mālàmī nè = mālàmī nè shī** 'he is a teacher', **ita mài kyâu cē** 'she is beautiful', **nī nè** 'it's me' (masculine referent), cf. **nī cè** 'it's me' (feminine referent).

2. As a topicalized or focussed constituent, e.g. **nī kàm, bā nà sôn wannàn àbinci** 'as for me, I don't like this food', **kai nè na ganī (bà ita ba)** 'it was *you* I

saw (not her)', **shī kaɗai ya zō** 'only *he* came', **yā ƙubùtà takàřdâř shī kânsà** 'he wrote the letter *himself*' (= emphatic reflexive).

3. Following the core prepositions **dà** 'with' (including **dà**-conjoined coordinate expressions), **dàgà** '(apart) from', **sai** 'only, except, just', **ta** 'through, by way of', and **yà** 'like, same as, equal to'. Examples: **yā tàfi dà sū** 'he left with them', **(dà) nī dà ita mun ràbu** 'me and her we've separated', **sunà bìye dà mū** 'they are following us', **dàgà nī sai kai** 'apart from me just you', **yā dūbà ta ita** 'he looked through it (the window)', **mālàmī yà shī** 'a teacher like him'. Complex prepositions formed with **dà** also require an independent personal pronoun in the complement, e.g. **sunà zàune kusa dà/nēsà dà/dāma dà/hagu dà mū** 'they live near/far from/to the right of/to the left of us', **ban dà nī bābù wani nân** 'apart from me there is no one here', **inà ƙasà/samà dà shī** 'I am inferior to/superior to him'.

4. Pronominal objects of grade 5 verbs formed with the (homophonous) **dà** particle, e.g. **nā sayař dà ita** 'I sold it', **mun gai dà sū** 'we greeted them'.

5. Following existential **dà** 'there is/are', its negative counterparts **bābù** and **bâ** 'there is/are not' (some speakers allow a H tone d.o. pronoun after **bâ**), and other functors like **gāra/gwàmmà** '(it is) better, rather', e.g. **àkwai kâsuwā nân gàrī**?—**ī, dà ita** 'is there a market in this town?—yes, there is one', **fētùř, ai bābù/bâ shī à nân** 'petrol, well there isn't any here', **gāra nī** 'rather me (than someone else)'.

6. To express a personal pronoun direct object separated from the preceding verb, e.g. **zân kāwō makà ita** 'I'll bring it to you' (where **makà** = intervening indirect object).

7. Independent pronouns can also occur as prehead determiners, where they are used to reinforce the identity of a following coreferential definite (personal) noun

or NP, e.g. (with literal translations) [**shī**]$_i$ [**wannàn mùtumìn**]$_i$... '[he]$_i$ [this man]$_i$...', **kā ga** [**ita**]$_i$ [**Kàndè**]$_i$ **à kàsuwā**? 'did you see [her]$_i$ [Kande]$_i$ at market?', ...[**shī**]$_i$ [**gwamnà**]$_i$ **ya cè**... '...[he]$_i$ [the governor]$_i$ said...'.

2.2. *Object pronouns*

There are two distinct paradigms of segmentally identical object pronouns, minimally distinguished by tone—a H tone "strong" set (2.2.1) and a (default) L tone "weak" set (2.2.2). Both sets require that the preceding syllable be heavy, and both regularly function as the direct objects of finite transitive verbs. Object pronouns are all monomoraic and differ from their morphologically related (bimoraic) independent counterparts in that they cannot be focussed, conjoined, or contrastively stressed, and may, in the case of the weak pronoun clitics, undergo morphophonological restructuring.

2.2.1. *Strong (H tone) object pronouns*

Singular		Plural	
1	**ni**	1	**mu**
2m	**ka**	2	**ku**
2f	**ki**		
3m	**shi**	3	**su**
3f	**ta**		

Intrinsically H tone strong object pronouns are reflexes of an original H tone "free set" (Newman 1979b: 183ff.).[1] This explains why the direct object pronouns in some of the examples in (1) and (2) below appear with H tone, despite the fact that they follow verb-final H tone syllables, thereby ruling out the traditional "tonal polarity" analysis, i.e. H tone pronoun after preceding verb-final L tone. The H tone strong pronoun occurs in the following environments:

[1]Cf. the segmentally identical L tone subject-agreement pronouns which Newman & Schuh (1974: 9) reconstruct as: (1sg) ***nì***, (2m) ***kà***, (2f) ***kì***, (3m) ***sì***, (3f) ***tà***, (1pl) ***mù***, (2pl) ***kù***, (3pl) ***sù***.

1. H tone strong d.o. pronouns are most common with derived verbs in grades 4 and (marginally) grade 5, in addition to basic and derived applicative grade 1 verbs (the fused L tone weak pronouns co-occur mainly with basic grades 0 and 2 verbs). Examples: **nā dūbà shi** (gr1) 'I looked at it', **nā kařàntā shi** (gr1) 'I read it', **dùbā ta**! (gr1) 'look at her!', **tā riƙè shi** (gr4) 'she held it', **tā shimfìɗē shi** (gr4) 'she spread it out', **sun îskē su** (gr4) 'they found them', **ƙyàlē shi**! (gr4) 'ignore him!', **yā sayař ta** (gr5) 'he sold it' (cf. the more common gr5 **yā sayař dà ita**).

2. The lexical H tone strong object pronoun can also act as a so-called "Intransitive Copy Pronoun" (ICP), copying the person-number-gender features of the pre-verbal subject (Frajzyngier 1977, Newman 1971b, Tuller 1997). Enclitic ICPs are synchronically restricted to following the deictic motion-verbs **jē** 'go' and **zō** 'come', e.g. **tā jē-ta gidā** 'she went home', **nā zō-ni** 'I've arrived', **kù jē-ku** 'off you (pl) go'.

3. It functions as the pronominal complement of the presentative functor **gà** 'here is/are, there is/are', e.g. **gà ka**! 'there you are then!', **gà ni nā zō** 'here I am I've come', **gà shi kuma...** 'what's more...' (lit. there it is moreover), **gà ta cân kusa dà tēbùř** 'there it is over there near the table'.

4. It occurs as a pre-head 3rd person plural marker, e.g. **su Audù sun zō** 'Audu & friends have arrived', **su-wànē nè** (= **su-wà**) **sukà mutù**? 'who (pl) died?', **su-wānè sun zō** 'the whatsits have come'.

2.2.2. Weak (L tone) object pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1	**-nì**	1	**-mù**
2m	**-kà**	2	**-kù**
2f	**-kì**		
3m	**-shì**	3	**-sù**
3f	**-tà**		

Weak object pronouns with surface L tones—reflexes of the "bound set" (Newman 1979b: 183ff.)—are fused suffixes which are identical with the weak genitive pronoun clitics (1sg excepted). From an analytical perspective, this weak paradigm could alternatively be viewed as consisting of intrinsically toneless pronouns, where the surface tone either defaults to L or is polar to the H tone on the immediately preceding host-final syllable (see Newman 2000: chap. 59). These L tone pronouns occur in the following environments (orthographically separate words but in this section linked to the host verb with hyphens):

1. Following finite transitive verbs in basic grades 0 and 2, as well as derived grade 5 verbs with the B-form final **-ē**, e.g. **zā mù yī-shì** (gr0) 'we will do it', **mukàn shā-shì** (gr0) 'we drink it', **yā biyā-nì** (gr0) 'he paid me', **tā sàyē-shì à kàsuwā** (gr2) 'she bought it at the market', **sun tàmbàyē-mù** (gr2) 'they asked us', **nā san-tà** (gr2*) 'I know her', **nā gaishē-sù** (gr5) 'I greeted them'. With imperative expressions such as **shǎ-shi**! 'drink it!', **tàmbàyè-ta**! 'ask her!', the surface H tone object pronoun is the outcome of the LH imperative tone melody superimposed on the verb + incorporated pronoun. Whereas grade 1 and grade 4 verbs take the strong H tone object pronoun, all H tone grade 6 verbs use the same surface L tone pronoun clitic required by grades 0 and 2 verbs, e.g. **mâ kāwō-tà** (gr6) 'we'll (probably) bring her', **kà karantō-shì** (gr6) 'read it'. This is perhaps due to analogic pressure from all H tone gr0 verb + d.o. pronoun configurations, e.g. **yā biyā-nì** (gr0) 'he paid me', where the pronoun takes polar L tone on the surface (though not underlyingly).

In fast speech the final **-ì** of the 1sg **nì** and 3m **shì** (< ***sì**) weak object pronouns can be deleted and the residual L tone then produces a Fall on the final syllable of the host verb, e.g. **sun zâɓâ-n** (gr2) 'they chose me' (</= **zàɓē-nì**, with consequent shortening and centralizing of verb-final **-ē** to /**a**/ in the closed syllable), **zân tàimàkâ-s** = (rhotacized) **zân tàimàkâ-r̃** (gr2) 'I'll help him' (</= **tàimàkē-shì**), **sun kirâ-n tằrō** (gr0) 'they called me to the meeting' (</= **kirā-nì**).

2. L tone weak pronouns also occur as complements of some deictic function words, e.g. existential **àkwai** 'there is/are', ostensive **ungo(o)** (also LH **ùngo(o)**) 'here is/are', and the pre-pronoun preposition **gàrē** '(in relation) to'. Examples: **lèmō, àkwai-sù** 'oranges, there are some', **ungō-shì** 'here it is (take it)' (with final **-o** lengthening → **-ō** before the pronoun enclitic), **nā bā dà kuɗī gàrē-sù** 'I gave away the money to them'.

2.3. Indirect object pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1	**minì/mîn**	1	**manà**
2m	**makà/mâ/mā**	2	**mukù**
2f	**mikì**		
3m	**masà/mishì/mâs/mâř**	3	**musù**
3f	**matà**		

Indirect object (i.o.) pronouns are formed by attaching the indirect object marker **ma-** to a following fused L tone pronoun (= single orthographic word), e.g. **ma-kà** 'to/for you (m)', **ma-tà** 'to/for her', etc. The **ma-** formative has H (?dissimilated) tone before the following L tone pronoun suffix—before noun indirect objects the marker is L tone **mà = wà**. The vowel of the **ma-** usually assimilates to the bound pronoun vowel in SH (it is sometimes preserved in other dialects), e.g. (1sg) **manì** → **minì**, (3m) **mashì** → **mishì**, (2pl) **makù** → **mukù**. The 1sg and 3m pronouns regularly apocopate the final vowel but preserve the underlying L tone, producing a F (= HL) on the output, i.e. **minì** → **mîn** (sometimes [mn̩]), **masà** → **mâs** (which often rhotacizes to **mâř**). (The **mishì** 3m variant does not permit final vowel deletion.) The apocopated 2m **mâ/mā** (</= **ma-kà**) variants drop the whole **-kà** pronoun suffix but the residual lexical L tone is sometimes preserved, generating a F on the **mâ**, which can then simplify to H **mā**. The underlying bimoraic structure is also preserved. The anomalous SH 1pl **-nà** suffix is a reflex of an archaic possessive pronoun ***na**—the i.o. pronouns were originally possessives (Newman 1980a: 16-17, 1982).

Examples (immediate postverbal position, see **§11**:8 for the syntax of indirect object constructions):

yā nunâ minì/mîn hôtôn	'he showed me the photo'
zân gayâ makà/mâ/mā	'I'll tell you (2m)'
takàn sayō manà shìnkāfā	'she buys rice for us'

Ùsmân Mùhammèd kè kařantō mukù lâbāřì

'Usman Muhammed is reading the news to you (2pl)'

2.4. Free possessive pronouns

	m./pl. referent	f. referent
1sg	**nâwa**	**tâwa**
2m	**nākà**	**tākà**
2f	**nākì**	**tākì**
3m	**nāsà/nāshì**	**tāsà/tāshì**
3f	**nātà**	**tātà**
1pl	**nāmù**	**tāmù**
2pl	**nākù**	**tākù**
3pl	**nāsù**	**tāsù**

The autonomous possessive pronouns (e.g. 'mine', 'yours', etc.) consist of a long vowel genitive linker **nā-** (m./pl. possessee referent) or **tā-** (f. possessee referent), followed by the L tone CV genitive pronoun, except for the H tone 1st person singular **-wa** form. The tone on the linker is polar to the tone of the following pronoun, and so is H in all persons except the 1st person singular, e.g. (H-L) **nātà nē** 'it's hers' (m./pl. referent), **tāmù cē** 'it's ours (f.)', cf. (L-H) **nâwa nè** 'it's mine (m./pl.)', **tâwa cè** 'it's mine (f.)'.

These free possessives often function as independent proforms, e.g. **nāmù yā fi nāsù** 'ours (m.) is better than theirs (m.)', **wannàn rìgā tâwa cè** 'this gown is mine (f.)', **nā ga nākà** 'I saw yours (pl.)' (where the verb takes the form it would before a nominal object). However, they can also act as pre- and posthead determiners. (See **§9**:2.5.1 for details of syntactic usage.) Examples:

à nâwa ř̃a'àyîn... 'in *my* opinion...' (= emphatic-contrastive)

rìgař̃ nàn tâwa tā yi tsàdā 'this gown of mine is expensive'
(with intervening demonstrative)

ìnā àlāwùs nāmù? 'where's our allowance?' (following loanword)

gâ wata *friend* **tâwa** 'here's a friend of mine'
(following non-assimilated foreign word)

2.5. *Bound genitive pronouns*

	m./pl. host	f. host
1sg	**-nā**	**-tā**
2m	**-nkà**	**-ř̃kà**
2f	**-nkì**	**-ř̃kì**
3m	**-nsà/-nshì**	**-ř̃sà/-ř̃shì**
3f	**-ntà**	**-ř̃tà**
1pl	**-nmù**	**-ř̃mù**
2pl	**-nkù**	**-ř̃kù**
3pl	**-nsù**	**-ř̃sù**

Bound [head-of-pronoun] genitive constructions consist of the enclitic genitive linker **-n/-ř̃** followed by a fused pronoun (the genitival forms of the personal pronouns), e.g. **mōtàř̃sà** 'his car' < **mōtà** + **-ř̃-sà** (= single orthographic word **motarsa**, with linking hyphens used in this section). Long vowels in closed syllables automatically shorten following attachment of the linker and pronoun. In addition to its conventional possessive meaning, the genitive pronoun can also be used to express host-pronoun relationships which are semantically non-possessive (see §9:2.5.2 for full syntactic distribution).

The form of the linker element is syntactically and phonologically determined, and the basic (historically original) forms of the genitive linker are **na** (m.), **ta** (f.), **na** (pl.)—a widespread Afroasiatic pattern (Greenberg 1960). The feminine linker **-ř̃** (< ***ta**) attaches to a feminine gender possessee head ending in **-a(a)**, e.g. **ɾìga-ř̃kà** 'your gown (f.)', **ɾasa-ř̃mù** 'our country (f.)'. Elsewhere, i.e. on governing masculine and plural hosts (whatever the final vowel), and on words

not ending in **-a(a)** (whatever their gender), the linker **-n** (< ***na**) is used, e.g. **yārò-ntà** 'her boy (m.)', **mōtōci-nmù** 'our cars (pl.)', **rīgunà-nsà** 'his gowns (pl.)', **gida-nsù** 'their house' (m. head ending in **a(a)**), **àku-nsà** 'his parrot' (f. head not ending in **-a(a)**).

With the exception of the 1st person singular, the monomoraic, L tone personal pronoun suffixes are the same as those occurring with the free-standing possessives (§2.4). The 1st person singular suffix **-nā/-tā** is composed of the basic short vowel **na/ta** linker plus a vocalic H tone 1sg. pronoun **-a** (which also occurs in the 1sg free possessive suffix **-(w)a**), i.e. **rìgātā** 'my gown' has the segmental structure **rìgā-ta-a**, **yārònā** 'my boy' = **yārò-na-a**, *friend* **ɗīnā** = *friend* **ɗī-na-a**, etc. In pre-pausal position, the long vowel 1st person suffix has intermediate "indeterminate" length and is checked by glottal closure, e.g. **gà yārò-nā** = [yārònaˑʔ] 'here is my boy', **gà màtā-tā** = [màtātaˑʔ] 'here is my wife' (a sub-phonemic feature not indicated in this grammar).

The coda position feminine linker **-r̃** often assimilates to/geminates with the following consonant (especially in WH), though the spelling is usually etymological, e.g. **mōtà-r̃kà** [mōtàkkà] 'your (m.) car', **mōtà-r̃sà** [mōtàssà] 'his car', **mōtà-r̃tà** [mōtàttà] 'her car'. The m./pl. **-n** linker automatically assimilates to the point of articulation of a following nasal or velar, e.g. **mōtōci-nmù** [mōtōcimmù] 'our cars', **tùlu-nkì** [tùluŋkì] 'your (f.) water-pot'.

Before a bound genitive pronoun the host-final vowel is long, either because it is lexically long or is morphophonemically lengthened following attachment of the suffix (Schuh 1977a: 174). The lengthening shows up in the 1st person singular where the syllable before the bound possessive (linker + vocalic pronoun) is open, e.g. **bàbā-nā** 'my father' (cf. **bàba** 'father'), **bābà-tā** 'my (paternal) aunt' (cf. **bābà** '(paternal) aunt'). The same process is also apparent in examples such as **àkū-nasà** 'his parrot' (cf. **àku** 'parrot'), an old possessive construction (see below). Elsewhere, suffixation of the linker + consonant-initial pronoun produces a closed final syllable on the host noun, and so the vowel (whether lengthened or underlyingly long) automatically shortens, e.g. **yārò-nmù** 'our boy' (cf. **yārò** 'boy'), **bàba-nsà** 'his father'.

With a small number of high-frequency, often inalienable, possessee nouns, an alternative archaic possessive form is attested which is made up of the basic feminine genitive linker **ta** (less commonly with masculine **na**) followed by a 3rd person singular possessive pronoun, e.g. **màtā-tasà** 'his wife', **'yā-tasà** 'his daughter', **ƙafà-tatà** 'her leg' (**mijì-natà** 'her husband').

2.6. Reflexives

Singular		Plural	
1	**kâinā**	1	**kânmù**
2m	**kânkà**	2	**kânkù**
2f	**kânkì**		
3m	**kânsà/kânshì**	3	**kânsù**
3f	**kântà**		

Reflexive pronouns are phrasal anaphors formed with the noun **kâi** m. 'head' plus the **-n** linker plus a genitive (possessive) pronoun suffix which copies the person/number/gender features of the antecedent, e.g. **kâi-n-ā** 'myself' (lit. head-of-1sg), **kâ-n-sà** 'himself' (head-of-3m, with /**ai**/ to /**a**/ reduction in the closed syllable). Reflexives are either basic, e.g. **yārinyàř tā cùci kântà** 'the girl harmed herself', or emphatic, e.g. **sū kânsù zā sù gayà makà** 'they *themselves* will tell you'. (See §**9**:6.1 for details.)

2.7. Reciprocals

1pl	**jūnanmù**	(**jūnā**)
2pl	**jūnankù**	(**jūnā**)
3pl	**jūnansù**	(**jūnā**)

Reciprocals use the masculine singular noun **jūnā** 'each other, one another' (cognate with **jìkī** 'body'), usually with the linker **-n** and a bound genitive pronoun which is coreferential with the plural antecedent, e.g. **jūna-n-sù** 'each other' (3pl) (lit. each-of-3pl). Examples (plural reference, objective only): **kun ga jūnankù à Landàn**? 'did you (pl) see one another in London?', **mun kařàntà tàkàřdun jūnanmù** 'we read each other's papers'. (See §**9**:6.2 for details.)

Chapter 11
The Syntax of Simplex Clauses

1. Introduction: Simple Sentence Types

In terms of syntax and function, simple sentences are classifiable into the following categories:

1. Verbal declarative sentences, where the verb heading the predicate can be finite or nonfinite (§2).
2. Non-verbal sentences, which contain no verbal element and are of two types: (a) an Imperfective TAM with stative HAVE (§6.2.1), locative (§6.2.2), adverbial stative (§6.2.3), and quasi-equational predicates (§6.2.4); (b) non-verbal constructions without any form of TAM, including equationals (§6.1.1, §6.1.2), existentials (§6.1.3), and presentatives (§6.1.4).
3. Interrogatives of verbal and non-verbal sentences. (*Wh-* and *yes-no* questions are handled in **§12**.)
4. Imperatives (commands, directives, requests, suggestions, etc., §4).
5. Exclamations (§9).

Major general treatments of Hausa syntax include: Abraham (1959b), Gouffé (1964, 1967/68, 1968/69), Tuller (1981/82, 1986, 1989), Wolff (1993: chap. 7), and especially Newman (2000: chaps. 26, 65, 75, and 78).

2. Simple Declarative Verbal Sentences

Simple declarative verbal sentences, used to make statements, assertions, narrate stories, etc., contain a single independent clause with a TAM and a predicate-head verb which is either finite or nonfinite. (See **§6** for TAMs and **§14** for multiple

sentences containing coordinate and subordinate clauses.) Hausa is a strict SVO language in which the neutral simplex (subject-predicate unit) sentence contains a subject + person-aspect-complex (PAC) + verb phrase (VP) headed by a finite or nonfinite verb, where the PAC consists of a subject-agreement pronoun and a TAM-marker. Examples:

subject	PAC	VP
mālàmīnā	**yanà**	**kōyà minì Hausa**
teacher.of.1sg	3m.IMPF	teach to.1sg Hausa
'my teacher is teaching me Hausa'		
rānā	**tā**	**fāɗì**
sun	3f.PF	fall
'the sun has set'		

2.1. Clause structure elements

2.1.1. Subject

The preverbal subject (Subj) is typically an NP, noun or pronoun, which occurs to the left of, and controls agreement on, the PAC, e.g. **yārinyà** 'girl', **Mūsā** 'Musa', **wannàn** 'this (one)', **wani** 'someone (m.)', **yârā dà mânyā** 'children and adults' (= conjoined NP). Adjectives can also function as clause subjects, e.g. **[ƙàramîn]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **yā fi** 'the little one is better', as can simple adverbs, e.g. **[jībi]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **tā yi nīsā** 'the day after tomorrow is a long way off'. The subject can also be a nominalized VP (verbonominal or infinitival), e.g. **[ganinkà]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **yanà dà haɗàřī** 'seeing you is dangerous', **[kammàlà aikìn nân]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **zâi yi wùyā** 'finishing this work will be difficult'.

Hausa is a "pro-drop" language, disallowing simple pronouns in the subject position, and the person-number-gender features of the underlying subject show up on the subject-agreement pronoun contained within the PAC. Examples:

[pro]$_{\text{Subj}}$ [**zā sù**]$_{\text{PAC}}$ **gyārà mōtàřsà**	→	[Ø]$_{\text{Subj}}$ [**zā sù**]$_{\text{PAC}}$ **gyārà mōtàřsà**
pro FUT 3pl fix car.of.3m		Ø FUT 3pl fix car.of.3m
'they will fix his car'		

[pro]$_{Subj}$ [**sun**]$_{PAC}$ **tàfi**	→	[Ø]$_{Subj}$ [**sun**]$_{PAC}$ **tàfi**
pro 3pl.PF go		Ø 3pl.PF go
'they have gone'		
[pro]$_{Subj}$ [**tanầ**]$_{PAC}$ **zuwầ jāmi'ầ**	→	[Ø]$_{Subj}$ [**tanầ**]$_{PAC}$ **zuwầ jāmi'ầ**
pro 3f.IMPF go.VN university		Ø 3f.IMPF go.VN university
'she goes to university'		

If a pronoun occurs as a constituent of an emphatic reflexive pronoun, conjoined or topicalized expression, where the constituent is overtly expressed, it takes the form of an independent pronoun:

[**sū kânsù**]$_{Subj}$ [**sun**]$_{PAC}$ **gamà aikìn**	'they themselves finished the work'
[**nī dà ita**]$_{Subj}$ [**mun**]$_{PAC}$ **ràbu**	'she and I (I and she) have separated'
[**nī**]$_{Subj}$ [**nā**]$_{PAC}$ **sanì**?	'how do I know?' (lit. I 1sg.PF know?)

2.1.2. Person-aspect-complex (PAC)

The second-position person-aspect-complex (PAC) is made up of two morphemes which together constitute a pre-verbal inflectional sequence (INFL)—an overt inflectional subject-agreement pronoun (SAP) which copies the person-number-gender features of the coreferential subject, overt or null, together with a marker of tense/aspect/mood (TAM). With the exception of the Future (and the quasi-TAM Allative), where the TAM precedes the SAP, the linear order of these morphemes is SAP + TAM. In specifiable environments (**§6**), either the SAP or TAM can be omitted (the TAM is phonologically zero in the default Neutral paradigm). Examples (with overt subjects and PAC segmentation):

Audù [ya-nầ = Ø-nầ]$_{PAC}$ kallon talàbijìn
Audu 3m-IMPF = Ø-IMPF watch.VN.of television
'Audu is watching television'
mầtātā [zā tà]$_{PAC}$ tàfi kầsuwā [tà Ø-TAM**]$_{PAC}$ sàyi shìnkāfā**
wife.of.1sg FUT 3f go market 3f.Ø-TAM buy rice
'my wife will go to market and buy rice'

Phonologically lightweight function words such as modal particles and quantifiers can occur between the PAC and following VP, e.g. **nā fa [gayà makà]** 'I definitely told you', **Audù yā kò [isō]** 'Audu has certainly arrived', **yanà yawàn [ganintà] à makaɾantā** 'he sees her a lot at school', **nā ɗan [tàimàkē shì]** 'I helped him a bit'.

2.1.3. Verb phrase and major clause types

The verb phrase (VP) is headed by a verb, finite or nonfinite, followed by any other clause structure predicative elements, e.g. objects, complements, adverbs, which may be required for the complementation of a particular verb (see §3 for syntactic classification of verbs). The VP can consist of the following elements: a simple intransitive verb (= SV, where S = Subject); a monotransitive verb + direct object (SVO_d); a "dative" verb + indirect object (SVO_i); a copular verb + subject complement (SVComp); an intransitive verb + (locative) adverb (SVAdv); a ditransitive verb + indirect object + direct object (SVO_iO_d); a transitive verb + direct object + object complement (SVO_dComp); or a transitive verb + direct object + (locative) adverb (SVO_dAdv). Examples of key clause types with overt subjects (mainly affirmative) are:

Subj PAC [V] (intransitive verb)

Bintà tā [ɓatà]$_{VP}$	'Binta got lost'
Binta 3f.PF get lost	
rānā tanà [fāɗùwā]$_{VP}$	'the sun is setting'
sun 3f.IMPF fall.VN	

Subj PAC [VO_d] (monotransitive verb)

Mūsā zâi [gyārà mōtàř]$_{VP}$	'Musa will fix the car'
Musa FUT.3m fix car.DD(f)	
yârā sun [dòkē shì]$_{VP}$	'the boys beat him'
boys 3pl.PF beat 3m	

Subj PAC [VO_i] (dative verb)

sōjōjī sun [ƙuntàtā musù]$_{VP}$ 'the soldiers persecuted them'

soldiers 3pl.PF persecute IOM.3pl

wannàn yā [sāɓà wà dōkōkin ƙasâř]$_{VP}$

this 3m.PF break IOM laws.of country.DD(f)

'this violates the laws of the country'

Subj PAC [VComp] (copular verb)

NP complements of intransitive copular verbs predicate an attribute of the subject (= subject complement):

tsōhonsà yā [zama shùgàban ƙasā]$_{VP}$

father.of.3m 3m.PF become president.of country

'his father has become president of the country'

àl'amàřîn yā [kasàncē hakà]$_{VP}$ 'the matter has turned out so'

matter.DD(m) 3m.PF turn out so

Subj PAC [VAdv] (intransitive verb)

ɓàrāwòn yā [shigō ta tāgà]$_{VP}$

thief.DD(m) 3m.PF come in through window

'the thief came in through the window'

hanyà tā [fārà dàgà nân]$_{VP}$ 'the road begins from here'

road 3f.PF begin from here

Subj PAC [VO_iO_d] (ditransitive verb)

Indirect objects (§8) are placed immediately to the right of the verb, before any direct object or other constituent:

Kànde takàn [dafà minì àbinci]$_{VP}$ 'Kande cooks food for me'

Kande 3f.HAB cook IOM.1sg food

Mūsā yanà [nūnà wà Audù hōtunàn]$_{VP}$

Musa 3m.IMPF show IOM Audu photos.DD(pl)

'Musa is showing the photos to Audu'

Subj PAC [VO$_d$Comp] (transitive verb)

NP complements of transitive verbs predicate a property of the object (= "small clause" object complement in current syntactic formulations), with no overt marking of the object complement:

membōbī sun [naɗà shi ciyàmân]$_{VP}$
members 3pl.PF appoint 3m chairman
'the members appointed him chairman'
kâř shǔgàbankà yà [ɗàukē kà wāwā]$_{VP}$
NEG boss.of.2m 3m.SJN take 2m fool
'your boss shouldn't take you as a fool'

Aspectual, manipulative and effort verbs (**§13**) can also take objective complements, e.g. (nominalized VPs) **sun [fārà [dāwôwā]**$_{Comp}$] 'they have started to return', **gwamnatì tā [hařàmtà [zub dà cikì]**$_{Comp}$] 'the government has outlawed abortion', (Subjunctive TAM VP) **zân [yi ƙòƙari(n) [nà sàmē shì]**$_{Comp}$] 'I'll try to find him'.

Subj PAC [VO$_d$Adv] (transitive verb)

yārònā yā [sakà rìgā cikin àkwàtì]$_{VP}$ (= stationary locative)
boy.of.1sg 3m.PF put gown inside box
'my boy put the gown in the box'
màtātā tā [kai yārònmù Kanò]$_{VP}$ (= goal locative)
wife.of.1sg 3f.PF take boy.of.1pl Kano
'my wife took our boy to Kano'

Whereas the complement-like locative adverbs in the above examples are obligatory arguments of the 3-place verbs, many adverbial constituents, especially non-locatives, are optional adjuncts:

(temporal) **inà shân giyà (wani lōkàcī)** 'I drink beer (sometimes)'
ɗālìbîn zâi yi kàřàtū (yâu dà dare)
'the student will study (this evening)'

(comitative) **yā zō (dà yāròn)** 'he came (with the boy)'
(instrumental) **yā yankà nāmā̀ (dà wuƙā)** 'he cut up the meat (with a knife)'
(manner) **inā̀ jîn dāɗin bìkin nàn (ƙwar̃ai)** 'I'm (really) enjoying this party'
(stationary locative) **nā hàɗu dà ita (à kā̀suwā)**
'I met her (in the market)'

3. Syntactic Classification of Verbs

Hausa verbs fall into the following syntactic classes which largely cut across the morphologically-based system of "verb grades" (§7): transitive (monotransitive or ditransitive), efferential (grade 5), intransitive, copular, dative, and sociative. Some verbs participate in more than one syntactic construction, e.g. **ci** = (tr.) 'eat' or (intr.) 'burn (fire)', **yi** = (tr.) 'do, make' or (intr.) 'come (time)', etc. See also Newman (2000: chap. 75), and Parsons (1981: 311ff.).

3.1. Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are either monotransitive with one object (= SVO_d pattern), or ditransitive with two objects (usually SVO_iO_d). Many monotransitive verbs can also function as two-object ditransitive verbs, and some are subcategorized for a direct object and object complement (= SVO_dComp). All grade 2 verbs are transitive, and transitive verbs occur in all other grades with the exception of the exclusively intransitive grades 3 and 7.

3.1.1. Monotransitive verbs (SVO_d)

Monotransitive verbs are subcategorized for a direct object NP, i.e. semantic patient. Some monotransitive verbs can also occur with an indirect object, and so overlap partially with ditransitive verbs (§3.1.2). Examples (finite verbs and nonfinite verbal nouns):

kinā̀ jîn Hausa? 'do you speak (understand) Hausa?' (gr0)

yā jā rằgôn	'he pulled along the ram' (gr0)
mề zā kà ci?	'what will you eat?' (gr0)
nā rasà kuɗī	'I don't have (lack) any money' (gr1)
zân jēfà wàsīƙàř	'I'll post the letter' (gr1 applicative)
yā sằmu aikì	'he's got a job' (gr2)
bài dằmē nì ba	'it doesn't bother me' (gr2)
zā kà tàmbàyē shì?	'will you ask him?' (gr2)
kà kashè fìtilà	'turn out the light' (gr4)
zā tà rufè kwānò	'she will cover the dish' (gr4)
kin gānề shi?	'do you recognize him?' (gr4)
nā maishē shì	'I put it back' (gr5)
kà kirāwō shì	'call him' (gr6)

The direct object can be omitted when context-recoverable, e.g. **kā gyārà** Ø? 'did you fix (it)?' (gr1), **yā sàyā** Ø 'he bought (it)' (gr2).

3.1.2. Ditransitive verbs (SVO_iO_d)

Ditransitive two-object verbs usually occur in the pattern SV + indirect object + (concrete) direct object, and the animate i.o. can have a benefactive, goal or malefactive role depending on the lexical semantics of the stem and the grade selected. Examples:

zâi yi [**mikì**]i.o. [**wùyā**]d.o. 'it will be difficult for you' (gr0)
sun gayằ [**manà**]i.o. [**làbārřì**]d.o. 'they told us the news' (gr1)
tā tunằ [**wà mijìntà**]i.o. [**àlkawàřī**]d.o. (gr1)
'she reminded her husband of the promise'
sun ƙwācề [**masà**]i.o. [**kāyā**]d.o. (gr4)
'they confiscated the baggage from him'
takàn kāwō [**wà mālàmintà**]i.o. [**aikì**]d.o. **kullum** (gr6)
'she brings work to her teacher regularly'

The context-recoverable direct object can be, and often is, ellipted:

sun gayầ [manà]i.o. Ø 'they told us (the news)'
takàn kāwō [wà mālàmintà]i.o. Ø **kullum**
'she brings (work) to her teacher regularly'

If the direct object is pronominalized, it takes the independent form:

sun ƙwācề masà sū	'they confiscated them from him'
zân kāwō makà ita	'I'll bring it to you'
yā sayầ matà shī	'he bought it for her'
mìƙō minì shī	'pass it to me'

Some verbs, mainly gr2, undergo an obligatory switch to an applicative (gr1) or D-suffix form if an indirect object is overtly expressed:

zân arầ wà Mūsā mōtàtā	'I'll lend Musa my car' (gr1 applicative)
zâi gayầ wà ɗàlìbai làbārìn (gr1 applicative)	'he will tell the students the news'
yā kōyầ manà Hausa	'he taught us Hausa' (gr1 applicative)
tā lullùɓā wà yāròntà zanề (gr1 applicative)	'she covered her child with a cloth'
zân nūnầ masà	'I'll show him (it)' (gr1 applicative)
yā nēmař minì aikì (gr2 + D-suffix)	'he looked for a job for me'
yā ambatař wà àbōkinsà zàncên (gr2 + D-suffix)	'he mentioned the problem to his friend'

There are also a number of idiomatic verbs with the fixed structure V + X[i.o.] + NP[d.o.], e.g.

bugầ wà X **tsāwā** 'scold X' (lit. hit IOM X thunderclap), **cī wà** X **àmānầ** 'betray X' (eat IOM X trust), **cī wà** X **fuskầ** 'humiliate X' (eat IOM X face), **cirề wà** X **hùlā** 'take hat off to X' (take off IOM X hat), **faràntā wà** X **râi** 'make X happy' (make white IOM X life), **shā wà** X **kâi** 'bother, concern X' (drink IOM X head)

With the triadic verb **bā/bai** 'give', an NP recipient can be expressed as an indirect object, e.g. **kà bā/bai wà mālàminkà kuɗîn** 'give your teacher the money', but if the recipient is pronominal it takes the form of a direct object pronoun, e.g. **kà bā shì kuɗîn** 'give him the money' (see also §8 for indirect objects).

A subset of verbs with ditransitive complementation, e.g. 'pay', 'beg', 'ask', etc., take a direct object followed by another object (in a double direct object construction). Examples:

zân biyā Mammàn/shì kuɗîn	'I'll pay Mamman/him the money'
kà rôƙē/nèmē shì gāfaɽà	'beg him (for) forgiveness'
yā tàmbàyi Audù dàlīlì	'he asked Audu the reason'
nā tayà Tankò baƙin cikì	'I consoled Tanko'
(lit. 1sg.PF help Tanko unhappiness)	

Note too **inà bînsà kuɗī dà yawà** 'he owes me a lot of money' (lit. I am following.of.him...), where the 3m semantic direct object is formally expressed as a possessive pronoun attached to the host strong verbal noun.

3.1.3. SVO$_d$Comp

Some transitive verbs can select a direct object followed by an object complement which is realized as a noun or occasionally an adjective, typically denoting an attribute of the preceding direct object. The predicate element is linked to the direct object with no overt marking. Examples:

sun kirā shì matsòràcī	'they called him a coward'
an sâ/naɗà shi sarkī	'he's been appointed emir'
kâɽ kì ɗàukē nì wāwā	'don't take me for a fool'
zàncên yā sâ Bàlā fushī	'the matter made Bala angry'
(see **§13**:2.2.1 for discussion of the causative verb **sâ**)	
zā mù zâɓē shì ciyâmân	'we will elect him chairman'

inầ sô kà mayař dà wannàn rìgā baƙā
'I want you to make (dye) this gown black' (= oblique gr5 object)
Audù yā fi Mūsā wầyō
'Audu is smarter than Musa'
(lit...exceeds Musa smartness = verb of comparison with an appositional measure-of-comparison)
bàn kai tà girmā ba 'I'm not as big as her'
(...reach her size = comparison)

The proform substituting for the complement object noun, as for nouns and adjectives functioning as subject complements of copular verbs (§3.5), is typically **hakà** 'so, like that, the same, thus, etc.', e.g. **sun kirā shì hakà** 'they called him so', **an sâ/naɗầ shi hakà** 'he's been appointed thus', **kâř kì ɗàukē nì hakà** 'don't treat me like that' (see also **§14**:2.5).

3.2. Efferential (grade 5) verbs

Derivative gr5 efferential verbs with the particle **dà**—possibly the 'with' preposition—govern an obligatory oblique object, which takes the independent form if pronominal:

kà shigař dà kāyā/sū	'take the stuff/them in'
zâi mai dà kuɗîn/shī	'he'll return the money/it'
zā sù tabbatař dà řàhōtòn/shī	'they will confirm the report/it'
yā tsōratař dà ita	'it frightened her'

Some gr5 efferentials can take two objects (oblique + direct), e.g. **nā ciyař dà dōkìnā dāwầ** 'I fed my horse guineacorn', **gwamnatì zā tà sanař dà jàma'ầ sābuwař dòkâř** 'the government will inform the people about the new law', **nā kōyař dà sū Hausa** 'I taught them Hausa'. Note too **yā mai dà ɗākìnsà ōfìs** 'he turned his room into an office' (= object complement).

3.3. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive one-argument verbs do not take a direct object or complement.[1] Gr3 and gr7 verbs are exclusively intransitive, and gr0, gr1, gr4 (especially), and gr6 also contain intransitive verbs. Depending upon the lexical semantics of the intransitive verb, the surface subject can perform one of two basic semantic roles. It can function either as a volitional actor initiating the verbal action, or non-volitional affected participant or undergoer. Many intransitives can be used as sociative verbs formed with the preposition **dà** 'with' (§3.8).

3.3.1. Subject = actor

Actor subjects are animate and typically human:

yā tsayà̀	'he paused' (gr1)
kà zaunà̀ nân	'sit down here' (gr1)
nā dūbà̀ (bàn gan shì ba)	'I looked (but didn't see it)' (gr1)
zân shìga (ìn ɗaukō rìgaƙà)	'I'll go in (and get your coat)' (gr3)
yā bàyyanà gàban jàma'à̀	'he appeared in public' (gr3)
fuƙsunōnîn sun tsīra	'the prisoners have escaped' (gr3a)
tā tāshì dà wuri	'she got up early' (gr3b)
shānûn sun tsinkè̀	'the cattle have broken loose' (gr4)
yā shigè̀ ɗà̀zu	'he's just gone by' (gr4)
yàushē zā kì dāwō?	'when will you come back?' (gr6)
yârā sukà ɗùru bāyansà	'the children swarmed behind him' (gr7)
zā mù hàɗu dà ƙarfè̀ biyu	'we'll meet at 2 o'clock' (gr7)

3.3.2. Subject = affected participant

The (in)animate subject of an intransitive verb can have the role of affected participant, i.e. where it is not the direct controlling causer but undergoes and is

[1] A few intransitive gr3 verbs, e.g. **ìsa** gr3 'arrive (at)', **kusa** gr3a 'be near' and **shìga** gr3 'enter', can, however, function as aspectual/modal verbs with VP or sentential complementation (**§13**:2.1.1).

affected by the verbal event/action. This category includes simple intransitive verbs (often gr3), gr4 "unaccusatives", and affected-subject gr7 verbs, some of which are semantic passives.

3.3.3. Simple intransitive verbs (mainly gr3)

Many simple intransitive verbs are gr3 forms. Examples:

tùlū yā cìka	'the waterpot filled up' (gr3)
yārinyàř tā bàlagà	'the girl has reached puberty' (gr3)
mālàmîn yā fùsātà	'the teacher got angry' (gr3)
kàkātā tā tsūfa	'my grandmother has grown old' (gr3a)
Bintà tā ɓatà	'Binta has got lost' (gr3b)
yāròn yā fāɗì	'the boy fell' (gr3b)
tā haihù	'she's given birth' (gr3b)
mutānē dà yawà sun mutù	'many people died' (gr3b)
mun ɓacè cikin gàrī	'we got completely lost in town' (gr4)
mōtātā tā kwařařřàɓē	'my car has become old/decrepit' (gr4)
majìnyàcîn yā fařřaɗō	'the patient recovered' (gr6)
hakà ya zamantō	'that's how it turned out' (gr6)

3.3.4. Unaccusatives (mainly gr4)

With one-place unaccusative verbs (mainly gr4), the surface subject corresponds to the undergoer direct object of the related transitive verb:

wani bâm yā fashè jiyà (cf. **fasà** gr1tr 'break, shatter')	'a bomb exploded yesterday'
fentì yā būshè	'the paint has dried' (cf. **būsà** gr1tr 'blow on')
ƙànƙarā tanà narkèwā	'the snow is melting' (cf. **narkà** gr1tr 'melt')
ƙōfà tā būɗè	'the door opened' (cf. **būɗà** gr1tr 'open')

3.3.5. Affected-subject gr7 verbs (including semantic passives)

A subset of gr7 affected-subject verbs are agentless passives, where the single-argument subject is the semantic patient which is totally/completely affected or

influenced by the verbal action (see also §7:3.4). When occurring with (Negative) Imperfective TAMs, passive gr7 constructions have a modal "potentiality" force. Examples:

mōtàř tā gyàru	'the car has been completely fixed'
àbinci yā dàhu	'the food is good and cooked'
kīfîn yā yànku	'the fish was well cut up'
kīfîn bā yà̀ yànkuwā	'the fish cannot be cut up'

Reciprocals constitute another category of affected-subject intransitive gr7 verbs, e.g. **mun sà̀du à jāmi'à̀** 'we met at university', **Bàlā dà mà̀tařsà zā sù ràbu** 'Bala and his wife are going to separate', where the gr7 plural subjects combine the roles of actor and experiencer.

3.4. Transitive/intransitive verbs

Some bivalent verbs occurring in grs 0, 1, 4 and 6 are free to occur in either transitive or intransitive complements:

trans:	**nā ci àbincin rāna**	'I've eaten lunch' (= gr0 **ci**)
intrans:	**kà̀suwā tanà̀ cî**	'the market is in full swing' (lit...eat.VN)
trans:	**zân yi miyà̀ dà yawà̀**	'I'll make a lot of soup' (= gr0 **yi**)
intrans:	**lōkàcī yā yi**	'the time has come' (lit...3m.PF do)
trans:	**zân kai tà gidā**	'I'll take her home' (= gr0* **kai**)
intrans:	**yā kai gidā**	'he arrived home'
trans:	**an ɗagà rānā**	'the day has been moved' (= gr1 **ɗagà̀**)
intrans:	**bà̀ zân ɗagà̀ dàgà nân ba**	'I won't move from here'
trans:	**yā kāmà tsuntsū**	'he caught a bird' (= gr1 **kāmà̀**)
intrans:	**àbîn yā kāmà̀ dàgà nân**	'the thing starts from here'
trans:	**yā būɗè ƙōfà̀**	'he opened the door' (= gr4 **būɗè**)
intrans:	**ƙōfà̀ tā būɗè**	'the door opened'
trans:	**yā ɓōyè kuɗîn**	'he hid the money' (= gr4 **ɓōyè**)
intrans:	**yā ɓōyè̀ cikin ɗākī̀**	'he hid in the room'

trans:	**nā kāwō littāfîn**	'I've brought the book' (= gr6 **kāwō**)
intrans:	**sun kāwō kàsuwā**	'they've arrived at the market'

3.5. Copular verbs

Copular verbs are followed by, and predicate a property of, subject complements. Copular complementation is typically nominal, but can be adjectival, and because many copular verbs are semantically stative, they usually cannot co-occur with an Imperfective TAM. Independent copular verbs are few in number—'be(come) X' copular notions are usually expressed by individual intransitive verbs, e.g. **fùsātà** gr3 'become angry', **gàji** gr3* 'become tired'—and most are gr1, gr3, or gr4. The two principal copular verbs are **zama** gr3a 'be(come)' (also gr3 **zàmanà** and gr6 **zamantō**) and **kasàncē** gr4 'be(come), turn out'. Others include **kōmà** gr1 'become, end up' (also gr6 **kōmō**), **rikìɗē** gr4 'change into' (also gr3 **rìkiɗà** + complement clause), and **zaunà** gr1 'remain'. Examples:

nā san zâi zama sarkī
'I know he will become emir'
zàncensà yā kasàncē gàskiyā
'what he said turned out to be true'
dòdannìyā tā rikìɗē kūrā
'the evil spirit changed into a hyena'
ruwā zâi kōmà ƙànƙarā
'the water will turn into ice'
hannūnā yā kōmà baƙī sabòdà tàwadà
'my hand became black because of the ink'
shîn Nàijēřiyà zā tà zaunà ƙasā ɗaya?
'I wonder if Nigeria will remain one country?'

The proform which substitutes for a copular subject complement NP or adjective is **hakà** 'so, like this/that', e.g. **zàncensà yā kasàncē hakà** 'what he said turned out so', **hannūnā yā kōmà hakà sabòdà tàwadà** 'my hand became like this because of the ink'.

3.6. "Dative" verbs

Dative verbs (vdat) occur mainly in grades 1 and 4 and are subcategorized for an indirect object (recipient, benefactive, goal or malefactive role) which is usually obligatory. Common examples (cited with the indirect object marker **wà**) include:

amìncē wà v4dat 'trust', **bauɗè wà** v4dat 'avoid', **bâutā wà** v1dat 'serve', **ɓullō wà** v6dat 'confront', **dāɗàɗā wà** v1dat 'make happy', **gōdè wà** v4dat 'thank', **gujè wà** v4dat 'avoid', **jūrè wà** v4dat 'tolerate', **kyâutā wà** v1dat 'treat kindly', **ƙauràcē wà** v4dat 'avoid, boycott', **ƙuntàtā wà** v1dat 'persecute, harass', **matsà wà** v1dat 'put pressure on', **mōrè wà** v4dat 'enjoy', **sāɓà wà** v1dat 'disobey, wrong, violate', **shâidā wà** v1dat 'inform'

There is also a small subset of irregular dative verbs which take the non-SH indirect object marker **mà**, e.g. **cim mà** 'overtake, accomplish, achieve', **im mà** 'be a match for, control'. Most dative verbs are 2-place i.o. only verbs, though there is some overlap with ditransitives (§3.1.2). Examples:

yanà bâutā wà ƙasařsà sôsai	'he serves his country well'
sun cim mà wata yàřjējēniyā	'they have reached an agreement'
ɗàlìbân zā sù ƙauràcē wà ajìn	'the students will boycott the class'
yā sāɓà masà	'he wronged him'
Note too: **kin kyâutā (manà)**	'you've been kind (to us)'
nā gōdè (makà)	'I thank you/thanks'
(both with optional omission of the i.o.)	
and: **mun gōdè Allàh**	'we thank God'
(where **Allàh** 'God' appears exceptionally as a surface direct object)	

Some dative verbs regularly function as matrix verbs with clausal complements (**§13**):

an matsà masà [dà yà kàrɓi aikìn]	'he was pressured to take the job'
nā gōdè mikì [dà kikà zō]	'I thank you for coming'

an amìncē wà Bellò [**yà zama dằr̃aktằ**]
'it was agreed that Bello should become director'

(See also §7:2.2.2.3 for derived applicative (gr1) and §7:5.1 for special D-suffix **-ar̃** verbs before overt indirect objects.)

*3.7. Phrasal verbs (**yi** 'do' + dynamic noun, or **yi** or **ji** 'feel' + emotion noun)*

The general verb **yi** 'do' can be combined with a following direct object noun (typically dynamic) to form a complex phrasal verb with an eventive/activity predicate and an actor subject. Phrasal dynamic verbs may occur without any complement, e.g. **yā yi ƙaryā** 'he lied' (lit...3m.PF do lie), but they can govern a non-direct object, e.g. **nā yi wà Audù aikì̀** 'I worked for Audu' (...did for Audu work = phrasal verb + indirect object), **zân yi màganằ dà shī** 'I'll speak with him' (...will do speaking with him = phrasal verb + sociative object, see also §3.8). Examples:

sukàn yi sùr̃ūtù dà yawằ	'they chatter a lot' (...do chatter)
mālàmī yā yi yājìn aikì̀	'the teacher went on strike' (....do strike)
kin yi kàmā dà ita	'you look like her' (...do likeness with her)
zân yi sallằ	'I'm going to pray' (...do prayer)

In nonfinite contexts, the verbonominal form **yîn** 'doing' is usually omitted, e.g. (following Imperfective TAMs and aspectual verbs):

yāròn yanằ (yîn) barcī	'the boy is sleeping'
sunằ (yîn) wằsā	'they're playing'
yā fārà (yîn) màganằ	'he started talking'
bā ằ (yîn) sanyī yâu	'it's not cold today'
ɗằlìbai sunằ (yîn) zàngà-zangà	'the students are demonstrating'

Note too the following often collocational phrasal verbs made up of **yi** + (mainly dynamic) nouns:

yi àddu'ǎ 'pray', **yi àlkawàřī** '(make a) promise', **yi azùmī** 'fast', **yi bìncìkē** 'investigate', **yi cìnikī** 'trade, bargain', **yi gaddamǎ** 'argue', **yi gaisuwā** 'greet (condolences)', **yi hīřa** '(have a) chat', **yi iyǒ** 'swim', **yi kàřǎtū** 'study', **yi kirǎ** 'call upon, appeal to', **yi kīshǐ** 'be jealous', **yi ƙaryā** 'lie', **yi ƙǒƙarī** 'try' (make effort), **yi mùřmùshī** 'smile', **yi rashìn lāfiyǎ** 'be ill' (do lack.of health), **yi ràsuwā** = **yi mutuwǎ** 'die', **yi sallamǎ** 'take leave', **yi tùnǎnī** 'ponder' (do thinking), **yi tsǎdā** 'be expensive', **yi yāƙǐ** 'make war', **yi yawǎ** 'be too much', **yi yāwǒ** 'stroll'

The same **yi** + emotion noun construction is used to form phrasal psychological-sensory verbs ("psych-verbs") with experiencer subjects, e.g.

yi baƙin cikǐ 'be sad' (lit. do black.of stomach), **yi bègē** 'feel yearning', **yi dǎ-nā-sanǐ** 'feel regret' (do if only-I had-known), **yi dǎriyā** 'laugh' (do laughter), **yi farin cikǐ** 'be happy' (do white.of stomach), **yi fushī** 'be angry', **yi hasadǎ** 'envy', **yi kwàƙàyī** 'feel craving/desire', **yi mǎmākǐ** 'be surprised', **yi muřnǎ** 'be pleased', **yi nàdāmǎ** 'feel regret/remorse', **yi shà'awǎ** 'desire, admire, be interested in', **yi shakkǎ** 'doubt'

With psych-verbs an overt object is usually sociative or genitival:

zân yi farin cikǐ (dà ganinkà) 'I'll be happy (to see you)'
(...do happiness (with seeing.of you))
kâř kì yi fushī (dà nī) 'don't get angry (with me)'
(...do anger (with me))
yā yi mǎmākǐnā 'he was amazed at me'
(...did amazement.of.me)
yā yi shà'awàřtà
'he desired her' (...did desire.of.her)
inǎ shakkàř lǎbārìnsù 'I'm doubtful about their story'
(...doubt.of story.their)

"Weather-verbs" typically consist of **yi** + an abstract noun of sensory quality, e.g. **gàrī yā yi sanyī/zāfī yâu** 'the weather (town) is cold/hot today' (...did cold/heat...).

Many phrasal psych-verbs consist of the verb **ji** 'feel' + sensory noun, sometimes as an alternative to **yi**, e.g.

> **ji cīwò** 'hurt, feel pain', **ji dāɗī** 'enjoy' (feel pleasure), **ji haushī** 'feel angry', **ji kīshì** 'feel strong need', **ji kunyà** 'be ashamed/embarrassed', **ji ƙāwà** 'feel desire/yearning', **ji ƙishirwā** 'be thirsty', **ji ƙyàmā** 'feel aversion', **ji nìshāɗì** 'feel pleasure', **ji tàkâicī** 'feel indignation/irritation', **ji tàusàyī** 'feel pity', **ji tsòrō** 'fear', **ji yunwà** 'feel hungry', **ji zāfī** 'feel pain/anger' (feel heat)

Note too idiomatic **ji gàrī** 'feel the pinch' (feel town), **ji jìkī** 'feel out of sorts' (feel body), and the fixed phrasal verb **ji ƙai** 'have mercy on' (said after death), e.g. **Allàh yà ji ƙansà** 'may God have mercy on him'. Examples (with overt genitival objects):

nā ji dāɗin wàsân	'I enjoyed the game'
wàllāhì inà jîn gàrī	'I'm really feeling the pinch'
bā kyà jîn kunyà?	'aren't you ashamed?'
inà jîn yunwà/ƙishirwā sòsai	'I'm feeling really hungry/thirsty'
yā ji tàusàyīnā	'he felt pity for me'
bā nà jîn tsòron 'yan-sàndā	'I'm not afraid of the police'

(See **§13:**4.2 for phrasal verbs governing clausal complements.)

*3.8. Sociative verbs (verb + preposition **dà** 'with')*

Sociative verbs ("soc-verbs") have the complex constituent structure lexical verb plus the sociative preposition **dà** 'with', and the following **dà**-headed NP is analyzable as a prepositional object. Soc-verb constructions thus have the configuration Vsoc [**dà** NP]PP, and a pronoun object takes the independent

form. (In this way soc-verbs differ from efferential gr5 verbs (see §3.2 and §7:3.2), where the **dà** element is more closely connected to the stem and which have the formal structure [V-**dà**]$_V$ + NP (though see Abdoulaye 1992 for a different analysis). Because the prepositional NP is part of an adverbial complement, the soc-verb stem assumes the morphological A-form appropriate to this (zero-object) environment, e.g. (grs1 and 4 soc-verbs):

kin hūtǎ dà wàhalǎ	'you're free of trouble' (gr1soc)
nā jimǎ dà zuwǎ	'I've been here for some time' (gr1soc)
1sg.PF spend time with come.VN	
nā amìncē dà ita	'I trust her' (gr4soc)

Grades 1 and 4 verbs convert to an inflectional weak verbal noun with the A-context suffix **-ˋwā** in nonfinite environments:

sunǎ gānàwā dà jūnā	(< gr1soc **gānǎ dà**)
'they are having a private chat with each other'	
yanǎ wucèwā dà kāyā	'he's taking the goods in' (< gr4soc **wucè dà**)
yā fārà sābàwā dà mū	'he's started to get used to us' (< gr1soc **sābà dà**)
Note too the strong gr0 and 3 verbal nouns in:	
sunǎ yî dà ita	'they are slandering her' (< gr0soc **yi(i) dà**)
tanǎ kùlā dà yāròn	'she's looking after the boy' (< gr3soc **kùla dà**)

Soc-verbs can be built on underlying transitive or intransitive verbs in all grades except the exclusively transitive gr2 and gr5, e.g. **dācè dà** v4soc 'suit, be appropriate for' < **dācè** v4intr 'be appropriate', **haɗǎ dà** v1soc 'include' < **haɗǎ** v1tr 'join', **ji(i) dà** v0soc 'feel about, be fond of' < **ji** v0tr 'feel'. Intransitive-based soc-verbs (including reciprocal verbs), e.g. those built on grades 3 and 7 stems, involve a 1 → 2-place valency increase when they are extended with the (transitive) preposition **dà**, e.g. (2-place) **lùřa dà** v3soc 'take notice of, look after' < (1-place) **lùřa** v3intr 'take notice', (2-place) **ràbu dà** v7soc 'separate

from, divorce' < (1-place) **ràbu** v7intr 'separate, divorce'. With some underlying gr1 transitive verbs, the complex soc-verb forms a (near) synonymous doublet:

gr1soc **kā aikà dà** *e-mail*? = gr1 **kā aikà** *e-mail*?
'did you send an e-mail?'
gr1soc **kā tunà dà Audù**? = gr1 **kā tunà Audù**?
'do you remember Audu?'
gr1soc **tā mântā dà làbāřìn** = gr1 **tā mântà làbāřìn**
'she's forgotten the story'

A number of phrasal verbs—normally formed with the general verb **yi** 'do' + dynamic noun or ideophone (§3.7)—also operate **dà**-extended soc-verbs, e.g. **mun yi ařbà dà sū** 'we met them unexpectedly', **zân yi màganà dà ita** 'I'll speak with her', **sun yi tiř dà shī** 'they rejected/were annoyed with him'. Some deverbal statives can also take a sociative object, e.g. **yanà rìƙe dà jàkā** 'he was holding a bag' (**§15:**2.1.5). Other common soc-verbs include:

Verb stem + **dà**

ɓullō dà 'come out with, introduce', **cê dà** 'call (name)', **dàmu dà** 'be bothered with', **fìta dà** 'take out', **gaisà dà** 'exchange greetings with', **gàji dà** 'tire of', **gamà dà** 'finish with', **gàmsu dà** 'be satisfied/pleased with', **gàmu dà** 'meet with', **gwabzà dà** 'clash with', **hàɗu dà** 'meet with', **hàƙurà dà** 'give up on', **kàmu dà** 'be infected with/go down with', **karà dà** 'collide/clash with', **kōmà dà** 'return sth.', **kulà dà** 'pay attention to, care for' (= gr3soc **kùla dà**), **ƙārà dà** 'add, do more', **san dà** 'know about' (< **sanì** 'know'), **shàƙu dà** 'be close friends with', **tàfi dà** 'take away', **yabà dà** 'praise', **yàřda dà** 'agree with, accept', **zō dà** 'come with, bring'

Phrasal verb + **dà**

ci gàba dà 'proceed, continue with', **shā bambam dà** 'be different from', **yi àmfànī dà** 'make use of', **yi bìřis dà** 'ignore completely', **yi kàmā dà** 'look like',

yi na'àm dà 'accept, support', **yi shirì dà** 'be on good terms with', **yi wàtsī dà** 'reject, throw away'

In general, the **dà** occurring as the prep. with complex sociative verbs cannot be pied-piped. However, a few soc-verbs do allow fronting of the whole [**dà** NP]PP (unlike gr5 efferentials), e.g. (*wh-* and focus-expressions) **dà wà sukà gwabzà**?—**dà ɗàlìbai nè sukà gwabzà** 'whom did they clash with?—it was *with the students* they clashed'. The **dà** can be left in situ, however, with a resumptive pronoun (preferred), e.g. **wà sukà gwabzà dà sū**?—**ɗàlìbai nè sukà gwabzà dà sū**. (Sociative PPs and comitative/instrumental **dà**-headed PPs are not syntactically identical however, see Newman 2000: chap. 75.) With gr5 efferential verbs, the **dà** formative does not surface following movement, e.g. **mè kikà kōyař**? 'what did you teach?'.

Some soc-verbs can function as 3-place verbs and take an overt indirect object with the structure [verb + i.o. + **dà** + NP]:

tā yi wà mijìntà wàtsī dà kāyansà 'she threw out her husband's things'
3f.PF do IOM husband.of.3f throwing with things.of.3m
kà kulà minì dà mōtàtā! 'look after my car for me!'
2m.SJN look after IOM.1sg with car.of.1sg

(Cf. the common gr5 structure **sunà sayař wà dà Ìřāƙì màkàmai** 'they are selling weapons to Iraq', with the different constituent order [verb + IOM + **dà** + recipient indirect object NP].)

4. Imperative

As a grammatical category, the Imperative is handled in this chapter along with other simple sentence types such as declaratives and interrogatives. Imperatives are verb forms occurring in finite sentences, but differ from verbal declarative

sentences in that they lack the normally obligatory person-aspect complex (PAC), i.e. both the subject-agreement pronoun and TAM-marker are missing. Imperative formations are extremely elaborate, with considerable idiolectal and dialectal variation. For various treatments see: Abraham (1959b), Jaggar (1982, 1992a: 93-98), Newman (1990: 121-31, 2000: chap. 37), Newman & Jaggar (1989a: 229-31), Parsons (1981: 151ff.), and Wolff (1993: 410-11).

Imperatives are generated by an inflectional mechanism which maps a canonical left-spreading LH tone melody onto the underlying verb (basic or derived), thereby eclipsing its lexical tones, e.g. LH **tàshi**! 'get up!' (cf. **tāshì** 'get up'), LH **kàwō**! 'bring (it)!' (cf. **kāwō** 'bring'), **zàunā**! 'sit down!' (cf. **zaunà** 'sit down'), LH **bùɗē ta**! 'open it!' (cf. **būɗè** 'open'), LH **mìƙō minì gishirī**! 'pass me the salt!' (cf. **mīƙō** 'pass'), LLH **kàřàntā**! 'read (it)!' (cf. **karàntā** 'read'), LLH **nànnèmō sù**! 'keep looking for them!' (cf. **nannēmō** 'look for (repeatedly)'). An all L tone pattern is also possible (see below for details). In all the above examples, the verb forms are overtly marked for the Imperative mood but not for person, gender or number. Although *segmentally* identical to the source verb in most cases, in specifiable contexts the final vowel of the Imperative can also change (with verbs in grades 2 and 3).

Imperatives occur in the same morphosyntactic frames as the corresponding declarative verb forms, but are restricted to expressing affirmative, singular-addressee directives. The omitted subject is the second person singular pronoun 'you (m./f.)' which shows up in subsequent reflexives, anaphoric pronouns, and verbal clauses with a hortative Subjunctive TAM (see below for various examples). Imperative verbs are typically dynamic and are generally used to express strong illocutionary forces such as orders, commands and warnings—other illocutionary acts, including requests, overt singular and plural addressees, and negative-prohibitive directives (all persons), are expressed by the Subjunctive TAM (**§6**:11).[2] (Although the Subjunctive is regularly claimed to be

[2]The Imperative can also occur in more marked stylistic contexts, e.g. **fàɗā wajen wannàn mālàmī, gàngàrā wajen wannàn** 'he would drop in on this teacher, and call in on that one' (lit. fall on!...descend on!..., < **fāɗà** gr1 and **gangàrā** gr1), where the Imperatives are used to make the descriptive habitual events appear more vivid.

less forceful/abrupt, etc. than the Imperative, the semantic-pragmatic distinction between the two modal categories is not always clear.)

4.1. LH tone Imperatives

The basic LH tone pattern occurs across the spectrum of verb grades (0-7) and is attested in all four (A-D form) morphosyntactic environments (underlying non-Imperative A-form verbs are provided in parentheses and repeated for convenience). Grade-specific departures from the canonical tone rule are noted and discussed, and the occurring forms are presented by grade (gr1, gr2, etc.).

4.1.1. LH Imperative (zero object) A-form

The canonical LH melody occurs in all grades when there is no (in)direct object following the Imperative verb stem, either because the verb is intransitive or because the subcategorized object of a transitive verb is omitted.

Grade 1 (transitive and intransitive)

zàunā mànà! 'sit down then!' (< **zaunà** gr1)

(**mànà** 'then, of course' is an emphatic exclamatory particle often used postpositionally with Imperatives)

dǔbā kì ganī! 'look and see!' (< **dūbà** gr1)

kàřàntā dà kânkì! 'read (it) yourself!' (< **kařàntā** gr1)

shìmfíďā mù ganī! 'spread (it) out so we can see!' (< **shimfíďā** gr1)

Grade 2 (transitive)

Gr2 verbs exhibit the most elaborate morphology in the Imperative. In addition to the regular LH tone pattern, the A-form Imperative uses a special inflectional suffix **-i** (probably an archaic Imperative marker which is homophonous with the underlying final **-i** pre-NP object C-form of gr2 verbs).[3] Examples:

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[3]Note too the final **-i** suffix on the Imperative form of the gr1 verb **kwântā** 'lie down' as evidenced in the compound temporal connector phrase **kwànci-tàshi** 'gradually, day by day, in time' (lit. lie down!-get up!)', and also in the compound NP **shìgi-dà-fìci** 'going in and out,

tô, ɗàuki!	'OK, take (it)!' (< **ɗaukà** gr2)
bàri mànà!	'stop (it) then!' (< **barì** gr2*)
fàɗi mù ji!	'say (it) and let's hear (it)!' (< **fàɗā/faɗì** gr2)
kàrɓi!	'take (it)!' (< **kàrɓā** gr2)
sàki!	'release (it)!' (< **sakì** gr2)
sàyi mànà!	'buy (it) then!' (< **sàyā** gr2)
tàmbàyi mù ji!	'ask and let's hear (it)!' (< **tàmbayà** gr2)

Grade 3 (intransitive)

Disyllabic gr3 verbs, including HH gr3a and gr3b verbs, display the regular LH tonal melody in the Imperative, with LH imposition applying vacuously with lexical LH gr3 stems. Examples:

fìta mànà!	'go out then!' (< **fìta** gr3)
sàuka lāfiyà!	'safe journey (arrive safely)!' (< **sàuka** gr3)
ɓǔya!	'hide!' (< **ɓūya** gr3a)
kwàna lāfiyà!	'sleep well!' (< **kwāna** gr3a)
tǔba gà Allàh!	'repent before God!' (< **tūba** gr3a)
gùdu can!	'run over there!' (< **gudù** gr3b)
tàshi!	'get up!' (< **tāshì** gr3b)
tàfi dàgà nân!	'get away from here!' (< **tàfi** gr3*)

Polysyllabic (L)LHL tone gr3 verbs display a variety of patterns in the Imperative. Many SH speakers simply use the underlying lexical (L)LHL form of the base verb without a subject-agreement pronoun. Examples:

dànganà gà Allàh kawài! 'just depend on God!' (< **dànganà** gr3)

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immigration' (= Imperatives of gr3 **shìga** 'go in' and **fìta** 'go out'). Newman (2000: chap. 37) doubts whether the final **-i** is a fossilized Imperative suffix, and prefers to analyze LH final **-i** Imperatives as simply representing the underlying base form of gr2 verbs (identical with the pre-object C-form). Final **-ā** A-form gr2 Imperatives are also attested, presumably the same final **-ā** forms used in normal declarative sentences with no overt object, e.g. **ɗàukā!** 'take (it)!', **tàmbàyā mù ji!** 'ask and let's hear (it)!', though these are restricted in their distribution.

hàƙurà dà àbîn!	'be patient with/accept the matter!' (< **hàƙurà** gr3)
mùsùlantà!	'become a Muslim!' (< **mùsùlantà** gr3)

For some speakers, however, the expected LH pattern is acceptable:

dàngàna gà Allàh kawài!	'just depend on God!'
hàƙùra dà àbîn!	'be patient with/accept the matter!'
mùsùlànta!	'become a Muslim!'

Final **-i** Imperatives (as with gr2) have also been reported, e.g. **hàƙùri**! 'be patient!', **zȁ̀bùřì**! 'jump up!' (< **zȁ̀buřà** gr3), but their synchronic status and distribution are unclear.

Grade 4 (transitive and intransitive)

tô, bȕ̀ɗē!	'OK, open (it)!' (< **būɗȅ̀** gr4)
hȗ̀cē dai!	'just calm down!' (< **hūcȅ̀** gr4)
àjìyē nân!	'put (it) down here!' (< **ajìyē** gr4)

Grade 5 (efferential)

màyař mànà!	'return (it) then!' (< **mayař** gr5)
sàyař!	'sell (it)!' (< **sayař** gr5)

Grade 6 (transitive and intransitive)

tô, kȁ̀wō!	'OK, bring (it)!' (< **kāwō** gr6)
shìgō!	'come in!' (< **shigō** gr6)
ɗàɗɗàukō!	'bring (them all)!' (< **ɗaɗɗaukō** gr6)

Grade 7 (intransitive)

Affected-subject passive gr7 Imperatives are felt to be unnatural, or at best highly stylistic, and as a rule only gr7 Imperatives with prepositional objects are freely

encountered, including **dà**-marked sociative verbs (see §4.1.2). The LH tone rule applies vacuously with LH gr7 verbs. Examples:

ràbu dà shī!	'ignore him/have nothing to do with him!'
(< **ràbu dà** gr7soc)	
hìmmàntu gà aikìnkà!	'concentrate on your work!' (< **hìmmàntu** gr7)

*4.1.2. Imperatives of sociative verbs (= LH A-form + **dà** + NP)*

Sociative verbs (§3.8) consist of the non-object A-form of a verb, often a simple transitive or intransitive stem, extended with the sociative preposition **dà** 'with'. Complex sociative verbs take an obligatory prepositional object, plus an optional indirect object depending upon the verb. In the Imperative, the disyllabic verb stem displays the LH pattern characteristic of A-position forms:

àikā masà dà takàr̃dâr̃!	'send him the letter!' (< **aikâ dà** < **aikâ** gr1)
màntā dà ita!	'forget her!' (< **mântā dà** < **mântā** gr1)
fìta dà sū!	'take them out!' (< **fìta dà** < **fìta** gr3)
tàfi dà sū!	'take them away!' (< **tàfi dà** < **tàfi** gr3*)
shìgō dà kāyân!	'bring the stuff in!' (< **shigō dà** < **shigō** gr6)

4.1.3. LH Imperative B-form (with pronoun direct object)

In this environment the tone of the direct object pronoun can vary (see below). (Intransitive grade 3 and 7 verbs do not operate a B-form or C-form.)

Grade 1

With gr1 (and gr4) LH Imperatives, the strong direct object pronoun appears with its lexical H tone:

màntā ta!	'forget her!' (< **mântā** gr1)
tàyā ni!	'help me!' (< **tayà** gr1)
kàr̃àntā ta!	'read it!' (< **kar̃àntā** gr1)
shìmfìɗā su!	'spread them out!' (< **shimfìɗā** gr1)

Grade 2

In gr2 B-form Imperatives, the final syllable of the Imperative stem varies before the enclitic direct object pronoun. In one common variant, the weak pronoun first attaches to the gr2 final **-ē** B-form and then the canonical LH tonal configuration is superimposed on the fused (orthographically separate) output. (Pronoun-incorporation also takes place with monosyllabic gr0 Imperatives, §4.3.) Examples:

dǔbè-ni!	'look at me!' (< **dǔbā** gr2)
sàyè-shi!	'buy it!' (< **sàyā** gr2)
sàkè-mu!	'release us!' (< **sakǐ** gr2)
tàimàkè-su!	'help them!' (< **tàimakǎ** gr2)
tàmbàyè-ta!	'ask her!' (< **tàmbayǎ** gr2)

Unusually, some speakers have a short **-e** B-form in the Imperative, e.g. **dǔbe̲-ni**! 'look at me!', **sàye̲-shi**! 'buy it!', **sàke̲-mu**! 'release us!', **tàimàke̲-su**! 'help them!', **tàmbàye̲-ta**! 'ask her!'. This idiosyncratic short vowel allomorph is the only known exception to the morphophonemic requirement that the final syllable of any element be bimoraic (heavy) before a direct object pronoun.

Another B-form variant in the Imperative suffixes either **-ař** or (more commonly) **-aC** to the gr2 verb stem, where **C** is a copy of the initial consonant of the incorporated pronoun. (For present purposes, I am treating the **-aC** alternant as a variant of final **-ař**, and a diachronic relationship between **-ař/-aC** and the final **-ā** form noted below cannot be ruled out.) Examples:

ɗàukàř-ta! = **ɗàukàt-ta**!	'take it!' (< **ɗaukǎ** gr2)
hàřbàř-shi! = **hàřbàsh-shi**!	'shoot it!' (< **hàřbā** gr2)
sàkàř-ni! = **sàkàn-ni**!	'let me go!' (< **sakǐ** gr2)
tàmbàyàř-ta! = **tàmbàyàt-ta**!	'ask her!' (< **tàmbayǎ** gr2)

The geminate Imperative is also attested with HH **CiCā** gr0 verbs, e.g. **bìyàn-ni yànzu**! 'pay me now!' and is reported for declarative gr2 verbs in the Ader

dialect (with the same LH tone pattern!), e.g. **yā bùgàt-ta** 'he hit her' (Caron 1991). Also documented in the literature are gr2 B-form Imperatives with final **-ā**, e.g. **ɗ̀àukā̀-ta**! 'take it!', **hàr̃bā̀-shi**! 'shoot it!', **sàkā̀-ni** 'let me go!', **tàmbàyā̀-ta**! 'ask her!'.

Grade 4 (transitive)
Like gr1, transitive gr4 LH Imperative verbs preserve the intrinsically H tone strong direct object pronoun:

bùɗ̀ē ta!	'open it!' (< **būɗ̀ē** gr4)
ƙyàlē shi!	'ignore him!' (< **ƙyālē** gr4)
àjìyē ta nân!	'put it down here!' (< **ajìyē** gr4)

Grade 5 (efferential)
Both the full **-ar̃** (+ independent pronoun) gr5 verb and **-shē** (+ direct object pronoun) gr5 variant take the LH Imperative pattern before a pronoun:

kwàntar̃ dà ita!	'lay her down!' (< **kwantar̃ (dà)** gr5)
màyar̃ dà shī!	'return it!' (< **mayar̃ (dà)** gr5)
sàyar̃ dà ita!	'sell it!' (< **sayar̃ (dà)** gr5)
kàr̃àntar̃ dà sū!	'teach them!' (< **kar̃antar̃ (dà)** gr5)

Although the special **-shē** gr5 B-forms are only marginal in SH, they can occur in the Imperative with the LH melody on the stem, followed by the L tone direct object pronoun:

fìsshē sù!	'take them out!'	(cf. **yā fisshē sù** 'he took them out')
gàishē sù!	'greet them!'	(cf. **yā gaishē sù** 'he greeted them')
màishē shì!	'return it!'	(cf. **yā maishē shì** 'he returned it')
sàishē tà!	'sell it!'	(cf. **yā saishē tà** 'he sold it')

With **-shē** gr5 verbs, some (but not all) speakers also allow the same B-form Imperative formation common with gr2 verbs, i.e. imposition of LH tones

following cliticization of the weak object pronoun, e.g. **gàishè-su**!, **màishè-shi**!, etc. (further underlining the identity of the two final **-ē** verbal B-forms).

Truncated gr5 verbs such as **mai dà** 'return, take back' (</= **mayař dà**), **sai dà** 'sell' (</= **sayař dà**), and **tā dà** 'raise up' (</= **tāyař dà**) normally preserve the initial L tone on the stem before a (pro)nominal object in the Imperative, e.g. **mài dà shī**! 'take it back!', **sài dà ita/mōtàř**! 'sell it/the car!', **tà̀ dà sū**! 'lift them up!'. (See §4.3, however, for H tone clipped variants patterning with monoverbs.)

Grade 6 (transitive)
With gr6 verbs the basic LH pattern is simply imposed on the Imperative stem:

ɗàukō tà!	'bring it!' (< **ɗaukō** gr6)
kà̀wō sù!	'bring them!' (< **kāwō** gr6)
kàřàntō shì don Allàh!	'read it please!' (< **kařantō** gr6)

4.1.4. LH Imperative C-form (with noun direct object)
Grades 1 and 4 Imperative verbs usually appear with LL tone in the C-position before NP direct objects (see §4.2).

Grade 2 (= LH pattern)
Gr2 LH Imperatives appear with their lexical final **-i** C-form. (Its phonological identity with the A-form **-i** inflectional Imperative suffix is probably accidental.) Examples:

ɗàuki nākà!	'take yours!' (< **ɗaukà̀** gr2)
sàyi rìgâř mànà!	'buy the gown then!' (< **sàyā** gr2)
fàɗi wannàn!	'say this!' (< **fàɗā/faɗì** gr2)
tàimàki yârân!	'help the children!' (< **tàimakà̀** gr2)
tàmbàyi mālàminkà!	'ask your teacher!' (< **tàmbayà̀** gr2)

Grade 5 (= LH pattern)

kwàntař dà hankàlinkì!	'set your mind at rest!' (< **kwantař (dà)** gr5)

màyař dà littāfìn!	'return the book!' (< **mayař (dà)** gr5)
sàyař dà mōtàř!	'sell the car!' (< **sayař (dà)** gr5)
kàřàntař dà ɗàlìbân!	'teach the students!' (< **kařantař (dà)** gr5)

Grade 6 (= LH pattern)

jèfō ƙwallôn!	'throw the ball here!' (< **jēfō** gr6)
kǎwō kuɗī!	'hand over the money!' (< **kāwō** gr6)
mìƙō gishirī!	'pass the salt!' (< **mīƙō** gr6)
kàkkǎwō rīgunàn!	'bring all the gowns!' (< **kakkāwō** gr6)

4.1.5. LH Imperative D-form (with indirect object)

Pre-indirect object D-form Imperatives display the paradigmatic LH tone pattern on the verb stem, though LL is encountered before nominal indirect objects, and is described here alongside the basic LH melody. With the exception of grade 7, D-form verbs in all grades can occur in the Imperative.

Grades 1, 4 and 6 (LH [+ pronoun i.o.], LH/LL [+ noun i.o.])

Grades 1 and 4 (as elsewhere) and grade 6 verbs pattern together in the D-form Imperative, where the tone on the stem is determined by the form of the immediately following indirect object—canonical LH if it is a pronoun, and either LH or LL if it is a noun. The LH variant is felt by some to be semantically more insistent/forceful (for more details and discussion see Imperatives of monosyllabic verbs, §4.3). Examples:

LH [+ pronoun indirect object]

ràbā musù gōřò!	'share out the kolanuts to them!' (< **rabà** gr1)
kàřàntā matà takàřdâř!	'read the letter to her!' (< **kařàntā** gr1)
shìmfìɗā masà tàbarmā!	'spread out the mat for him!' (< **shimfìɗā** gr1)
kàshē musù fìtilà!	'put out the light for them!' (< **kashè** gr4)
ɗàukō masà kāyā!	'bring the stuff to him!' (< **ɗaukō** gr6)
gùtsùrō musù tuwō! (< **gutsurō** gr6)	'break off some *tuwo* (food) for them!'

LH or LL [+ noun indirect object]

ràbā/ràbà wà jàma'ǎ gōřò!	'share out the kolanuts to the people!'
kàřàntā/kàřàntà wà Hàlīmà takàřdâř!	'read the letter to Halima!'
kàshē/kàshè wà yârân fìtilǎ!	'put out the light for the children!'
shìmfìɗā/shìmfìɗà wà bǎƙôn tàbarmā!	'spread out the mat for the guest!'
ɗàukō/ɗàukò wà Mūsā kāyā!	'bring the stuff to Musa!'
gùtsùrō/gùtsùrò wà bǎƙîn tuwō!	'break off some *tuwo* for the guests!'

Grade 2

When gr2 Imperatives appear before indirect objects, the LH melody is imposed on whatever subcategorized D-form is selected by the gr2 verb in question, i.e. applicative **-ā** and/or D-suffix **-ař** (often with assimilation of the **-ř** to the following consonant). Examples:

ɗàukař wà tsōhonkà kāyā mànà! (< **ɗaukǎ** gr2)	'take the loads for your father then!'
fàɗā minì gàskiyā!	'tell me the truth!' (< **fàɗā/faɗì** gr2)
zǎɓā/zǎɓař wà mǎtařkà ɗaya!	'choose one for your wife!' (< **zǎɓā** gr2)
tàmbàyā/tàmbàyam minì ita!	'ask her for me!' (< **tàmbayǎ** gr2)

The LH and all L Imperative formations possible with grs1, 4, and 6 are also attested with final **-ā** applicative verbs before an NP indirect object:

nèmā/nèmà wà Mammàn aikì!	'look for a job for Mamman!' (< **nèmā** gr2)
rǒƙā/rǒƙà wà àbōkinkà kuɗī!	'beg for money for your friend!' (< **rǒƙā** gr2)
zǎɓā/zǎɓà wà mǎtařkà ɗaya!	'choose one for your wife!' (< **zǎɓā** gr2)

Grade 3 (= LH pattern)

Grade 3 verbs select the same derivational pre-indirect object forms as grade 2:

fìtam mîn gidānā!	'get out of my house!' (< **fìta** gr3)
tǔbař wà mālàminkà! (< **tūba** gr3a)	'apologize to (repent for) your teacher!'

hàƙùrā/hàƙùram masà! 'be patient with him!' (< **hàƙurà** gr3)

Grade 5 (= LH pattern)

kwàntař masà dà hankàlī! 'calm him down!' (< **kwantař (dà)** gr5)

màyař wà Daudâ dà littāfîn! 'return the book to Dauda!' (< **mayař (dà)** gr5)

sàyař minì dà mōtàř! 'sell the car for me!' (< **sayař (dà)** gr5)

4.2. All L tone Imperatives (grades 1 and 4 C-forms)

Transitive grade 1 (always) and grade 4 verbs (optionally) both have a short final vowel C-form before direct object NPs, and are atypical in that they have an all L Imperative tone pattern in this environment:

dàfà àbincîn! 'cook the food!' (< **dafâ** gr1)

kàřàntà takàřdâř! 'read the letter!' (< **kařàntā** gr1)

rìƙè wannàn! 'hold this!' (< **riƙè** gr4)

àjìyè rìgařkà nân! 'put your coat down here!' (< **ajìyē** gr4)

(LH tone C-position variants have also been sporadically reported, e.g. **dàfa àbincîn**!, **kàřànta takàřdâř**!, but their distribution is unclear.)

With grade 4 verbs, those speakers who allow/prefer a long final **-ē** C-form before noun direct objects utilize the prototypical LH pattern, e.g. **rìƙē wannàn**!, **àjìyē rìgařkà nân**!, **shànyē ruwân maza-maza**! 'drink up the water quickly!' (< **shânyē** gr4).

4.3. Imperatives of monosyllabic verbs

The following categories of monosyllabic verbs display similar, distinctive tonal characteristics in the Imperative: (a) true gr0 CV(V) monoverbs, e.g. **ci** 'eat', **shā** 'drink'; (b) homotonic HH final **-ā** (gr0) **CiCā** verbs, e.g. **jirā** 'wait for'; and (c) monosyllabic verbs including clipped forms of disyllabic gr2 verbs, e.g. **ɗau** <

ɗaukǎ 'take', and of gr5 verbs, e.g. **kā dà < kāyař dà** 'knock down', in addition to miscellaneous synchronic pseudo-monoverbs deriving from original disyllabic verbs, e.g. **kai** 'take, reach' (?< ***kāyǎ** gr1), **sâ** 'put, place' (< **sakǎ** gr1), **cê** 'say, tell' (< **canè** gr4), **hau** 'climb, mount, go up' (< ***hàwa** gr3). A considerable amount of internal analogic levelling has taken place within the domain of monosyllabic Imperatives, especially final **-ā** verbs, with the result that a number of coexisting variants are synchronically, though not universally, encountered.

4.3.1. A-form (zero object) Imperative = H tone

When no object follows, e.g. transitive verbs with non-overt objects or intransitive motion verbs with or without goal locatives, monosyllabic verbs have H tone in the Imperative:

ci!	'eat!' (< **ci** gr0)
ji mànà!	'listen then!' (< **ji** gr0)
jā!	'pull!' (< **jā** gr0)
shā!	'drink!' (< **shā** gr0)
jē mànà!	'go then!' (< **jē** gr0*)
zō nân!	'come here!' (< **zō** gr0*)
hau mù tàfi!	'get on and let's go!' (< **hau** gr0*)
sā mànà!	'put (it) on then!' (< **sâ** gr1*)

The surface H tone on the above A-form monosyllabic Imperative stems, as well as on the C- and D-forms (§§4.3.3, 4.3.4), is analyzable as the output of the assignment of the paradigmatic LH Imperative melody, via an independently-motivated rule which simplifies a combination contour LH = R(ise) on a single syllable to a level H, e.g. (Imperative) LH **ci** → R **cǐ** → surface H /**ci**/, LH **shā** → R **shǎa** → surface H /**shā**/, etc. (Cf. the parallel D-form derivation LH **bī** → R **bǐi** → surface H /**bī**/.) An alternative analysis (Newman 2000: chap. 37) would impose the underlying LH pattern from right to left, leaving the H tone on the single available syllable and eliminating the L tone for lack of a host syllable.

Pluractional (reduplicated) monoverbs and disyllabic HH final **-ā CiCā** verbs also occur with the all H Imperative pattern, e.g. **cicci**! 'eat (them) all!' (< **cicci**), **shasshā**! 'drink (it) all!' (< **shasshā**), **biyā mànà**! 'pay up then!' (< **biyā** gr0), **jirā mànà**! 'wait then!' (< **jirā** gr0). HH **-ā** verbs also display (more commonly) the basic unmarked LH pattern, e.g. **bìyā mànà**!, **jìrā mànà**!, where the LH spreads over the two tone-bearing syllables.

4.3.2. B-form Imperative = LH tone on [verb-pronoun]

Before pronoun direct objects, monosyllabic verbs pattern with grade 2 verbs—the weak clitic pronoun attaches to the verb stem and the paradigmatic LH melody then extends over the entire fused outcome. Examples:

bǐ-ni!	'follow me!' (< **bi** gr0)
cǐ-shi!	'eat it!' (< **ci** gr0)
jǐ-su mànà!	'just listen to them!' (< **ji** gr0)
shǎ-shi!	'drink it!' (< **shā** gr0)
bǎ-ta kuɗîn!	'give her the money!' (< **bā** gr0*)
bàbbǎ-su gōrò!	'give them all some kolanuts!' (< pluractional **babbā** < **bā**)
bàr̃-ta!	'leave it!' (< **barǐ** gr2*)
ɗàu-su!	'pick them up!' (< **ɗaukǎ** gr2)
hàu-shi!	'get on it!' (< **hau** gr0*)
kài-ta gidā!	'take her home!' (< **kai** gr0*)
sǎ-su kân tēbùr̃!	'put them on the table!' (< **sâ** gr1*)

HH final **-ā** verbs again undergo parallel tonal changes in the Imperative, e.g. **bìyǎ-shi**! 'pay him!', **jìrǎ-ni à wàje**! 'wait for me outside!', **kìrǎ-su**! 'call them!'. Along with some of the pseudo-monosyllabic verbs, they also allow a (L)H tone on the non-fused Imperative verb stem, e.g. (LH) **bìyā shi**! 'pay him!', **jìrā ni à wàje**! 'wait for me outside!', **kìrā su**! 'call them!', (H) **hau shi**! 'get on it!', **kai ta gidā**! 'take her home!', **sā su kân tēbùr̃**! 'put them on the table!'.

For those speakers who allow both the basic fused LH (**kài-ta**!, **sǎ-su**!, etc.) verb-pronoun Imperatives *and* the non-fused (**kai ta**!, **sā su**!, etc.) variant with a

H tone stem, the two are not synonymous. Although the semantic correlates are not easily defined, the fused (**kài-ta!**, etc.) formation represents the neutral, unmarked option, and the non-fused (**kai ta!**, etc.) H tone stem is more forceful, roughly equivalent to the admonitory use of a stressed subject pronoun in English directives such as '*you* behave yourself!', expressing insistence and reinforcing the illocutionary force of the command.

4.3.3. C-form Imperative = H tone

Before noun direct objects, monosyllabic verbs normally have H tone (< LH) in the Imperative:

bi yāròn!	'follow the boy!' (< **bi** gr0)
ci àbinci!	'eat the food!' (< **ci** gr0)
shā ruwân!	'drink the water!' (< **shā** gr0)
sō maƙwàbcinkà!	'love your neighbour!' (< **sō** gr0*)
bař mōtàř cikin gāřējì!	'leave the car in the garage!' (< **barì** gr2*)
hau kèkên!	'get on the bike!' (< **hau** gr0*)
ɗau wannàn!	'take this!' (< **ɗaukǎ** gr2)
sā wannàn!	'put this on!' (< **sâ** gr1*)
bā (wà) Mūsā kāyā!	'give the loads to Musa!' (< **bā (wà)** gr0*)
babbā yârân kuɗī!	'give money to all the children!'

(< pluractional **babbā**, with LH → H Imperative rule applying *before* reduplication)

As in the A-form (§4.3.1), HH final **-ā** verbs allow either the canonical LH pattern or the more restricted/marked HH C-form, e.g. **bìyā (biyā) kuɗîn!** 'pay the money!' (< **biyā** gr0), **kìrā (kirā) Mūsā!** 'call Musa!' (< **kirā** gr0).

Before a (pro)noun object, truncated gr5 verb stems can be either L or, for some speakers, H tone in the Imperative. Because of the morphological similarity between short form gr5 verbs, e.g. **mai dà** 'take back', and disyllabic gr1 C-form verbs, e.g. **dafà** 'cook', where both are HL final **-à**, short form gr5 verbs behave like two-syllable verbs with the **dà** fused, i.e. **mai-dà**, for purposes of the

Imperative rule. The output then takes LL tones. (Strictly speaking the (pro)nominal argument is not a direct object but is treated as such for present purposes.) Examples:

bì-dà sū!	'control them!' (< **bī dà** </= **biyař dà**)
kà-dà shī!	'knock him down!' (< **kā dà** </= **kāyař dà**)
mài-dà mōtàř gāřējì!	'put the car back in the garage!'
(< **mai dà** </= **mayař dà**)	
sài-dà mōtàř mànà!	'sell the car then!' (< **sai dà** </= **sayař dà**)

Cf. the monomorphemic H tone Imperative stems which pattern with monosyllabic verbs:

bī dà sū!	'control them!'
kā dà shī!	'knock him down!'
mai dà mōtàř gāřējì!	'put the car back in the garage!'
sai dà mōtàř mànà!	'sell the car then!'

As in other environments, it is the less common H tone variants which represent the marked, semantically more insistent option for those speakers who allow both forms, in contrast to the basic, unmarked L tone variants.

4.3.4. D-form Imperative = L tone (occasionally H)

Before indirect (pro)nominal objects, the basic, preferred unmarked Imperative stem is assigned a L tone, though a more emphatic H tone variant is again possible for some speakers:

bì (also **bī**) **masà Bintà**!	'follow Binta for him!' (< **bi** gr0)
yì (also **yi**) **mîn aikìn**!	'do the work for me!' (< **yi** gr0)
jà (also **jā**) **minì igiyà**!	'pull the rope for me!' (< **jā** gr0)
bàř (also **bař**) **minì kuɗîn à bankì**!	'leave the money in the bank for me!'
(< **barì** gr2*)	
kài (also **kai**) **wà mālàminkà wannàn**!	
'take this to your teacher!' (< **kai** gr0*)	

ɗàu (also **ɗau**) **wà tsōhonkà kāyā**!
'take the loads for your father!' (< **ɗaukǎ** gr2)
sàm (also **sam**) **minì gōr̃ò**!
'give me some kolanut!' (< **sāmǔ** gr2)
bìyǎ (also **bìyā**) **mîn**!
'pay for me!' (< **biyā** gr0)

4.4. Special Imperatives 'come!' and 'go!'

Finally, there are two high-frequency motion-verb Imperatives built on monosyllabic stems—**jɛ̀-ka**! (m), **jɛ̀-ki**! (f), **jɛ̀-ku**! (pl) 'be off with you!', and **yā-kà**! (m), **yā-kì**! (f), **yā-kù**! (pl) 'come!'. The **jɛ̀-ka**! etc. construction is made up of the monosyllabic verb **jē** 'go' plus a fused intransitive copy pronoun with the standard LH Imperative pattern imposed on the outcome. (It could also be plausibly analyzed as a L tone Imperative stem + lexically H tone pronoun.) The tonally aberrant **yā-kà**! etc. formation is composed of a suppletive verb stem **yā-** plus a L tone enclitic pronoun (Newman 1980a). Both constructions are anomalous in permitting 2nd person *plural* Imperative forms for some speakers.

5. Negation of Verbal Clauses (= *bà(a)* VP *ba*)

This section looks at those verbal clauses which use the discontinuous negative markers **bà(a)**...**ba**. (See below for negation of non-verbal equational (§6.1.1) and existential (§6.1.3) predicates, and **§6**:11 for the special prohibitive marker **kadà** used to negate Subjunctive TAM clauses.) Negation of verb phrases in declarative tensed clauses is performed in most TAMs by the negative clausal operators **bà(a)**...**ba**, the exception being the Negative Imperfective which uses a single initial **bā** marker (**§6**:9). The initial preverbal **bà(a)** marker occurs before the person-aspect complex (PAC) but after any overt subject. See also Caron (1990), Hill (1976), Newman (1971a), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 49), and Parsons (1981: 292-99). Examples (negative tensed clauses):

bà à taɓà yi masà ƙārìn jinī ba
'he had never had a blood transfusion'
(Neg-Pf, lit. NEG 4pl.PF ever do IOM.3m increase.of blood NEG)

bầ zā sù amìncē dà wannàn ba	'they won't agree to this' (Neg-Fut)
bà zâ ni makaɾantā yâu ba	'I'm not going to school today' (Neg-Allat)
bà sâ dāwō ba	'they probably won't return' (Neg-Pot)
bầ sukàn tàfī cōcì kullum ba	'they don't always go to church'

(Neg-Hab)

(Cf. Negative Imperfective **bā nầ sôn hakà** 'I don't like this' and relevant sections in §6 for full PAC paradigms.)

To confirm a negative question, Hausa uses the affirmative reaction signal **ī/ē** 'yes' in the response, with or without ellipsis of the question material, e.g. **gwamnatì bà tà cê kōmē ba**?—**ī** (**bà tà cê kōmē ba**) 'hasn't the government said anything?—yes (it hasn't said anything)'.

*5.1. Position of the second ...**ba***

The second **ba** element normally occurs at the end of the main clause, following any objects and adjunct phrases, e.g. of time, place, instrument, within its scope. Examples:

bà sù kafà kwàmìtîn bìncìkē à Ma'aikataɾ Tsàrō ba
'they have not set up a committee of investigation at the Ministry of Defence'

bà zân gayầ masà kōmē ba	'I won't tell him anything'
bài taɓà zuwầ makaɾantā ba	'he has never been to school'

bầ takàn jē lābùɾāɾè dà dàddare ba
'she doesn't usually go to the library in the late evening'

bà à kashề shi dà bindigầ ba	'he wasn't killed with a gun'

Some time and degree adverbs, simple and complex, can occur either before or after the second **ba** with no apparent meaning-difference:

mālàm bà zâi gyārà tàkàr̆dunmù gõbe ba
= mālàm bà zâi gyārà tàkàr̆dunmù ba gõbe
'the teacher will not mark our papers tomorrow'
bài sằmu zuwằ yâu ba = bài sằmu zuwằ ba yâu
'he didn't manage to come today'
bà kà gan shì jiyà dà yâmma ba? = bà kà gan shì ba jiyà dà yâmma?
'didn't you see him yesterday afternoon?'
bà mù fàhìnci muhimmancìnsà sõsai ba
= bà mù fàhìnci muhimmancìnsà ba sõsai
'we didn't understand its importance completely'

The negative time adverb **tùkùn(a)** '(not) yet' occurs clause-final, e.g. **bà à biyā ma'àikàtā ba tùkùna** 'the workers have not been paid yet'.

Subordinate adverbial clauses outside the scope of the negation occur to the right of the second **ba**:

matsalōlîn bà zā sù taɓà ƙārèwā ba sai ìdan an cirè sôn-zūcìyā
'the problems will never end unless selfishness is eradicated'
bài zō ba sabõdà rashìn lāfiyằ
'he didn't come due to illness'
bài tàfi ba sai dai yā zaunằ
'he didn't leave but stayed'
bà sù gamà aikĩ ba haɾ̃ rānā tā fāɗì
'they hadn't finished the work even when the sun went down'
bàn bā shì aikìn ba, dõmin nā san halinsà
'I didn't give him the job, because I know his character'
Cf: **bàn bā shì aikìn dõmin nā san halinsà ba**
'I didn't give him the job because I know his character'
where both VPs fall within the negative scope (see also below).

In sentences containing embedded clauses following a root clause in the negative (see §13), the second **ba** is usually placed after the lower clause. Examples (with a range of complement-types):

bà zā à hanà àlhàzai sù yi kāsuwancì ba
'pilgrims will not be prevented from trading'
bàn yàřda kà sàyi bằbûř ba
'I don't agree that you should buy a motorbike'
bàn cê wai Mūsā yanằ shân giyằ ba
'I didn't say that Musa drinks alcohol'
bàn ji dāɗī tā ji ràunī ba
'I wasn't happy she'd been injured'
bàn yi mằmākì dà sukà fāɗì à jařřàbâwā ba
'I'm not surprised that they failed in the exam'
bàn dằmu dà nà sằdu dà ita ba 'I'm not bothered about meeting her'
bà zā kà sō kà ji wannàn làbārì ba 'you won't want to hear this news'
bài cikà àlkawàřîn dà ya yi matà ba
'he didn't keep the promise he made to her'
bà zā mù ƙārà cî gàba dà kařàntà wannàn littāfì ba
'we won't continue reading this book any more'
bàn daɗề dà tāshì ba 'I haven't been up for long'
bà sù rìgā sun tàfi ba 'they haven't left already'
bằ nakàn sâ shi yà shārè ōfis kullum ba
'I don't have him sweep the office every day'

The second **ba** can be inserted at the end of the higher clause, however, e.g. with indirect *wh*-word questions and negative modal complement-taking expressions. Examples:

bàn san kō wằ ya zō ba = bàn sanì ba kō wằ ya zō
'I don't know who came'
bàn tabbàtā kō nawà zā sù sàyā ba = bàn tabbàtā ba kō nawà zā sù sàyā
'I'm not sure how much they will buy (it) for'

bài kàmātà Mammàn yà bař aikìnsà ba
= bài kàmātà ba Mammàn yà bař aikìnsà
'it is not right that Mamman should give up his job'
bầ àbin kunyầ nē mùtûm yà yi màganầ dà sùrùkansà ba
= bầ àbin kunyầ ba nề mùtûm yà yi màganầ dà sùrùkansà
'it is not shameful for a person to speak to his in-laws'
(= negated non-verbal equational)

If both the higher and lower clauses are negated, the S-final second **ba** functions as the closing negative operator for both clauses:

bầ nī nề na sâ Hàlīmà bà tà shìga jāmi'ầ ba
'it wasn't *me* who got Halima not to enter university'
bàn cê bài cikà àlkawàřinsà ba
'I didn't say he hadn't kept his promise'
bầ zā mù ɗàuki ɗālìbîn dà bài iyà Ingìlīshì ba
'we won't take a student who can't speak English'
Note too: **ɗālìbîn dà bài iyà Ingìlīshì ba bầ zâi iyà shìgā wannàn makařantā ba**
'a student who cannot speak English will not be able to enter this school'
where the head + modifying relative clause is the sentential subject and with juxtaposition of the relative clause-final **ba** and main clause-initial **bầ** markers.

The rightmost **ba** also performs double negating duty if a sequence of consecutive VPs is negated:

ma'àikàtân bà sù zō sun kàrɓi àlbâshinsù ba
'the workers didn't come and collect their wages'
(= coordinate Negative Perfective...Perfective TAM)
bà mù jē mun kàlli fîm ba
'we didn't go (and) see the film' (Neg-Pf...Pf)
bà zâi kōmầ gidā yà yi aurē ba
'he won't return home and get married' (Neg-Fut...Neutral)

An entire sentence and its truth value can be bracketed and negated by **bà (wai)...ba** 'it is not (the case) that...' (the same markers used to negate equational constructions, §6.1.1). The reportative particle **wai** 'it is said that, allegedly, etc.' is regularly placed after the initial **bà**, and the copula **nè**, if used, usually appears in clause-final position. Examples (verbal and non-verbal sentences):

bà wai gwamnatì tanà sô tà sōkè zàɓên ba
'it's not the case that the government wants to cancel the elections'
bà nā fi sôn wannàn mālàmī ba nè
'it's not the case that I prefer this teacher'
bà wai Mūsā yanà dà wâutā ba nè
'it's not that Musa is stupid'
bà yakàn yi aikìn hajjì kullum ba nè
'it's not that he goes on the *hajj* pilgrimage always'
bà wai Kànde cè màtātā ba
'it's not that *Kande* is my wife'

The sentence within the scope of the sentential **bà wai...ba** negation can itself be negative, and the final **ba** again performs double duty in those TAMs requiring a second **ba** in the negative. Examples:

bà wai bà mù ji dāɗī ba nè
'it's not that we didn't enjoy ourselves'
bà wai bā yà sôn mīƙà mulkì ba nè
'it's not that he doesn't want to hand over power'
bà wai Audù bâ shi dà hankàlī ba nè
'it's not that Audu is not intelligent'
bà wai bà zā mù yàřda ba nè
'it's not that we won't agree'
bà wai bābù ɗākì ba nè
'it's not that there isn't a room'

6. Non-verbal Clauses

Non-verbal clauses express essentially stative notions and are classifiable into two major structural types depending upon whether or not they contain a TAM element in pre-predicate position.

6.1. Non-verbal clauses [-TAM]

Non-verbal affirmative and negative sentences which do not contain any form of TAM include:

1. Equational and identificational constructions, e.g. **nī mālàmī nɛ̀** 'I am a teacher', **Jummai cɛ̀** 'it's Jummai' (§§6.1.1, 6.1.2).
2. Existential expressions, e.g. **àkwai aikì dà yawà** 'there's lots of work' (§6.1.3).
3. Presentative constructions, e.g. **gà kuɗîn** 'here is the money' (§6.1.4).

6.1.1. Equational (X = Y) and identificational (= Y) sentences

Equational constructions are non-verbal and have the canonical configuration X (subject) + Y (complement) + copula, e.g. **[Audù]**$_X$ **[dàřaktà]**$_Y$ **[nē]**$_{COP}$ 'Audu is/was the director', where the X subject (topic) typically represents old information, and the Y complement, predicative NP or adjective, encodes new information. The temporal reference-point defaults to present but can be past. Predicate adjectives typically express permanent, time-stable properties, e.g. **[Audù]**$_X$ **[dōgō]**$_Y$ **[nɛ̀]**$_{COP}$ 'Audu is tall' (transient states, e.g. 'be happy, be angry, etc.' are expressed verbally). The gender/number-sensitive deictic morpheme **nē/cē/nē,** related historically to the **na/ta/na** genitive formatives, functions as a straightforward non-verbal copular element.[4] **Nē** copies the masculine and plural agreement features of the coreferential constituent,

[4]The non-verbal copula is also an integral element of almost all (compound) interrogative pronouns and determiners, e.g. **wɛ̀nē nɛ̄/mɛ̀nē nɛ̀ wannàn**? 'who (m)/what (m) is this?' (= double copula), **wàcɛ̀ yārinyà ka ganī**? 'which (f) girl did you see?', **wàɗànnɛ̀ irìn kùrākùrai sukà yi**? 'what (pl) kinds of mistakes did they make?' (see **§12**:3.1).

masculine and plural falling together in this case, **cē** copies its feminine features, and the tone on the copula is polar to that on the preceding syllable, e.g. **shī Bàhaushề nē** 'he's a Hausa man', **ita Bàhaushìyā cề** 'she's a Hausa woman', **sū Hàusầwā nề** 'they are Hausa people'. (See also McConvell 1973, 1977, Schachter 1966, Tuller 1986, and especially Newman 2000: chap. 23.) Examples (with a variety of subject constituents and complement-types):

[Audù] [ɗālìbī/dōgō] [nề] 'Audu is a student/is tall'
Audu student/tall COP(m)
[Kànde] [ɗālìbā/dōguwā] [cề] 'Kande is a student/is tall'
Kande student/tall COP(f)
[Audù dà Kànde] [ɗầlìbai/dōgwầyē] [nề]
Audu and Kande students/tall COP(pl)
'Audu and Kande are students/are tall'
[wàndà ya ràsu] [bàbban mùtûm] [nē]
RELPRO(m) 3m.FOC-PF die important.of man COP(m)
'the one who died was an important man'
[ita] [mầtātā] [cề] 'she's my wife'
3f wife.of.1sg COP(f)
[kai] [wầnē] [nề]?—**[nī] [māsinjà] [nē]**
2m who(m) COP(m)—1sg messenger COP(m)
'who are you?—I'm the (office) messenger'
[wannàn mōtầ] [tākà] [cē]? 'is this car yours?'
this car of.2m COP(f)

If there is non-matching of (singular) gender between a subject NP and predicate NP (predicate adjectives always copy the gender feature), then the subject will normally determine gender selection on the predicate-final copula, e.g. **[wannàn màganầ]**$_{f}$ **[shìr̃mē]**$_{m}$ **[cề]**$_{f}$ 'this matter/claim is nonsense', **[aikìn Mūsā]**$_{m}$ **[sāƙầ]**$_{f}$ **[nē]**$_{m}$ 'Musa's work is weaving'. This is by no means an absolute rule, however, and variation (uncertainty) may be encountered, especially if there is contrastive predicate focus, e.g. **[aikìn Mūsā]**$_{m}$ **[sāƙầ]**$_{f}$

[nē]$_{m}$ **(bà ƙīrà ba) = [aikìn Mūsā]**$_{m}$ **[sāƙà]**$_{f}$ **[cē]**$_{f}$ **(bà ƙīrà ba)** 'Musa's work is *weaving* (not smithing)'. In pseudo-cleft sentences, the complement NP provides the climax new information and so determines copula gender (not the S-initial relativized head), e.g. **[[àbîn]**$_{m}$ **dà takè bùkātà] [[shìnkāfā]**$_{f}$ **[cè]]**$_{f}$ **=** **[[àbîn]**$_{m}$ **dà takè bùkātà] [[ita]**$_{f}$ **[cè]**$_{f}$ **[shìnkāfā]]**$_{f}$ 'what she needs is *rice*'. (See **§12** for various emphatic-focus constructions and syntactic reordering involving equationals.)

Identificational constructions are elliptical equational sentences which specify the identity of a given referent, and are equivalent to English 'it's...' or 'they're...', i.e. with a subject pronoun of some kind. Identificational sentences have the structure [predicate + copula], e.g. **wànē nè**?—**Bàlā nè** 'who is it (m)?—it's Bala', **wàcē cè**?—**Hàlīmà cē** 'who is it (f)?—it's Halima'. Further examples are:

Bàhaushè nē	'he's/it's a Hausa man'		
Bàhaushìyā cè	'she's/it's a Hausa woman'	**Hàusàwā nè**	'they're Hausas'
Nìjērìyā cè	'it's Nigeria'	**Landàn cē**	'it's London'
bàbba nè	'it's big'	**mânyā nè**	'they're big'
ƙàramā cè	'it's small'	**tàwa cè**	'it's mine'
nī nè	'it's me'	**kē cè**?	'is it you?'

Negation of equational and identificational constructions is normally local, the (NP) **bà**...**ba** negators bracketing the non-tensed subject complement, with the copula in final position. Examples:

bàbānā bà mālàmī ba nè	'my father isn't a teacher'
ita bà yārinyàtā ba cè	'she's not my girlfriend'
wannàn bà nākà ba nè?	'isn't this one yours?'
shī bà dōgō ba nè	'he's not tall'
bà Jummai ba cè	'it's not Jummai'
bà sū ba nè	'it's not them'
bà ƙàramā ba cè	'she's not small'

bàbānā dà màmātā bà 'yan-Nìjēřiyà ba nè
'my father and mother are not Nigerians'

For some speakers the preferred position for the second **ba** is clause-final, e.g. **bà Jummai cè ba** 'it's not Jummai', **bà tàwa cè ba** 'it's not mine', **shī bà mālàmī nè ba** 'he's not a teacher'.

If the equational or identificational predicate consists of a heavy modifier phrase, e.g. posthead adjectival **MAI**-phrase, relative clause, prepositional phrase, or appositional phrase, then it is usually postponed and placed to the right of the copula. Examples:

Bellò yārò nē [mài hankàlin gàske] 'Bello is an exceptionally sensible boy'
Bello boy COP(m) with sense.of truly
mālàmī nè [à Jāmi'àř Landàn] 'he's a teacher at London University'
teacher COP(m) at University.of London
wata mōtà cē [dà bà à taɓà ganin irìntà ba]
SID(f) car COP(f) REL NEG 4pl.PF touch see.VN.of kind.of.3f NEG
'a car the like of which has never been seen'
sàmàrī nè [irìn na zāmànī] 'they are modern youth'
youths COP(pl) kind.of those.of modern time

When the predicate is an adjectival phrase consisting of a simple adjective and ideophone, the intensifying ideophone may be postposed, e.g. **dōkìn baƙī nè [ƙirin]** 'the horse is jet-black' (= **dōkìn baƙī ƙirin nè**), **rìgař nàn bāƙā cè [wuluk]** 'this gown is jet-black' (= **rìgař nàn bāƙā wuluk cè**).

Some subtypes of equational expressions occur without the copula in constructions involving direct juxtaposition of mainly equivalent-level constituents. An overt copula is possible in some cases, and is given in parentheses below. These categories include:

Personal details (e.g. inalienable possession)
sūnānā Bàlā 'my name is Bala'
sūnankì Bìlki? 'is your name Bilki?'

wannàn hawā sūnansà daushē
'the name of this ride (procession) is *daushe*'

gàrinmù Kanò	'my (our) hometown is Kano'
ùnguwařsù Galādancì	'their ward (neighbourhood) is Galadanci'
sànā'àtā ƙīrà (cē)	'my occupation is smithing'
aikìnā makānikancì (nē)	'my job is a mechanic'
mùƙāmìnmù ɗaya (nè)	'our rank is equal'
shèkàrūnā hàmsin dà bìyař (nè)	'my age (years) is 55'

Times of the day, days of the week/month

yànzu ƙarfè bakwài (nē)	'it's now 7 o'clock'
yâu Jumma'à (cē)	'today is Friday'
àshē gòbe sallà (cē)	'hey tomorrow is *salla* (Muslim festival)'

yâu àshìřin dà takwàs gà watàn (nē)
'today is the 28th of the month'

Numerals (pronoun-like)

mātānā huɗu (nè)	'I have four wives'
wives.of.1sg four (COP)	
'yā'yansà àshìřin (nè)	'he has 20 children'
children.of.3m 20 (COP)	
idònsà ɗaya (nè) **yànzu**	'he has one eye now'
eye.of.3m one (COP) now	
ɗàlìbanmù gōmà (nē) **bana**	'we have 10 students this year'
students.of.1pl 10 (COP) this year	

Whereas most interrogative pronouns contain and occur with a copula because they are inherently focal elements, the interrogative pronoun **wằyê** (pl **su-wằyê**) 'who?' is unusual in that it can be, and often is, used in equationals without any copula, e.g. **wằyê (nē) dằřaktằ à nân**? 'who is the director here?', **su-wằyê (nē) à nân bằ Amiřkāwā ba**? 'who here are not Americans?'.

The copula is also often omitted in fixed equational [X = Y] proverbs;

Allàh ɗaya, gàrī bambam 'God is one, a town is different'
hàƙurī māgànin zaman dūniyà 'patience is the cure for living in the world'
kwàɗàyī mabūɗin wàhalà 'greed is the path (key) to trouble'
darē rìgař mūgù 'night is the cloak for the evil one'
jìkī magàyī 'the body is the informer'
(i.e. it tells you how you are feeling)
kàmā dà wānè bà wānè ba (lit. like so-and-so (is) not so-and-so)
'similarity is not the same as saying two things are identical'

Some exclamations also occur without any copula, e.g. **Allàh Sarkī**! 'Good Lord!' (God (is) King), **Magàji bāwàn Allàh**! 'Magaji is a decent man!' (Magaji (is) servant.of God).

Emphatic negative phrases, e.g. NPs, which are contrasted with an initial corrective focus NP, e.g. a copula-marked cleft, are simply bracketed by the NP **bà**...**ba** negators with no copula, e.g. **Audù nē ya zō, bà Mūsā ba** 'it was *Audu* who came, not Musa', **mōtà cē mukà sàyā, bà bàbûř ba** 'it's a *car* we bought, not a motorbike'.

Equationals can occur embedded within relative clauses, in which case most speakers insert an expletive 3rd person Focus Imperfective-2 TAM, e.g. **yakè**, **takè**, immediately after the **dà** relative marker, followed by an independent pronoun, both of which are coreferential with the antecedent head. Examples:

mùtumìn $_{RC}$[**dà yakè** [shī mālàmī nè]] **bài kàmātà yà yi hakà ba**
'a person who is a teacher shouldn't do that'
yārinyàř $_{RC}$[**dà takè** [ita 'yař-makařantā cè]] **bài kàmātà tà yi aurē ba**
'a girl who is a schoolchild shouldn't get married'

These speakers thus have a syntactic requirement that relative clauses *must* contain a TAM of some kind and they apply the same rule in existential (§6.1.3) and presentative constructions (§6.1.4). It is also possible to use the default empty 3m **yakè** TAM whatever the gender-number of the antecedent, e.g.

[**yārinyàř**]$_{f\ RC}$[**dà** [**yakè**]$_{m}$ [**ita 'yař-makařantā cè**]] **bài kàmātà tà yi aurē ba** 'a girl who is a schoolchild shouldn't get married'.

6.1.2. Identificational and equational sentences with emphatic ***kè nan***

Identificational, and occasionally equational, NP constructions can also be formed with the invariant copular phrase **kè nan** 'it/that is', usually in final position (but before any adverbial elements). The more emphatic **kè nan** is composed of the bare Focus Imperfective-1 TAM **kè** with no agreement pronoun, plus the adverb **nan** 'there' (and though compound-like, is usually written as two words). It has a conclusive force to it and is pragmatically stronger than the copula **nē**, e.g. (identificational) **ƙàrshen màganà kè nan** 'that's an end to the matter', **àl'ādàřmù kè nan** 'it's just our custom'. It can also be used, like **nē**, to emphasize verbal sentences and regularly co-occurs with **sai** 'then' as a conclusive connector in mid-narrative discourse, e.g. ...(**shī**) **kè nan sai**... '...that was that then...'. Examples (identificational, mainly affirmative):

sarkī kè nan	'it's the emir'
Ùsmân Mùhammèd kè nan dàgà Kanò	
'that was Usman Muhammed (reporting) from Kano'	
halinsà kè nan	'that's just his character'
wani kè nan	'it's somebody else'
bà irìn àbincinsà ba kè nan	'it's just not his kind of food'
àbîn dà akè bùƙātà kè nan gà ɗālìbī	
'that's really what's needed from a student'	
àmfànìnsà kè nan gārē mù	'that's its use for us'

Kè nan is also used as an equational-like functor in numerical operations. Addition and subtraction, for example, can be expressed by the formulas [X **dà** 'and' Y Z **kè nan**], and [X Y **bābù** 'there is not' Z **kè nan**] respectively (see also §6.1.3). Examples:

bìyař dà bìyař gōmà kề nan	'five and five is ten'
gōmà bìyař bābù bìyař kề nan	'ten minus five is five'

(See also §**6:**17 for use of 4pl Impersonal Subjunctive TAM constructions to express the same operations.)

Multiplication employs the quantificational noun **sàu** 'time(s)' in the formula [X **sàu** Y Z **kề nan**], and division is realized as [X **cikin** 'in(to)' Y Z **kề nan**]. Examples:

huƈu sàu huƈu shâ shidà kề nan	'four times four is sixteen'
biyu cikin shidà ukù kề nan	'two into six is three'

6.1.3. Existential sentences

Existential expressions, like presentatives (§6.1.4) and equationals (§6.1.1), are non-verbal, and are introduced by one of two invariant predicators—**àkwai** or **dà** 'there is/are' (see also Newman 2000: chap. 26). The most common configuration is **àkwai** (or **dà**) + indefinite NP:

àkwai (= dà) mutầnē dà yawầ à Lēgàs	'there are many people in Lagos'
àkwai (= dà) àbinci irì-irì nân	
'there are different kinds of food here'	
àkwai (= dà) wuƙā kân tēbùř	'there's a knife on the table'
àkwai (= dà) saurā?	'is there any more?'
àkwai (= dà) dàlīlì	'there is a reason'

The predicate NP can be referentially definite, however, e.g. **àkwai wannàn àbinci à Ingìlà** 'there is this food in England'. Given an appropriate context, the temporal reference can also be to a past time event or situation (though not future), e.g. **dâ àkwai wani sarkī**... 'there <u>was</u> once an emir...', **àkwai mutầnē dà yawầ nân jiyà** 'there <u>were</u> many people here yesterday'. If the NP is pronominalized, it appears as a L tone weak direct object pronoun after **àkwai**:

àkwai tābà̀ nân?—**àkwai tà**
'do you have (are there) any cigarettes here?—there are some (it)'
àkwai jàr̃ìdū?—**àkwai sù**
'are there any newspapers?—there are some (them)'

but takes the form of an independent pronoun after **dà**:

dà kà̀suwā à nân gàrîn?—**dà ita**
'is there a market in this town?—there is one (it)'
dà jàr̃ìdū?—**dà sū**
'are there any newspapers?—there are some (them)'

To reinforce either quality-denoting adjectival notions (predicative) or possession of some (e.g. concrete) entity, existential **àkwai** can also be followed by a d.o. pronoun + **dà** 'with' + possessive NP complement (**dà** is not used in this stylistic construction). The subject NP, if expressed, is often topicalized. Examples:

wannàn yārò̀, àkwai shì dà hankàlī! 'this boy, he's clever alright!'
(lit... there is 3m with cleverness)
àkwai sù dà kyâu! 'they're really beautiful!'
(there is 3pl with beauty)
àkwai tà dà faɗà̀! 'she's a nag she is!'
(there is 3f with nagging)
wannàn ɗan-kà̀suwā, àkwai shì dà kuɗī! (...there is 3m with money)
'this trader, he really has money!'

There is also a semantically equivalent topic structure, e.g. **wannàn yārò̀, (àkwai) hankàlī gārē shì**! 'this boy, he's clever alright!' (lit...(there is) cleverness in possession of 3m), where the quality-denoting NP is the existential subject, the existential marker itself can be omitted, and the anaphoric pronoun in

the comment is part of a prepositional phrase headed by **gàrē** 'in relation to, in the possession of, etc.'.[5]

The alternative existential particle **dà** is more restricted in its functional distribution. Unlike **àkwai**, the complement cannot be ellipted when **dà** is used, e.g. **àkwai kuɗī gàrē kà**? 'do you have (there is) any money on you?'—**ē, àkwai** 'yes, I have (there is)' (but not ***ē, dà**). **Dà** and **àkwai** can also co-occur, e.g. **ē, dà àkwai** 'yes, there is', **dà àkwai sù dà yawǎ** 'there are lots of them'.

Negative existential sentences make use of the negative predicator **bābù** or the related variant **bâ** 'there is/are not':

bābù/bâ gàjiyǎ
'I'm not tired' (lit. there is not tiredness)
bābù/bâ ruwankà
'it's none of your business' (there is not your water)

bābù/bâ lâifī	'no problem'
bābù/bâ mân fētùr̃	'there's no petrol'
bābù/bâ kuɗī	'there is no money'
bābù/bâ tàmbayǎ?	'isn't there a question?'

The **bâ** variant must have an overtly expressed complement, e.g. **àkwai mân fētùr̃**?—**bābù** (but not ***bâ**) 'is there any petrol?—there isn't (any)'. If the complement is pronominal, an independent pronoun is the norm, as with **dà**, e.g. **bābù ita** = (less common) **bâ ita** 'there isn't (any of) it', though some speakers allow a H tone direct object pronoun with **bâ**, e.g. **bâ ta**. (See §6.2.1 and **§6:9** for **bâ** + H tone CV pronoun in negative possessive NOT HAVE constructions.) The longer **bābù** form can also be used colloquially as a form of reduced negative statement (denial or disagreement) in response to a *yes-no* question, as an alternative to **ā'ǎ** 'no', e.g. **kin zō dà kuɗîn**?—**bābù** 'did you bring the

[5]Commonly occurring reduced expressions such as **gàrinmù dà nīsā** 'our town is far away', **yāròn nân dà ƙarfī** 'this boy is strong' could also be analyzed as containing existential **dà** (**àkwai** could be substituted), or alternatively as deriving from HAVE constructions with an Imperfective TAM, i.e. **yāròn nân [yanǎ]**$_{IMPF}$ **dà ƙarfī** 'this boy is strong (has strength)' → **yāròn nân Ø dà ƙarfī** (§6.2.1).

money?—no (I didn't bring the money)', **kinà dà** *e-mail* **ɗinsà**?—**wàllāhì bābù**! 'do you have his e-mail?—honestly no!'.

To express the equivalent of pronominal 'anyone, anything, etc.' or negative 'no one, nothing, etc.', Hausa can use either existential **àkwai** or **bābù/bâ** plus a pronoun- or noun-headed relative clause. Examples:

àkwai wandà ya zō tàrôn?—**bābù/bâ wandà ya zō**
'did anyone come to the meeting?—no one came'
(lit. there is the one who...?—there is not the one who...)
àkwai wandà ka ganī?—**bâ wandà na ganī**
'did you see anyone?—I saw no one'
(there is the one that you saw?—there is not the one that...)
àkwai wandà kakè sô?—**bābù/bâ wandà nakè sô**
'is there any one that you want?—there isn't any one I want'
bābù/bâ àbîn dà ya fàru
'nothing happened' (there is not the thing that...)
bâ àbîn dà gwamnatì ta cè
'the government said nothing'

The **bâ** variant also participates in the emphatic expression **bâ** X **bâ** Y, where X (usually) = an independent personal pronoun, and Y = another independent pronoun or NP, e.g. personal noun, infinitival or verbonominal phrase. The construction is used stylistically to express incompatibility between X and the person or event/situation denoted by Y (Attouman 1987). Examples:

bâ nī bâ ita/Kànde 'I have nothing to do with her/Kande'
(there is not 1sg there is not 3f/Kande)
bâ shī bâ ƙārà kōmàwā gidā
'he will never return home again'
(there is not 3m there is not again returning home)

Existentials are also free to occur in embedded clauses:

yā cê [bâ wani dà kè tsàye bằkin ƙofằ]
'he said there was no one (else) standing near the doorway'
dōlè yà kasàncē [àkwai/dà wata dàbāřằ]
'there must be another plan'
inằ sô kì sayō duk irìn nāmàn [dà kè àkwai à kằsuwā yâu]
'I want you to buy any kind of meat that there is in the market today'

Numerals with a value of 1 or 2 lower than a decade can be expressed by using the negative existentials **bābù** or (more commonly) **bâ** to subtract from the higher number, e.g. **àshìřin bâ biyu/ɗaya** '18/19' (lit. 20 there is not 2/1) = **àshìřin biyu/ɗaya bābù** (only **bābù** when phrase-final). 'Zero' can also be expressed as a negative value, i.e. **bâ kō ɗaya** (there is not even one), as well as 'quarter-to-the-hour' times, e.g. **yànzu ƙarfè gōmà bâ kwatằ** 'it's now 9:45' (now o'clock ten there is not quarter). Arithmetical subtraction can be expressed using **bābù** in the formula [X Y **bābù** Z **kè nan**], e.g. **gōmà bìyař bābù bìyař kè nan** 'ten minus five is five'.

6.1.4. Presentational sentences

Presentational expressions are non-verbal deictic constructions which draw attention to the presence of a given referent (see also Newman 2000: chap. 26). They consist of the invariant presentative predicator **gằ** 'here is/are, there is/are' (probably derived from an Imperative form of the verb **ga(nī)** 'see'), followed by an NP, usually with a definite determiner if definite. If the NP is pronominalized, it is realized as a H tone direct object pronoun. Examples:

gằ kuɗîn	'here is the money'		
gằ shi	'here it is'	**gằ ta**	'there she is'
gằ wata yārinyằ mài kyâu	'there's a beautiful girl'		
gằ mōtōcîn cân	'there are the cars over there'		
gằ su cân	'there they are over there'		
gằ ni nā zō	'here I am I've arrived'		

Like pro-locative deictic adverbs such as **nân** 'here' and **can** 'way over there', presentative **gà** has secondary metaphorical and narrative-discourse functions which derive from its primary locative meaning. Examples:

inà cikin tàfiyà sai gà wani mùtûm ya ɓullō
'I was travelling along when there was a man (who) appeared'
bà gà ka nan ba! 'there you are then (didn't I tell you so)!'
NEG PRESENT 2m there NEG

Presentative **gà** can marginally occur in an embedded relative clause, preferably with a dummy Focus Imperfective-2 TAM after the relativizer, e.g. **mutànên [dà sukè gà su nan sunà jiràn sarkī yà fitō]** 'the people who there they were waiting for the emir to come out' (lit...who 3pl.FOC-IMPF-2 PRESENT 3pl...). It also heads the additive phrasal conjunct **gà shi (kùwa)** 'what's more, moreover' (there is 3m (and)), e.g. ...**gà shi (kùwa) haɾ̃ yànzu bà kà gamà shi ba**! '...(and) what's more you still haven't finished it!'.

Presentational-like constructions can also be introduced by the quasi-exclamatory ostensive **ungo** (= **ùngo**) 'here, take (this)', the final vowel of which lengthens before a (direct object) pronoun, e.g. **ungo** 'here', **ungo wannàn** 'take this', **ungō shì** 'take it'.

6.2. Non-verbal sentences with an Imperfective TAM

Non-verbal constructions containing an affirmative or negative Imperfective TAM fall into four subtypes depending on the predicate constituents:

1. Possessive HAVE sentences consisting of either an Imperfective TAM or Negative-HAVE paradigm + **dà** 'with' + NP (concrete or abstract), e.g. **tanà [dà kudī]** 'she has money', **bâ shi [dà nauyī]** 'it isn't heavy' (§6.2.1).
2. Imperfective TAM + locative predicate (adverb and/or prepositional phrase), e.g. **yanà [ciki]** 'it's inside', **sunà [kân kujèrā]** 'they're on top of the chair' (§6.2.2).

3. Imperfective TAM + deverbal stative adverb, e.g. **yanầ [zàune]** 'he's sitting down', **tanầ [rìƙe dà jàkā]** 'she's holding a bag' (§6.2.3).
4. Equational-like expressions consisting of an affirmative only Imperfective TAM + complement NP, e.g. **inầ [yārò̂] à lōkàcîn** 'I was a boy at the time' (§6.2.4).

6.2.1. Possessive HAVE predicate

Non-verbal affirmative HAVE constructions consist of an Imperfective TAM followed by a possessive predicative **dà** 'with' + NP (= prepositional phrase). See also Newman (2000: chap. 33). Examples:

ɗānā yanầ [dà kuɗī]	'my son has money (is rich)'
son.of.1sg 3m.IMPF with money	
kanầ [dà mōtầ]?	'do you have a car?'
2m.IMPF with car	

Pronominal complement objects of the preposition **dà** come from the independent set:

mālàminmù yanầ dà sū	'our teacher has them'
Bintà tanầ dà ita	'Binta has it (f)'

In focus environments the short vowel **kè** Focus Imperfective-2 TAM is used, with obligatory resumptive pronouns after **dà**, which cannot as a rule be stranded.[6] Examples:

wầ yakè dà mōtầ nân?—Magàji nè yakè dà ita
'who has a car here?—*Magaji* has one (it)'
gùdā nawà kakè dà sū? 'how many do you have (them)?'

[6]**Dà** can be idiomatically stranded in responses involving ellipsis of the complement NP in HAVE sentences, e.g. **sunầ dà ruwan famfò̂?—ē, sunầ dà** Ø 'do they have piped water?—yes they have Ø'.

If the subject-agreement pronoun is dropped, however, the long vowel **kè** Focus Imperfective-1 TAM appears, e.g. **wà kè dà mōtà nân**?—**Magàji nè kè dà ita** 'who has a car here?—*Magaji* has one (it)'.

The possessed complement NP can be an abstract noun, predicating a quality of the subject (and corresponding to a qualitative adjective in English). Examples:

wannàn àkwàtì yanà dà nauyī
this box 3m.IMPF with heaviness
'this box is heavy'
wannàn aikì yanà dà wùyā
'this work is difficult' (...with difficulty)
tanà dà hankàlī
'she is sensible' (...with sense)

In Standard (Kano) Hausa, the corresponding negative is expressed by a special Negative-HAVE construction which is made up of a Falling tone negative **bâ** morpheme—probably related historically to negative existential **bâ**, §6.1.3)—followed by a H tone object pronoun. Examples:

bâ ni dà bīřò	'I don't have a pen'
NEG 1sg with pen	
bâ ta dà kōmē	'she doesn't have anything'
bâ su dà ƙarfī	'they are not strong'
gidānā bâ shi dà nīsā dàgà nân	'my house isn't far from here'

Some dialects simply use the regular Negative Imperfective TAM paradigm consisting of H tone **bā** + a L tone CVV subject-agreement pronoun (**§6:**9):

bā nà dà bīřò	'I don't have a pen'
bā tà dà kōmē	'she doesn't have anything'
bā sà dà ƙarfī	'they are not strong'

6.2.2. Locative adverb predicate

Stationary locative phrases—adverbs and/or prepositional phrases or simple locative nouns—can head a predicate following an Imperfective TAM. Examples:

jàkařkà tanà̀ [cân kusa dà ɓōfà̀] 'your bag is there near the door'
(...3f.IMPF there near door)
kāyā sunà̀ [cikin mōtà̀] 'the stuff is inside the car'
(...3pl.IMPF inside car)
kā ga mōtàř dà kè̀ [gìndin bishiyà̀]?
'do you see the car which is under the tree?' (...FOC-IMPF under tree)
bā yà̀ [nan] 'he's not around'
(NEG 3m.IMPF t/here)
yanà̀ [gidā] 'he's at home'
(3m.IMPF house/home)

6.2.3. Stative predicate

Adverbial statives (**§15**:2.1.5) describe a state resulting from a verbal event, and they regularly occur in predicate position following an Imperfective TAM. Examples:

tanà̀ [zàune] kân kujèrā 'she is sitting on a chair'
3f.IMPF sit.STAT on chair
ɓàrāwòn yanà̀ [rìƙe dà wuƙā] 'the thief was holding a knife'
thief.DD(m) 3m.IMPF hold.STAT with knife
tāgàř tanà̀ [bùɗe] 'the window is open'
don mè̀ yakè̀ [tsàye] à wàje? 'why is he standing outside?'
bā tà̀ [zàune] 'she wasn't sitting down'

6.2.4. Equational-like NP predicate

These more marginal constructions consist of an Imperfective TAM (affirmative only) followed by a common, often human, noun or adjective subject complement in an equational-type relationship. This category of equational is

syntactically much more restricted than the widespread copula-linked constructions (§6.1.1). Examples:

sunà can kûřkukù sunà [fuřsùnà]
3pl.IMPF there prison 3pl.IMPF prisoner
'they are there in prison and are prisoners'

à lōkàcîn tanà [ƙàramā] 'at the time she was small'
at time.DD(m) 3f.IMPF small

yanà [mālàmī] à lōkàcîn 'he was a teacher at the time'
inà hawan kèkē tun inà [ƙàramī]
'I've been riding a bike since I was a small'

lōkàcîn dà nakè [yārò]...
'when I was a boy...'

yā shā giyà yanà kùwa [Mùsùlmī]
'he's been drinking and he's a Muslim'

7. Comparison and Equivalence

Hausa adjectives (e.g. **bàbba** 'big') are not gradable. Instead, constructions denoting comparison to a higher degree (both comparative 'bigger' and superlative 'biggest'), to the same degree (= equivalent 'as big as'), and to a lower degree (= 'less big than') are often expressed by affirmative or negative verbal sentences with the structure [X (subject) verb Y (object) Z (standard-of-comparison)]. The standard-of-comparison (Z) is predicated as a property of the object (Y) and the Y...Z structure is therefore equivalent to an objective "small clause" complement (§2.1.3). The standard-of-comparison (Z) constituent is typically a property-denoting abstract noun of some kind, e.g. **wâutā** 'stupidity', **zurfī** 'depth', including (de)verbal nouns, e.g. **tsūfā** 'old age', and colour terms, e.g. **farī** 'whiteness'. Other NPs are possible, however, e.g. (dynamic-activity) **màganà** 'talking', (concrete) **kuɗī** 'money (wealth)', (nominalized VP) **iyà ruwā** 'being able to swim', etc. The quantificational verbs used in the formula are

fi 'exceed, surpass, be more (than)', and less commonly **ɗarà**, for higher degree comparison, **kai** 'reach, arrive at, equal, be as...as' for equal degree comparison, and either **gazà** or **kāsà** 'fall short of, be less than, be not as...as' for lower degree comparison.[7] These verbs typically occur with a Perfective TAM (affirmative and negative) since their meaning is intrinsically stative. (See also §**14**:3.6 for bi-clausal comparison using the subordinator **dà** 'than'.)

7.1. Higher degree comparison

[Audù]$_X$ **yā fi [Mūsā]**$_Y$ **[wàyō]**$_Z$
Audu 3m.PF exceed Musa cleverness
'Audu is cleverer than Musa'
where the stative verb **fi** 'exceed' denotes the degree of comparison, and the standard-of-comparison property (Z) is 'cleverness', denoted by the abstract noun **wàyō**.

['yan-wàsân]$_X$ **bà sù fī [mù]**$_Y$ **[gudù]**$_Z$ **ba**
players.DD(pl) NEG 3pl.PF exceed 1pl run.VN NEG
'the players aren't faster (running) than us'

Bàlā yā fi Mammàn kuɗī
'Bala is wealthier than Mamman'

wannàn zâi fi wancàn àmfānī
'this one will be more useful than that one'

mōtàtā tā fi tāsà tsàdā	'my car is more expensive than his'
yā ɗarà ni nauyī	'he is heavier than me'
bài fī nì girmā ba	'he isn't bigger than me'
dōkìnā yā fi nāsà baƙī/farī	'my horse is blacker/whiter than his'

[7]The lexical verb **fi** and several of its morphological derivatives participate in a number of syntactic constructions. It acts as the head of complement-taking phrasal verbs, e.g. **yā fi kyâu** 'it is better/best', and of the complex verb **fi sô** 'prefer' (lit. exceed wanting), with clausal complements (§**13**:3.1.2). Its stative form occurs in the complex preposition **fìye dà** 'more than', and its agential form **mafì** m/f (pl **mafìyā**) 'more, most' is used in adjectival phrases expressing higher degree comparison, e.g. **Audù nē [mafì tsawō]** '*Audu* is the taller/tallest' (see §**9**:3.10).

In some cases, the higher degree comparison corresponds to adverbial comparison in English:

'yan-ajìnā sun fi nākà yawàn màganà̀
'my students talk more than yours' (lit...exceed yours amount.of talk)
cùtâř tā fi yà̀ɗuwā à ƙasà̀shen Afiřkà
'the disease spreads more in African countries' (lit...exceeds spreading...)

That the comparison can be comparative or superlative is demonstrated by the following two examples, where the comparison clauses are structurally identical:

tsàkānin Gařbà dà Mammàn, wà̀nē nè̀ ya fi tsawō?
'between Garba and Mamman, who is the *taller*?'
tsàkānin Gařbà dà Mammàn dà Yūsufù, wà̀nē nè̀ ya fi tsawō?
'between Garba and Mamman and Yusufu, who is the *tallest*?'

Comparison can also be expressed using the formula [X (subject) + **fi** + Z.of Y]:
[wannàn rījìyā]$_X$ **tā fi [zurfin]**$_Z$ **[waccàn]**$_Y$
this well 3f.PF exceed depth.of that one
'this well is deeper than that one'

or by making the standard-of-comparison (Z) constituent the clause subject:

zurfin wannàn rījìyā yā fi na waccàn
depth.of this well 3m.PF exceed that.of that one
'this well is deeper than that one'

Given an appropriate context, including fixed proverbs, either the compared object Y and/or standard-of-comparison Z can be non-overt, and if Y is omitted then either a context-sensitive comparative or superlative construal is possible. Examples (with omitted constituents in parentheses):

aikìn nân yā fi (Y) **cîn-râi** 'this work is more/most boring'

Audù yā fi (Y) **tsawō** 'Audu is taller/tallest'

tàfiyà tā fi zamā (Z)

'travelling is better than staying in one place'

Gaskiyā Tā Fi Kwabò̀ (Z) 'Truth Is Worth More Than A Penny'

(= name of a Hausa newspaper)

sarkin yawà yā fi sarkin ƙarfī (Z) 'there's strength in numbers'

emir.of plenty 3m.PF exceed emir.of strength

hakà zâi fi (Y) (Z) 'that would be better/best'

Note too **yā gìrmē tà** 'he is older than her' (= intrinsically comparative lexical gr2 verb **gìrmā** 'be older than').

In order to explictly convey a superlative (more than two elements) reading, a universal pronoun or quantified NP can be used to fill the postverbal Y slot:

Mammàn zâi fi dukkànsù tsawō

Mamman FUT.3m exceed all.of.3pl height

'Mamman will be the tallest one of them'

yārǒnā zâi fi duk yârân iyà ruwā

son.of.1sg FUT.3m surpass all children.DD(pl) be able water

'my son will be the best swimmer of all the kids'

tàfiyàř dà na taßà yî waddà ta fi kōwàccē nīsā ita cè̀...

journey.DD(f) REL 1sg.FOC-PF ever do.VN RELPRO(f) 3f.FOC-PF exceed each one(f) distance 3f COP(f)

'the longest journey I've ever made was...'

tā fi kōwā tsūfā

3f.PF exceed everyone old age

'she is the oldest'

Alternatively, the Y (object-of-comparison) constituent can be expressed as part of a prepositional phrase, often in pre-clausal topic position, e.g. **[cikin**

'yammātan nàn], ita cè ta fi kyâu 'of these girls, she was the most beautiful' (in girls these 3f COP(f) 3f.FOC-PF exceed beauty).

7.2. Equivalent degree comparison

The verb **kai** 'reach, arrive at' is used to express ('be as...as') comparisons of equivalence:

[Sāni]$_X$ yā kai [Lawàl]$_Y$ [wǎyō]$_Z$ 'Sani is as clever as Lawal'
Sani 3m.PF reach Lawal cleverness
[ɗākǐnā]$_X$ yā kai [nākà]$_Y$ [haskē]$_Z$
room.of.1sg 3m.PF reach of.2m brightness
'my room is as bright as yours'

The (Z) standard-of-comparison can again be omitted:

[wàɗàndà sukà mutù]$_X$ sun kai [wàɗàndà sukà rǎyu]$_Y$ [(yawǎ)]$_Z$
those who 3pl.FOC-PF die 3pl.PF reach those who 3pl.FOC-PF survive (number)
'as many died as survived' (where X and Y = complex NPs)

Equivalance can also be expressed using the formula [X (subject) + general verb **yi** 'do' + genitival Z.of Y]:

[wannàn rījìyā]$_X$ tā yi [zurfin]$_Z$ [waccàn]$_Y$
this well 3f.PF do depth.of that one
'this well is as deep as that one'

Alternatively, the formula [Z.of X + quantificational phrasal verb **yi daidai dà** (do exactly with) or **yi ɗaya dà** (do one with) = 'be equal to' + Y] can be used:

[zurfin]$_Z$ [wannàn rījìyā]$_X$ yā yi daidai/ɗaya dà [na waccàn]$_Y$
depth.of this well 3m.PF do exactly/one with that.of that one
'this well is as deep as that one'

7.3. Lesser degree comparison

To express lower degree comparison, an equivalance clause with the lexical verb **kai** is used in the negative. Examples:

[nī]$_X$ bàn kai [shì]$_Y$ [girmā]$_Z$ ba
1sg NEG.1sg.PF reach 3m size NEG
'me, I'm not as big as him'
[Bìřtāniyǎ]$_X$ bà tà kai [Amìřkà]$_Y$ [ařzìkī]$_Z$ ba
Britain NEG 3f.PF reach U.S.A. wealth NEG
'Britain is not as wealthy as the U.S.A.'

Alternatively, an inherently negative antonym verb such as **kāsà** or **gazà** 'fall short of, be less than' is used:

[mǎtařsà]$_X$ tā gazà/kāsà [shi]$_Y$ [hankàlī]$_Z$ 'his wife is not as sensible as him'
wife.of.3m 3f.PF be less than 3m sense
[dōkìnsà]$_X$ yā gazà [nǎwa]$_Y$ [saurī]$_Z$
horse.of.3m 3m.PF fall short of.1sg speed
'his horse is not as fast as mine'

7.4. Sufficiency ('be enough') and excess ('be too X')

The quantificational notions of sufficiency ('be enough') and excess ('be too X') are usually expressed with the complement-taking verbs **ìsa** 'be enough, be up to' (lit. 'reach') and **fi** 'be more than, exceed' respectively, followed by either a sentential complement with a Subjunctive TAM or by a nonfinite VP with a same-subject interpretation. Examples:

lâifĭnsà yā ìsa à ɗaurè shi
crime.of.3m 3m.PF be enough 4pl.SJN imprison 3m
'his crime was enough for him to be imprisoned'

tā ìsa tà yi aurē = (yîn) aurē
3f.PF be enough 3f.SJN do marriage = (do.VN.of) marriage
'she's old enough to marry'
sun fi à ƙirgà̀
3pl.PF exceed 4pl.SJN count
'they are too many to count'

The cognate grade 2 verb **ìsā** is used with a direct object to express 'be enough for, suffice', e.g. **wannàn zâi ìshē nì** 'this will be enough for me'.

An alternative way of expressing 'be too X', where X often corresponds to a predicate adjective in English, is with a phrasal verb containing **yi** 'do' + the quantity noun **yawà̀** 'quantity, amount'. Examples:

sǔ̀rūtǔ̀ yā yi yawà̀	'there's too much chattering'
chattering 3m.PF do quantity	
zāfī yā yi yawà̀	'it's too hot'
heat 3m.PF do quantity	

Yi can also be followed by a quality-denoting abstract noun, e.g. **mōtàř tā yi tsà̀dā** 'the car is too expensive' (...do expensiveness), or the paucal quantifier **kàďan** 'little, small', e.g. **wànnan rìgā zā tà yi makà kàďan** 'that gown will be too small for you' (...do IOM.2m small).

NP-modifying 'enough' is usually expressed by the deverbal past participial adjective **ìsasshē** m. (f. **ìsasshiyā**, pl. **ìsàssū**) 'enough, sufficient' (< **ìsa** 'be enough'), e.g. **jihàř tanà̀ sāmař dà ìsasshiyař lāfiyà̀ gà kōwā** 'the state is providing enough health (services) for everyone'.

7.5. 'So X (that)' comparison

Comparative 'so X (that)...' constructions consist of an initial main clause followed by an embedded finite comparative clause initiated by the degree

subordinator **hař** 'up to' (here = 'that'). The higher clause VP usually contains an (optional) adverbial upscaler, e.g. **dà yawà** 'much', **ƙwařai** 'very much, really', **sòsai** 'very much'. Examples:

tā gàji (dà yawà) hař tā kāsà aikì
3f.PF tire (much) that 3f.PF be unable work
'she was so (very) tired that she couldn't work'
nā ji dāɗin fîm ɗîn (sòsai) hař zân sākè kallonsà
'I enjoyed the film so (very) much that I'll see it again'
sun yi ràunī ƙwařai hař sun mutù
'they were so badly injured that they died'

8. Indirect Objects

Indirect objects are introduced by the indirect object markers (IOMs) **ma-** before a personal pronoun object, where the **/a/** normally assimilates to the following vowel, e.g. **mi-nì** 'to/for me', **ma-sà** 'to/for him' (see **§10**:2.3 for full paradigm), and **wà** (dialectally **mà**) elsewhere, e.g. **wà mālàm/kōwā/wannàn** 'to/for the teacher/ everyone/this one'. The **wà** allomorph probably derives from the preposition **gà**, and **mà** from either **wà** itself or an original possessive marker ***ma**. (See Newman 1982, and especially Newman 2000: chap. 39.) The (pro)nominal indirect object (i.o.) immediately follows the finite form of the verb, and any overt direct object (d.o.) occurs to the right of the i.o., e.g. **nā [nūnâ]**$_{V}$ **[wà àbōkīnā]**$_{i.o.}$ **[gōnâř]**$_{d.o.}$ 'I showed my friend the farm', **nā [nūnâ]**$_{V}$ **[masà]**$_{i.o.}$ **[gōnâř]**$_{d.o.}$ 'I showed him the farm'.[8] A key feature of indirect object syntax is that only finite verbs, and not nonfinite verbal nouns, can co-occur with i.o. phrases even if the TAM is Imperfective, e.g. **sunà [nēmà]**$_{V}$ **minì aikì** 'they are looking for a job for me' (with the marginal exception of the verbal noun

[8]In the Bauchi dialect, nominal (but not pronoun) indirect objects are positioned to the *right* of the d.o., the typical location for i.o. NPs in Chadic, e.g. **yā wankè [mōtà]**$_{d.o.}$ **[wà/mà Audù]**$_{i.o.}$ 'he washed the car for Audu', **tā tūrà [yāròn]**$_{d.o.}$ **[wà/mà hedìmastà]**$_{i.o.}$ 'she sent the boy to the headmaster'. See Galadanci (1976), Gital (1987), Newman (1982), and Zaria (1982).

zuwǎ (< **zō** 'come'), e.g. **wannàn làbāřì yanǎ [zuwǎ]**$_{VN}$ **mukù dàgà**... 'this news is coming to you from...').

Indirect objects are used to express a range of thematic roles, including benefactive, goal, applicative, malefactive, etc., and the interpretation is determined by the lexical semantics and grade of the (in)transitive verb, in addition to situational factors. For example, ventive-centripetal grade 6 **kāwō** 'bring (to)' and **zāɓař** (with the pre-dativa1 **-ař** suffix) 'choose for' both subcategorize for benefactive indirect objects, separative-deprivative gr4 **ƙwācè** 'confiscate' is malefactive, grade 1 **gōgǎ** 'rub on' and **sōkǎ** 'stab into' are applicative, etc. (see also §7:5). Examples (typically personal referent indirect objects):

zā tà nūnǎ [wà yârā/musù]$_{i.o.}$ **hōtunǎ**
FUT 3f show IOM children/IOM.3pl photos
'she will show the photos to the children/them'
nā kāwō [wà yārinyǎtā/matà]$_{i.o.}$ **kyàutā**
1sg.PF bring IOM girl.of.1sg/IOM.3f present
'I brought a present for my girlfriend/her'
an sācè [wà Mūsā/masà]$_{i.o.}$ **mōtǎ**
4pl.PF steal IOM Musa/IOM.3m car
'Musa's car has been stolen' (= Eng. possessive)

yanǎ jēfǎ [wà kàrē]$_{i.o.}$ **ƙàshī** 'he is throwing a bone to the dog'
3m.IMPF throw IOM dog bone (= applicative gr1)

nā gōdè [mikì]$_{i.o.}$ 'I thank you'
1sg.PF thank IOM.2f

zā sù tunǎ [wà jūnā]$_{i.o.}$ 'they will remind each other'
FUT 3pl remind IOM each other

kà rufǎ [wà kânkà]$_{i.o.}$ **àsīřī** 'keep the secret to yourself'
2m.SJN close IOM head.of.2m secret

yakàn yabǎ [musù]$_{i.o.}$ **aikìnsù** 'he praises their work'
3m.HAB praise IOM.3pl work.of.3pl (= applicative gr1)

nā nēmař [wà yârân/musù]$_{i.o.}$ àbinci
1sg.PF look for IOM boys.DD(pl)/IOM.3pl food
'I looked for some food for the boys/them'
an wāyař [wà dà talakāwā]$_{i.o.}$ kâi
4pl.PF enlighten IOM PART people head
'the people have been educated'

(With grade 5 verbs, e.g. **wāyař dà** 'enlighten' in the final example above, the pre-noun IOM **wà** and particle **dà** can, and regularly do, follow each other.)

Notice that the equivalent English sentences do not always contain indirect object constructions, and that in some cases the Hausa indirect objects correspond to direct objects in English, as they do with so-called "dative verbs", e.g. **bauɗè wà** v4dat 'avoid', **ɓullō wà** v6dat 'confront', **gujè wà** v4dat 'avoid', **jūrè wà** v4dat 'tolerate', **kyâutā wà** v1dat 'treat kindly', **mōrè wà** v4dat 'enjoy', **sāɓà wà** v1dat 'disobey, violate, wrong', etc. (see §3.6). Note too the following common idiomatic verb + i.o. + noun phrases: **bugà wà** X **tsāwā** 'scold X' (lit. hit IOM X thunderclap), **cī wà** X **àmānà** 'betray X' (eat IOM X trust), **cī wà** X **fuskà** 'humiliate X' (eat IOM X face), **cirè wà** X **hùlā** 'take hat off to X' (take off IOM X hat), **faràntā wà** X **râi** 'make X happy' (make white IOM X mind), **shā wà** X **kâi** 'bother X' (drink IOM X head).

Phrasal verbs consisting of **yi** 'do' + dynamic (or verbal) noun are also often used with an intervening indirect object (where English might use a prepositional object). Examples:

yā yi musù kirà...	'he called on them...'
3m.PF do IOM.3pl calling	
sun yi wà yārò dàriyā	'they laughed at the boy'
3pl.PF do IOM boy laughter	
tā yi minì àlkawàřī	'she promised me'
3f.PF do IOM.1sg promise	
tanà yi wà yāròntà mùřmùshī	'she was smiling at her boyfriend'
3f.IMPF do IOM boyfriend.of.3f smiling	

kâř kà yi manà ƙaryā!
NEG 2m.SJN do IOM.1pl lie
'don't lie to us!'

In sentences with an overt indirect object and direct object, the general verb **yi** 'do' is regularly deleted, with the result that the indirect object ends up directly following the person-aspect complex. Examples (various TAMs, finite and nonfinite constructions):

tanằ (yi) makà màganằ	'she's talking to you'
bā yằ (yi) minì aikĩ yànzu	'he doesn't work for me now'
ìnā yāròn dà ya (yi) makà aikĩ?	'where's the boy who worked for you?'
yârā sunằ (yi) wà 'yan-wằsā ēhồ	'the children were jeering the players'
sukàn (yi) minì bā'ằ	'they mock me'
sun (yi) minì bā'ằ	'they mocked me'

Following extraction and fronting of an indirect object argument, e.g. in focus, *wh*-question, relative clause environments, the IOM **wà** remains in situ after the verb, with either a gap (preferred) or resumptive pronoun in the base position. Although not a true clitic (Jaggar & Munkaila 1995, Newman 1991b) the IOM is nevertheless more closely associated with the preceding verb than are (core) prepositions like **à**, **dà**, **dàgà**, **gà(rē)**, etc., which are linked to, and so may be pied-piped along with, their prepositional NP complements (see **§15**). Examples:

wằ ka nūnằ wà (= **masà**) **hồtôn**?—**mālàmīnā nề na nūnằ wà** (= **masà**)
who 2m.FOC-PF show IOM (= IOM.3m) photo.DD(m)—teacher.of.1sg COP(m) 1sg.FOC-PF show IOM (= IOM.3m)
'whom did you show the photo to?—it was my *teacher* I showed (it) to'
ìnā mùtumìn dà zā mù yi wà (= **masà**) **aikìn**?
'where's the man we're going to do the work for?'
sū nề mukà kōyằ wà (= **musù**)
'it was *them* we taught'

Despite the relatively tight verb + IOM nexus, some (but not all) speakers will allow a phonologically light item to intervene, for example the monomoraic emphatic modal particle **fa** 'indeed, really', e.g. **nā gayà fa wà ɗan-sàndā** 'I really did tell the policeman', **kà nūnà fa matà hōtunàn** 'show the photos to her then'.[9]

For some speakers of Kano Hausa, the L tone short vowel **wà** IOM is used in all syntactic environments except when there is no following indirect object, where they have (L tone) *long* **wà** (a Falling tone allomorph **wâ** is also attested but its distribution is uncertain). This lengthening typically takes place when the i.o. has been extracted and preposed. Since the IOM cannot be stranded, it attaches phonologically to the preceding verb and then lengthens under analogic pressure from other verbs, e.g. grade 1 final **-ā**, which have a long final vowel in the non-object A-form, i.e. **gayà wà** → **gayà-wà** 'tell to'. The L-long **wà** allomorph thus overtly signals the structural gap which follows the omission of the i.o. to the right of the IOM. Examples:

nā gayà wà Audù làbārì 'I told Audu the news'

cf. **wà ka gayà-wà làbārì**?—**Audù nē na gayà-wà**

'who did you tell the news to?—it was *Audu* I told (it) to'

bà Audù na bayyànā-wà ba 'it wasn't *Audu* I explained (it) to'

wàcē cè sukà jì-wà ràunī? 'whom did they injure?'

ita zân bā-wà 'it's *her* I'll give (it) to'

ìnā wandà kikà nūnà-wà (jiyà)?

'where is the one you showed (it) to (yesterday)?'

The verb **bā** 'give' is commonly realized as F **bâ** before a nominal recipient, and is the output of fusion of the underlying form **bā** and the following IOM **wà**, i.e. with segmental reduction but preservation of the F </= HL tones. (Pronouns

[9]As regards the structural status of the **wà** (= **mà**) IOM, a number of Hausaists have argued that it constitutes a fused verbal suffix, i.e. **gayàwà** 'tell to' is lexically a single word. See, for example: Abdoulaye (1991, 1992), Bature (1991), Gouffé (1981b: 49), Munkaila (1990), Parsons (1971/72: 64), and Tuller (1984, 1990). For potent evidence against this view, however, see Newman (1991b) in particular, and also Jaggar & Munkaila (1995).

following **bā** look like weak direct object forms but are in fact synchronic reflexes of erstwhile indirect object pronouns, see Newman 1982.) Examples (see §7:2.1.3 for other variants):

zân bā shì kuɗîn	'I will give him the money'
bàn bâ yârā kōmē ba	'I didn't give the children anything'
bàn bā sù kōmē ba	'I didn't give them anything'
zân bâ Magàji shī	'I will give it to Magaji'

There are also a few set collocations consisting of a verb followed by the non-SH **mà** IOM before noun indirect objects, e.g. **cim mà** (= **cī mà**) 'overtake, accomplish, achieve', **im mà** (= **ī mà**) 'be a match for, control', **isam mà** 'be up to, be equal to', and **tāsam mà** 'attack, head for'. Examples:

sun cim mà wata yàřjējēnìyā	'they have reached an agreement'
sun im mà ɓàràỳîn	'they overpowered the thieves'
yā tāsam mà gidā	'he headed for home'

8.1. Postponement of a heavy indirect object NP

If an indirect object (often recipient) is a complex heavy NP, it is often placed to the right of the direct object, and takes the form of a prepositional phrase headed by **gà** 'to, for'. Examples:

yanà̀ mīƙà gòdiyařsà [gà ɗimbin mutà̀nen dūniyà̀ waɗàndà sukà tausàyā wà ƙasâř...]PP

'he was extending his thanks [to the many people of the world who had taken pity on the country...]'

...**dòmin sù kāwō āgàjī [gà wannàn àl'ummà̀ ta Mùsùlmī waddà ita cè àl'ummà̀ Mùsùlmā mafì daɗèwā à duk ƙasà̀shen Tūřai**]PP

'...so that they can bring aid [to this Muslim community which is the oldest in all Europe]'

zā sù biyā diyyā̀ [gà fìye dà mutā̀nē dubū huɗu]PP
'they will pay compensation [to more than 4,000 people]'

Postponement with a **gà**-headed PP can also be used for end-focus or end-weight, regardless of whether the i.o. is heavy or not. Examples:

inā̀ fātā ēditā̀ zâi bā nì fīlī dṑmin ìn mīƙà kūkānā [gà Gwamnà]PP
'I hope the editor will give me space so I can express my complaint to the Governor'
yā bayyànà gàmsuwar̃sà [gà kwàmìtîn]PP
'he expressed his satisfaction to the committee'

Postponement is especially common with collocational phrasal verbs formed with the general verb **yi** 'do' + d.o. (verbal) noun, e.g. **yi kirā̀** 'call upon, appeal to', and also with complex efferential grade 5 verbs, e.g. **bā(yar̃) dà** 'give (away)'. (See also Newman 1982: 64-65, and Parsons 1971/72: 72.) Examples:

yā yi kirā̀ [gà jàma'ā̀]PP **dà sù ci gàba dà**...
'he called on (to) the people to continue...'
yā bā dà izìnī à har̃bḕ 'yan-fashī̀ dà màkā̀mai [gà 'yan-sàndā]PP
'he gave permission for armed robbers to be shot to the police'
yā bā dà ùmùr̃nī [gà Kwàmishinā̀]PP **dà yà ƙārà yawàn**...
'he gave an order to the Commissioner to increase the number of...'
an bā dà Wancè [gà Wānè]PP
'so-and-so (f) has been given (in marriage) to so-and-so (m)'
yà kàmātà gwamnatì tà sāmar̃ dà ìsasshiyar̃ lāfiyā̀ [gà kōwā]PP
'the government should provide an adequate health service for everyone'

9. Exclamations, Interjections, Greetings, etc.

Exclamations express a speaker's emotional reaction or attitude to a situation and represent a closed minor word-class, including interjections (see also Newman

2000: chap. 25). Exclamatory utterances typically contain one word, i.e. a head exclamation, and a few are analyzable as clause constituents, e.g. NPs. Phonologically, some exclamatory elements are extrasystemic in that they end in a consonant (like ideophones, §15:7). Examples (there is some overlap with interjections, §9.3):

ā'ǎ 'no'; **ai** 'well'; **àkul**! 'don't dare!'; **Allàh**?—**Allàh** 'really? (God?)—really (God)'; **Allàh wadai**! 'God damn!' (see also below); **anyǎ** (= strong doubt); **àshē** 'really(?)' (surprise or confirmation); **àsshā** 'what a pity'; **àyyâ** 'sorry, how terrible'; **bâ kōmē** 'no problem' (lit. there is not anything); **dà kyâu** 'good' (with goodness); **hā** 'open your mouth' (to children); **habà** (disagreement, disbelief, surprise); **habǎwâ** (strong doubt, disapproval); **hoɓɓǎsǎ**! 'up with it (load)!'; **hōhò** 'what a pity'; **ī = ē** 'yes'; **kâi** (doubt, surprise, delight); **kaico** 'bad luck'; **kayya** (strong doubt); **ƙīkìrìƙī** (jubilation); **lallē = lallai** 'certainly, for sure'; **mādàllā** 'OK, good, fine'; **mànà** 'of course, surely'; **na'àm** 'yes' (see also below), **nà'am**? 'yes?'; **tabɗì** (surprise); **tiř** (annoyance, rejection, see also below); **tô = tǒ** 'OK, good, fine' (also **tôoo**...); **ungo** 'take this, here you are' (see also below); **wàllāhì** (**tàllāhì**)! 'by God, honestly!'; **wâyyô** (**Allàh**)! (regret, anguish, pain); **yâuwā**! 'great!'

A few exclamations can enter into syntactic relations with other constituents:

Allàh wadankà!	'God damn you!'
(with objective 2m genitive pronoun)	
tiř dà kē!	'the hell with you!'
ùbākà!	'screw you!' (father.2m)
uwākà!	'screw you!' (mother.2m)
yā yi na'àm dà màganàřsù	'he accepted their claim' (lit. he did yes with...)
ungo wannàn	'take this'

A subset of exclamations are structurally interrogative expressions containing *wh*-elements (= exclamatory *wh*-questions), e.g. (rhetorical/contemptuous) **wǎnē**

Audù? 'who does Audu think he is?' (= *wh*-determiner + noun), **ìnâ**? (= **ànâ**?) 'no way' (= manner adverb 'how?').

9.1. Exclamations of contempt/dismissiveness (X + -ō)^{H} (+ matà))

Hausa also has a formulaic phrasal construction which is used to dismiss or demean a discourse topic of some kind. A constituent X is given a left-spreading all H tone suffix **-ō**)^{H}, replacing any stem-final vowel/diphthong, and optionally reinforced by **matà** (probably the 3f indirect object pronoun 'to her', i.e. 'mother'). The resulting contemptuous expression translates into English as something like exclamatory 'the hell with X!', 'forget about X!', 'damn X!', etc., e.g. prementioned topic **kuɗī** 'money/cost' + **-ō**)^{H} → **kuɗ'ō (matà)**! 'the hell with the cost!', **kàřàtū** 'studying' + **-ō**)^{H} → **kařātō (matà)**! 'damn the studying!'. See Newman (1988, 2000: chap. 27) for details.

Words ending in a consonant other than a nasal attach the **-ō** suffix to the entire stem, e.g. **sàlâk** 'salad' → **salakō (matà)**! 'forget the salad!', **bātìř** 'battery' → **bātiřō (matà)**! 'who cares about the battery!'. With polysyllabic stems ending in a nasal the final V + nasal sequence is replaced by **-ō**, e.g. **asfìřìn** 'asprin' → **asfiřō (matà)**! 'the hell with the aspirin!', **Fataskùm** 'Potiskum (place name)' → **Fataskō (matà)**! 'forget about Potiskum!'. Some speakers, however, group final /**m**/ with other consonants and attach the dismissive **-ō** to it, e.g. **Fataskumō (matà)**! (see also below). Palatalized consonants before stem-final front vowels usually depalatalize before the **-ō**, e.g. **fushī** 'anger' → **fusō**!, **kǎjī** 'chickens' → **kāzō**!, **mōtōcī** 'cars' → **mōtōtō**!—cf. though **gidǎjē** 'houses' → either **gidādō**! or **gidājō**! with palatalized /**j**/ optionally preserved, and **bāyī** 'slaves' → **bāyō**! with no depalatalization of /**y**/ (→ /**w**/).

The rule is free to apply to a whole range of constituents, e.g. simple or derived/inflected nouns and verbs, adverbs, ideophones, quantifiers, pronouns, etc., though there are speaker differences with regard to its productivity. Examples (without **matà**):

àlēwà̀	'candy'	→	**alēwō!**
aurē	'wedding'	→	**aurō!**
bātìř	'battery'	→	**bātiřō!**

(with **-ō** suffixed to final non-nasal consonant)

talàbijìn	'television'	→	**talabijō!**

(with **-ō** replacing final nasal and preceding vowel)

hùlař-kwānò	'crash helmet'	→	**hūlař-kwānō!**
kwâs	'course (of study)'	→	**kwasō!**
kwàsà̀kwàsai	'courses'	→	**kwasākwasō!**
makařantā	'school'	→	**makařantō!**
Tùřà̀wā	'Europeans'	→	**Tūřāwō!**
yārò	'boy'	→	**yārō!**
yārinyà̀	'girl'	→	**yārinyō!**
wà̀sā	'game'	→	**wāsō!**
wà̀sànnī	'games'	→	**wāsannō!**
shìrye-shìrye	'plans'	→	**shirye-shiryō!**
Shèkàrau	'Shekarau'	→	**Shēkarō!**
Mūsā	'Musa'	→	**Mūsō!**
dafà̀	'to cook'	→	**dafō!**
bayyànā	'to explain'	→	**bayyanō!**
ƙaryàtā	'to deny'	→	**ƙaryatō!**
shidà	'six'	→	**shidō!**
shâ biyu	'twelve'	→	**shā biyō!**
jiyà	'yesterday'	→	**jiyō!**
ita	'she'	→	**itō!**
fîm	'film'	→	**fimō!**
gwâl	'goal'	→	**gwalō!**
cêk	'cheque'	→	**cekō!**
bâs	'bus'	→	**basō!**

Monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel or diphthong insert a transitional /**y**/ glide following a front vowel or /**w**/ glide before the **-ō** suffix, and the long vowels /**ī**/ and /**ū**/ automatically shorten before homorganic glides. Examples:

shī	'he'	→	**shiyō!**	**mâi**	'oil'	→	**mayō!**
sū	'they'	→	**suwō!**	**ji**	'listen'	→	**jiyō!**
jā	'pull'	→	**jāwō!**	**sô**	'love'	→	**sōwō!**

9.2. Formulae (greetings, responses, etc.)

Examples of formulaic utterances—greetings, responses, oaths, expletives, etc., many from Arabic—used in stereotyped situations, include:

àlbařkà 'no deal' (bargaining)

àlbishìřinkà/kì 'good news for you'

àlhamdù lìllāhì 'God be praised'

Allàh Sarkī 'Good Lord'

Allàh yà gāfàřtà Mālàm 'may God pardon the Teacher'
(respectful greeting)

àmin 'amen (to that)'

bařkà 'hello'
(e.g. **bařkà dà àsùbâ** 'good morning', **bařkà dà Sallà** 'greetings on the Muslim festival')

bìs(i)millà 'in the name of God'
(invitation to sit down, eat, etc.)

gāfařà 'excuse me'

hankàlī! 'careful!'

in shā Àllāhù 'God willing'

lā ìllāhà illàllāhù 'there is no God but Allah' (sorrow)

lāfiyà? 'are you well?'

lāfiyà lau 'just fine'

làlê 'welcome'

mar̃ȁba	'welcome'
nā gōdȅ	'(I) thank you'
rânkà/kì yà daɗȅ	'Sir/Madam'
(lit. life.of.2m/2f 3m.SJN last long)	
sai an jimȁ	'goodbye'
(until 4pl.PF spend time)	
sàlāmù àlaikùm	'peace be unto you'
àlaikùmùs sàlāmù	'peace be unto you too'
sànnu	'hello, greetings, sorry'
(e.g. **sànnu dà aikȉ** 'greetings on your work')	
sùbhānàllāhì	'Good God'
yallàɓai	'Sir'

9.3. Interjections

Interjections are non-content words with an exclamatory force, most of which have irregular phonological features. Examples:

a'a (surprise, bemusement)	**alô(o)** (to catch person's attention)
af = ap (surprise)	**ash** (regret)
hâ(a) (positive sound in game)	**kash** 'oh dear, what a shame'
ȍho 'no idea, who cares?'	**ȍhô** (realization)
mm̂mm (recognition)	**pf** (contempt)
tsss (contemptuous sucking sound, cf. noun **tsȁkī**)	

9.4. Derivative exclamations ***-i)***$^{HL(H)}$

There is a subclass of exclamations which are derived from either augmentative adjectives (§5:6.4) or verbs, by attaching a tone-integrating **-i)**$^{HL(H)}$ suffix (HLH if output = trisyllabic). These formations often correspond to *wh*-exclamations in English. Examples (coronals palatalize before the **-i**): **rūshì**! 'how big and crunchy (kolanuts)!' (< **rūshēshȅ** 'big and crunchy' (kolanuts)),

shiřgì! 'what a pile!' (< **shiřgà** 'pile up, dump'), **ɗanɗàshi**! 'how attractive/elegant!' (< **ɗanɗàsā** 'do well'). See also R. M. Newman (1988: 112-13), and Parsons (1981: 222ff.).

Augmentative-derived forms add the exclamatory suffix to the non-extended base. Examples:

fiřɗì!	'what a hulk!	(< **fiřɗēɗè** 'enormous')
mākì!	'how broad and long!'	(< **mākēkè** 'broad and long')
ringìmi!	'what a huge head!'	(< **ringimēmè** 'huge (head)')
shařtàßi!	'how long and sharp!'	(< **shařtaßēßè** 'long and sharp')

Verb-derived exclamations simply replace the final vowel of the source verb with the tone-integrating suffix:

gabjì!	'how plentiful!'	(< **gabzà** 'do a lot of')
kimshì!	'what a lot of stuff!'	(< **kimsà** 'stuff into')
hargìtsi!	'what confusion!'	(< **hàrgitsà** 'be in a muddle')
shamßàři!	'what a buxom woman!'	(< **shamßàřā** 'spread (on ground)')

Chapter 12
Focus, Questions, Relativization and Topicalization

1. Introduction

This chapter looks at focus constructions, *wh-* and *yes-no* questions, relativization and topicalization. Focus, *wh*-questions and relativization are syntactically parallel operations, entailing the same word order, usually with syntactic fronting, and TAM selection. Topicalization also involves an S-initial element.

2. Focus

Focus in Hausa typically involves visible syntactic reordering and preposes a single constituent, e.g. noun, adverb, VP or verbal noun, to the clause-peripheral focus position, i.e. a focus expression has the approximate structure [FOCUS] S, where S typically = (Subject) + Person-Aspect Complex + VP. Subjects undergo vacuous movement, with deletion of the lexical subject in the base position. Focus-fronting also entails obligatory use of the Focus form of the Perfective and Imperfective TAMs in the VP—compare base-generated topics which occur with general TAMs (§5).

There are two types of information-packaging focus, each of which entails different presuppositions and discourse content: (1) new information (*wh*-question/answer) focus, and (2) contrastive focus (§2.1). Both types are conventionally described as involving syntactic movement only, but there is some evidence which shows that, contrary to previous analyses, the focussed element can be left in situ (§2.2). Both new information and contrastive focus thus have syntax parallel to *wh*-questions (*wh*-elements are inherent foci, §3.1). The frontshifted focus can be followed immediately, and so made more

emphatic, by the polar tone copula element **nē/cē/nē** (m./f./pl.) which agrees with the preverbal focus, and there seems to be a stronger preference for the copula with corrective-contrastive focus, though the marking system is scalar and requires more research. For various treatments, see Green (1997), Green & Jaggar (2001), McConvell (1973), Parsons (1981), Tuller (1986, 1988), Wolff (1993: chap. 7), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 28).

2.1. Focus fronting

Both new information and contrastive focus can, and often do, entail overt movement to left periphery. Responses to *wh*-questions represent new information focus, i.e. the focal constituent represents the new information which directly answers the *wh*-element, and new information (*wh*-question/answer) focus has the same syntactic structure as *wh*-questions (§3.1). The preposed item is optionally followed by a reinforcing copula focus marker, and often corresponds to a syntactic cleft construction in English.[1] (In the examples below, preverbal focus constructions, though not biclausal, are glossed as English clefts whether they contain an overt copula or not.) Examples of preposed new information focus in *wh*-question/answer pairs, with obligatory Focus TAMs and optional copulas, are:

[su-wà] nē nè sukà fārà zuwà watà? 'who got to the moon first?'
3pl-who COP(pl) COP(pl) 3pl.FOC-PF be first go.VN moon
[Amiřkāwā]$_{FOC}$ nè sukà fārà zuwà
Americans COP(pl) 3pl.FOC-PF be first go.VN
'it was the *Americans* who got (there) first'

[wà] kukà ganī à kàsuwā? 'whom did you see in the market?'
who 2pl.FOC-PF see in market
[yārònkà]$_{FOC}$ mukà ganī 'it was your *boy* we saw'
boy.of.2m 1pl.FOC-PF see

[1]The focal information, as in English clefts, can also be marked prosodically by means of higher pitch, especially on the initial H tone. This is an impressionistic observation, however, and needs instrumental (pitch meter measurement) verification.

[nawà] nē kikà bā shì? 'how much did you give him?'
how much COP(m) 2f.FOC-PF give 3m
[naĩrà̃ dubū]$_{FOC}$ **nè na bā shì** 'it was a *thousand naira* I gave him'
naira thousand COP(pl) 1sg.FOC-PF give 3m

Contrastive focus entails exhaustive identification of an entity or set, i.e. X and no other X, and, like new information focus and *wh*-questions, is often realized syntactically by an initial constituent with an optional copula. Contrastive focus is often corrective, clarifying the identity of a referent (constituent) present in a preceding *yes-no* question or statement, both of which can themselves be clefted with a copula, though the contrast can simply be with something contextually implied. An NP or adjectival tag containing the old information, if expressed, is locally negated with the discontinous **bà̃...ba** negative markers. Examples (with Focus Perfective and Imperfective TAMs):

tsōhuwaĩrsà cē ta mutù? 'was it his mother who died?'
mother.of.3m COP(f) 3f.FOC-PF die
ā'à̃, [màtaĩrsà]$_{FOC}$ **cē ta mutù (bà̃ tsōhuwaĩrsà ba)**
no wife.of.3m COP(f) 3f.FOC-PF die NEG mother.of.3m NEG
'no, it was his *wife* who died (not his mother)'
(with vacuous preposing of the focussed subject NP)
kun sàyi baƙaĩ mōtà̃? 'did you buy a black car?'
2pl.PF buy black.of car
ā'à̃, [faraĩ mōtà̃]$_{FOC}$ **mukà sàyā (bà̃ baƙā ba)**
no white.of car 1pl.FOC-PF buy NEG black NEG
'no, it was a *white car* we bought (not a black one)'
[shìnkāfā]$_{FOC}$ **cè̀ ta kāwō (bà̃ masàĩā ba)**
rice COP(f) 3f.FOC-PF bring NEG maize NEG
'it's *rice* she's brought (not maize)'
[mijìnā]$_{FOC}$ **nè̀ kè̀ zuwà̃ (bà̃ tsōhōnā ba)**
husband.of.1sg COP(m) FOC-IMPF come.VN NEG father.of.1sg NEG
'it's my *husband* who is coming (not my father)'

If the focussed element is pronominal, then syntactic movement is the only option since Hausa does not allow stressed pronouns in situ, and the initial position pronoun is taken from the stressed independent set. Examples:

[shī]$_{FOC}$ **nè ya fàɗi hakà**? 'was it *he* who said this?'
3m COP(m) 3m.FOC-PF say this
ā'à, [ita]$_{FOC}$ **cè ta fàɗā** 'no, it was *she* who said (this)'
no 3f COP(f) 3f.FOC-PF say
sai ya cè [sū]$_{FOC}$ **nè ya ganī**
then 3m.FOC-PF say 3pl COP(pl) 3m.FOC-PF see
'then he said *they* were (the ones) he saw'

2.2. *In situ focus*

In all previous accounts, focus in Hausa has been analyzed as exclusively syntactic, i.e. entailing movement, as described above. There are some recently discovered facts, however, which demonstrate that in situ constituent focus is possible as an alternative to movement (which speakers generally consider more emphatic). In situ focus is syntactically parallel to in situ *wh*-questions (§3.3). Like in situ *wh*-questions, it is especially common with verbal/nonverbal predicates containing locative and prepositional phrases, where it can in fact represent the preferred and most natural strategy (see Green & Jaggar 2001). It is attested with constituents bearing other syntactic roles, however, with the exception of subjects.[2] Although in situ focus is in general less common than preverbal structural focus, it can occur with both new information and contrastive focus. Because no movement is entailed and the declarative linear

[2]Subject focus, like subject *wh*-questions, requires a Focus TAM as a result of (vacuous) movement, e.g. **wà [kè]**$_{FOC\text{-}IMPF}$ **zuwà**?—**[mijìnā]**$_{FOC}$ **nè [kè]**$_{FOC\text{-}IMPF}$ **zuwà** 'who is coming?—it's my *husband* who is coming'. Some speakers, especially of Eastern Hausa, allow a greater range of non-subject constituents to function as in situ *wh*- or focal elements, e.g. (i.o. focus) **wà kikà nūnà wà hōtunàn**?—**[nā]**$_{PF}$ **nūnà wà [iyàyēnā]**$_{FOC}$ **nè** 'who did you show the photos to?—I showed (them) to my *parents*', (d.o. *wh*-element and focus) **[kin]**$_{PF}$ **sàyi [mè]**$_{WH}$ **à kàsuwā**?—**[nā]**$_{PF}$ **sàyi [mâi]**$_{FOC}$ 'what did you buy in the market?—I bought some *oil*'.

order is preserved, the TAM remains in the non-focus general form, and for some speakers the focal item may be prosodically marked with pitch-accent. (See also Schuh 1998: 331ff. for comparable facts in Miya.) Examples (*wh*-questions and new information focus answers, some taken from Randell et al. 1998):

ìnā kòfī?—**yanà [can cikin kwabà]**$_{FOC}$
where coffee—3m.IMPF there in cupboard
'where's the coffee?—it's *there in the cupboard*'
ìnā zâ ka?—**zâ ni [tashà]**$_{FOC}$
where ALLAT 2m—ALLAT 1sg station
'where are you off to?—I'm off to the *station*'
dàgà wànè gàrī ka zō?—**nā tahō dàgà [Biřnin Kwànni]**$_{FOC}$
from which town 2m.FOC-PF come—1sg.PF come from Birnin Konni
'from which town do you come?—I come from *Birnin Konni*'
dà mề dà mề kakè dà shī?—**inà dà [fensìř dà kuma bīřò]**$_{FOC}$
and what and what 2m.FOC-IMPF-2 with 3m—1sg.IMPF with pencil and pen
'what do you have?—I have *a pencil and a pen*'
wànè kāyā kikà mântā?—**nā mâncē [jàkātā dà rìgātā]**$_{FOC}$
which things 2f.FOC-PF forget—1sg.PF forget bag.of.1sg and coat.of.1sg
'which things did you forget?—I forgot *my bag and my coat*'

The in situ element may be followed by a focus-marking copula which takes the form of the default masculine singular **nē/nề**, e.g. **ìnā ka daɗề**?—**nā jē [kà̀suwā]**$_{FOC}$ **nề** 'where did you go (spend time)?—I went to the *market*'.[3] In situ VP-focus is also possible, e.g. **mề ya fà̀ru gà 'yan-tāwāyèn**? — **[an]**$_{4pl.IMPF}$ **[ɗaurề]**$_{FOC}$ **su** 'what happened to the rebels?—they were *imprisoned*'. (See §2.4 for VP movement to initial position.)

Contrastive (corrective) focus can also be in situ:

[3]The copula is also used with pragmatically distinct sentence-level focus (§2.7), where it is construed as having wide scope over the whole event. This is in contrast to in situ constituent focus where the copula is used more narrowly to scope the new information focal constituent which is the specific answer to the *wh*-word (or *yes-no* questioned constituent in the case of contrastive focus).

kɔ̃̀fī zā kà shā kō kùwa shāyì?—**zân shā [shāyì]**$_{FOC}$
coffee FUT 2m drink or else tea—FUT.1sg drink tea
'is it coffee you'll drink or tea?—I'll drink *tea*'
nā aikǎ̀ dà [littāfîn]$_{FOC}$ **nē (bǎ̀ takàřdâř ba)**
1sg.PF send book.DD(m) COP(m) NEG paper.DD(f) NEG
'I sent the *book* (not the paper)'

2.3. Negation

Negation of a focus constituent is normally accomplished by encompassing the entire affirmative clause (containing the fronted focus and optional copula) within the negators **bǎ̀...ba**, the same discontinuous particles used to negate NPs. Examples:

bǎ̀ nī (nè) na gayǎ̀ matà ba (Audù nē)
NEG 1sg COP(m) 1sg.FOC-PF tell IOM.3f NEG Audu COP(m)
'it's not *me* who told her (it was *Audu*)'
bǎ̀ Tankò (nē) sukà bā wà aikìn ba (Magǎ̀ji nè)
NEG Tanko COP(m) 3pl.FOC-PF give IOM work.DD(m) NEG Magaji COP(m)
'it's not *Tanko* they gave the work to (it's *Magaji*)'
bǎ̀ bindìgē su (nè) zā à yi ba (tsarè su zā à yi)
NEG shoot 3pl COP(m) FUT 4pl do NEG imprison 3pl FUT 4pl do
'it's not *shooting* them one will do = they won't be *shot* (they'll be *imprisoned*)'
bǎ̀ Mūsā takè sô ba 'it's not *Musa* she loves'
bǎ̀ jiyà nē akà hàifē nì ba 'it wasn't *yesterday* I was born'
bǎ̀ yâu nē zā sù zō ba (gòbe nè) 'it's not *today* they'll come (it's *tomorrow*)'
bǎ̀ gidā nè zâ ni ba (kàsuwā nè zâ ni)
'it's not *home* I'm off to (it's *market* I'm off to)'
bǎ̀ dà wuƙā akà kashè shi ba 'it wasn't with a *knife* he was killed'
bǎ̀ shī kaƈai mukà sanì ba 'it's not only *him* we know'
bǎ̀ Audù nē dǎřaktǎ̀ ba (Mūsā nè)
'it's not *Audu* who's the director (it's *Musa*)'

As a synonymous syntactic alternative to clausal negation, the negative markers can bracket the actual focus constituent (= local negation), and a copula is usually inserted right-adjacent to the second **ba**. Examples:

bầ nī ba nề na gayầ matà 'it's not *me* who told her'
bầ Tankò ba nề sukà bā wà aikìn 'it's not *Tanko* they gave the work to'
bầ bindìgē su ba nề zā à yi
'it's not *shooting* them one will do = they won't be *shot*'
bầ shī kaɗai ba nề mukà sanì 'it's not only *him* we know'
bầ Audù ba nề dầřaktầ 'it's not *Audu* who's director'
bầ mầtařsà ba cề ta mutù 'it wasn't his *wife* that died'
bầ Mūsā ba nề takề sô 'it's not *Musa* she loves'
bầ yâu ba nề zā sù zō 'it's not *today* they'll come'
bầ nāmàn kầzā ba nề yârā sukàn ci 'it's not *chicken* the children eat'

Negation of in situ focus is accomplished by simply negating the TAM in the response:

ā'ầ, bàn aikầ dà takàřdā ba, nā aikầ dà *e-mail*
'no, I didn't send a *letter*, I sent an *e-mail*'
ā'ầ, bài tàfi Amìřkà ba, yā tàfi Ingìlà
'no, he didn't go to the *U.S.A.*, he went to *England*'

2.4. Focus-fronting and syntactic function

As exemplified above, Hausa can focus-front on a wide range of syntactic functions—the same as with relative constructions, *wh*-expressions and topicalization. Following overt movement, the normal pattern, in contrast to topicalization (§5), is to zero-mark the focus site, though indirect objects can occasionally leave a redundant resumptive pronoun especially if the referent is animate/human. Preposed possessor arguments require a coindexed pronoun.

Examples of fronting on various focus-sensitive grammatical functions (subject, direct object, indirect object, possessive, adverb) are:

[Mūsā dà Audù] (nē) sukà zō (= subject focus with vacuous movement)
Musa and Audu COP(pl) 3pl.FOC-PF come
'it was *Musa and Audu* who came'
[yârā] (nề) mukà ganī (direct object focus)
children COP(pl) 1pl.FOC-PF see
'it was *children* we saw'
[Audù] (nē) zân nūnầ wà (= masà) gōnā (indirect object focus)
Audu COP(m) FUT.1sg show IOM = IOM.3m farm
'it's *Audu* I'll show the farm to'
(Notice that the indirect object marker **wà** remains in situ after the verb.)
[mōtầ] (cē) yakề sàyē ((genitive) object focus)
car COP(f) 3m.FOC-IMPF buy.VN
'it's a *car* he's buying'
[Audù] (nē) zân àuri 'yařsà (possessive focus)
Audu COP(m) FUT.1sg marry daughter.of.3m
'it's *Audu's* daughter I'm going to marry'
[dà saurī] (nề) mukà dāwō (adverbial focus)
with speed COP(m) 1pl.FOC-PF return
'we returned *quickly*'
[gồbe] (nề) zā sù zō (adverbial focus)
tomorrow COP(m) FUT 3pl come
'it's *tomorrow* they'll come'
(Notice that if a copula is used following focus-fronting of an adverb, it takes the masculine form, as do focus prepositional phrases, see below.)

Subordinate clauses of purpose and means can also occur clefted:

[don ìn biyā kà kuɗîn] nē na zō
'it's *in order to pay you the money* (that) I've come'
[ta yîn hakà] nē zā kà ci nasařầ 'it's *by doing this* (that) you'll succeed'

Locative PPs headed either by the core prepositions **à** 'in, at, on', **dàgà** 'from', or **ta** 'via, through' prepose in full when focussed, i.e. the preposition is obligatorily pied-piped along with its object. Examples:

[à Kanǒ] (nē) akà hàifē nì 'it was *in Kano* I was born'
in Kano COP(m) 4pl.FOC-PF give birth to 1sg
[dàgà Kàdūna] (nề) mukà zō 'it's *from Kaduna* we've come'
from Kaduna COP(m) 1pl.FOC-PF come
[ta Landàn] (nē) mukà biyō 'it's *via London* we came'
via London COP(m) 1pl.FOC-PF come

Note too the obligatory preposing of the entire PP in **[sabǒdà kai] nề mukà zō** 'it's *because of you* we've come' (= reason PP), and **[kusa dà tēbùr̃] sukè** 'they're *close to the table*' (= locative PP).

PPs headed by non-locative prepositions either prepose the focus PP in its entirety, i.e. with a pied-piped preposition, or prepose the object-of-preposition, leaving the preposition in situ. When the complement is moved, core prepositions left in situ are obligatorily followed by a redundant resumptive pronoun in the base position, since core prepositions cannot be stranded. If the entire PP is frontshifted, any overt copula takes default masculine gender. Examples:

[dà sàndā] (nề) sukà dǒkē shì 'it was *with a stick* they beat him'
with stick COP(m) 3pl.FOC-PF beat 3m
Cf. **[sàndā] (cề) sukà dǒkē shì dà ita** 'it was a *stick* they beat him with (it)'
stick COP(f) 3pl.FOC-PF beat 3m with 3f
[gà mālàm] (nē) zân mai dà littāfîn
to teacher COP(m) FUT.1sg return book.DD(m)
'it's *to the teacher* I'll return the book'
Cf. **[mālàm] (nē) zân mai dà littāfîn gārē shì**
teacher COP(m) FUT.1sg return book.DD(m) to 3m
'it's the *teacher* I'll return the book to (him)'

Genitive prepositions allow either a resumptive pronoun or gap, leaving a simple adverb in the base position:

[cikin àdakǎ] (nē) mukàn sâ kuɗinmù
inside.of box COP(m) 1pl.HAB put money.of.1pl
'it's *inside a box* we usually put our money'
Cf. **[àdakǎ] (cē) mukàn sâ kuɗinmù cikintà/ciki**
box COP(f) 1pl.HAB put money.of.1pl inside.of.3f/inside
'it's a *box* we usually put our money in (it)'

VP-focus typically involves visible movement, and is accomplished by preposing—as a focussed direct object NP—either a nominalized verbal noun phrase or infinitival phrase, and inserting some form of the substitutive pro-verb **yi** 'do' in the base position (English would use in situ stress with an intonation nucleus). A post-focus copula can sometimes be used, but its inclusion seems to be less common than with constituent NP focus. Examples (including more or less literal translations):

[kashě su] zā à yi '(it's) *kill(ing) them* one will do = they'll be *killed*'
kill 3pl FUT 4pl do
(where the fronted infinitival phrase **kashě su** '(to) kill them' is overtly resumed with the pro-verb **yi** in the base position)
[tàmbayàřtà] mukà yi '(it's) *asking her* we did = we *asked* her'
ask.VN.of.3f 1pl.FOC-PF do
[mutuwǎ] sukà yi '(it's) *dying* they did = they *died*'
die.VN 3pl.FOC-PF do
[tsarè fuřsùnàn] nē akà yi (bǎ hařbě shi ba)
jail prisoner.DD(m) COP(m) 4pl.FOC-PF do NEG shoot 3m NEG
'(it's) *jail(ing) the prisoner* one did = the prisoner has been *jailed* (not shot)'

With Focus Imperfective TAMs, preposed object verbal noun and infinitival phrases, in addition to dynamic-activity nouns, optionally occur without the nominalized pro-verb **yî** 'doing' in the predicate. Examples:

[sàurâron rēdiyǒ] yakȅ (yî)
'(it's) *listening to the radio* he is (doing) = he's *listening to the radio*'
[būɗà bȁkī] sukȅ (yî)
'(it's) *breaking the fast* they are (doing) = they're *breaking the fast*'
(lit. open mouth)
[jirȁnā] akȅ (yî)?
'are they *waiting for me*?'
[sayař dà mōtōcī] nȅ yakȅ (yî) yànzu
'it's *selling cars* he is (doing) now = he's *selling cars* now'
[barcī/ƙaryā/wankā/wȁsā/wayȁ/cîn àbinci] yakȅ (yî)
'he's *sleeping/lying/having a bath/joking/on the phone/eating*'

In some cases, focus-fronting (without any copula) seems to simply convey emotive emphasis of some kind:

dà wùyā yakè	'it's *difficult*'
(Cf. basic neutral **yanȁ dà wùyā** 'it's difficult')	
gȍdiyā nakè	'I'm *grateful*'
(Cf. basic **inȁ gȍdiyā** 'I'm grateful')	
yārinyàř nân dà kyâu takè!	'this girl is *beautiful*!'
(Cf. basic **yārinyàř nân tanȁ dà kyâu** 'this girl is beautiful')	

Some high-frequency complement-taking matrix verbs (**§13**) also allow stylistic fronting, e.g. as verbal nouns, without any overt copula and without any nominalized filler verb **yî** following the Focus Imperfective TAM. Examples:

sô nakȅ ìn kwântā	'I *want* to go to sleep'
cȃ (=/< cêwā) nakȅ ita cȅ	'I *think* it's her'
dācȅwā ya yi kà yi aurē	'you *should* get married'
jî na yi wajen wasu mutȁnē	'I *heard* from some people'
kàmātȁ ya yi mù kōmȁ gà mulkìn farař-hȕlā	
'we *should* return to civilian rule'	

For many speakers, there is a restriction against using the quasi-modal Potential and Subjunctive TAMs in focus constructions, as well as in *wh*-constructions (§3.1) and relative clauses (§4). This prohibition is probably due to the semantic incompatibility between a non-specific modal category and the type of highly specific narrow focus entailed by focus (and *wh*-question and relative) constructions. Instead of a Potential TAM, for example, speakers will use a regular Future:

bằ nī nề [zân]$_{\text{FUT}}$ **kāwō mâ kuɗī ba—Audù nē [zâi]**$_{\text{FUT}}$ **kāwō**
'it's not *me* who will bring you the money—it's *Audu* (who) will bring (it)'
but not ***bằ nī nề [nâ]**$_{\text{POT}}$ **kāwō mâ kuɗī ba—Audù nē [yâ]**$_{\text{POT}}$ **kāwō**

When foci are preposed to first position in their clause/sentence, this is not necessarily the leftmost position of the superordinate sentence, and focus constructions can occur to the right of other clauses/phrases. Examples:

bāyan sun shìga kằsuwā, [nāmằ] nē sukà sàyā
'after they'd gone into the market, it's *meat* they bought'
ban dà nī, [ita] kawài ta zō ajì 'apart from me, only *she* came to class'
mằtâr̃, wàddà [ita] cề na àurā... 'the woman, whom it was *her* I married...'

Focus expressions can also follow preclausal topics (§5), e.g. **Audù kàm, [shī] nề ya cũ̀cē nì** 'as for Audu, *he* is the one who harmed me', where the topicalized noun 'Audu' is coreferential with the stressed independent pronoun **shī** in focus position. The initial focus can also be extracted from a lower complement clause, e.g. (with embedded Subjunctive TAMs):

[Mūsā] nề sukà amìncē wà [dà Ø yà zama dằr̃aktằ]
'it's *Musa* they agreed should become director'
[kuɗī] nề nakề bùkātằ [yà bā nì Ø] 'it's *money* I need him to give me'

Note that focus triggers focus marking only on the immediate right-adjacent TAM, and so any other TAMs fall outside the scope of the rule. Examples:

[mū] nɛ̀ [sukɛ̀]$_{\text{FOC-IMPF}}$ **jî [mun]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **yi sātà**
'it's *we* they think did the stealing'
[sū] nɛ̀ [ya]$_{\text{FOC-PF}}$ **yìwu [sun]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **rìgā [sun]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **zō**
'it's *they* that may have already come'

2.5. *Focus in nonverbal equational (and identificational) constructions*

Under subject or predicate constituent focus, e.g. in response to a *wh-* or *yes-no* question, the focal element typically occurs left-adjacent to the obligatory focus-marking copula, though subject focus and predicate focus structures can differ. Questioned and focussed constituents in equational clauses share the same syntax basically (see also Schuh 1998: 338ff. on Miya). If the equational *subject* is questioned and then focussed in the response, the constituent structure is [Subj(ect) + copula + Pred(icate)]. Examples (with nominal and adjectival predicates):

Q:	**[wǎnē]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **[nɛ̀]**$_{\text{COP}}$ **[dǎřaktà]**$_{\text{Pred}}$ **à nân**?	'who is director here?'
A:	**[Audù]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **[nē]**$_{\text{COP}}$ **[dǎřaktà]**$_{\text{Pred}}$	'*Audu* is director'
Q:	**[shī]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **[nɛ̀]**$_{\text{COP}}$ **[bàbba]**$_{\text{Pred}}$?	'is he the most important?'
A:	**ā'à, [ita]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **[cɛ̀]**$_{\text{COP}}$ **[bàbba]**$_{\text{Pred}}$	
	'no, *she* is the most important'	

It is also possible to omit the pre-mentioned redundant predicate constituent in the response, producing an identificational [Subject + copula] construction, e.g. **[Audù]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **[nē]**$_{\text{COP}}$ '*Audu* is', **ā'à, [ita]**$_{\text{Subj}}$ **[cɛ̀]**$_{\text{COP}}$ 'no, *she* is'.

If the equational *predicate* is questioned or focussed, i.e. where the NP predicated of the subject typically represents new information focus and so is left-adjacent to the copula, then two essentially synonymous surface configurations are possible: (1) [Subject + Predicate + copula] (the copula follows *wh*-words), or (2) [Predicate + copula + Subject] (= Subject-Predicate inversion). Examples (the = notation indicates more or less equivalent):

Q: [**mềnē**]$_{Subj}$ [**nề**]$_{COP}$ [**aikìnkà**]$_{Pred}$?
= [**aikìnkà**]$_{Pred}$ [**mềnē**]$_{Subj}$ [**nề**]$_{COP}$? 'what is your job?'
A: [**nī**]$_{Subj}$ [**mālàmī**]$_{Pred}$ [**nề**]$_{COP}$
= [**mālàmī**]$_{Pred}$ [**nề**]$_{COP}$ [**nī**]$_{Subj}$ 'I'm a *teacher*'
Q: [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$ [**nākà**]$_{Pred}$ [**nē**]$_{COP}$?
= [**nākà**]$_{Pred}$ [**nē**]$_{COP}$ [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$? 'is this yours?'
A: **ā'à**, [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$ [**nāsà**]$_{Pred}$ [**nē**]$_{COP}$
= **ā'à**, [**nāsà**]$_{Pred}$ [**nē**]$_{COP}$ [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$ 'no, this is *his*'
Q: [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$ [**wuƙā**]$_{Pred}$ [**cề**]$_{COP}$?
= [**wuƙā**]$_{Pred}$ [**cề**]$_{COP}$ [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$? 'is this a knife?'
A: **ā'à**, [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$ [**cōkàlī**]$_{Pred}$ [**nề**]$_{COP}$ (**bà wuƙā ba**)
= **ā'à**, [**cōkàlī**]$_{Pred}$ [**nề**]$_{COP}$ [**wannàn**]$_{Subj}$ (**bà wuƙā ba**)
'no, this is a *spoon* (not a knife)'

Again, a reduced identificational [Predicate + copula] structure is possible in the response, e.g. [**mālàmī**]$_{Pred}$ [**nề**]$_{COP}$ 'it's (I'm) a teacher', [**nāsà**]$_{Pred}$ [**nē**]$_{COP}$ 'it's his'.

Another means of focussing an equational predicate is to place the prementioned subject in topic position and follow it with a coreferential independent pronoun, e.g. **wànē nề Audù**?—[**Audù**]$_i$ [**shī**]$_i$ **dằřaktà nē** 'who is Audu?—Audu (he) is the *director*'. The equational predicate noun or adjective can also be further emphasised by repeating the subject with a resumptive independent pronoun in clause-final position, e.g. [**Audù**]$_i$ **dằřaktà nē** [**shī**]$_i$ (**bà ciyằmân ba**) 'Audu is the *director* (not the chairman)', [**yārinyằtā**]$_i$ **dōguwā cề** [**ita**]$_i$ (**bà gàjērìyā ba**) 'my girlfriend is *tall* (not short)'.

Under negative focus, the closing negator **ba** is often clause-final:

Negative subject focus:
bà Audù nē dằřaktà ba (**Mūsā nề**)
'it's not *Audu* who's the director (it's Musa)'
bà shī nề ɓàrāwòn ba (**wani nề**)
'it's not *he* who's the thief (it's someone else)'

Negative predicate focus:

Audù bằ mālàmī nề ba (likità nē) 'Audu is not a *teacher* (he's a doctor)'
Kànde bằ ɗālìbā cề ba (mālàmā cề) 'Kande is not a *student* (she's a teacher)'
ìdan yāròn bằ ɗālìbī nề ba... 'if the boy isn't a *student*...'

Local negation is possible however (and appears to be the norm in KH):

Audù bằ mālàmī ba nề (likità nē) 'Audu is not a *teacher* (he's a doctor)'
Kànde bằ ɗālìbā ba cề (mālàmā cề) 'Kande is not a *student* (she's a teacher)'
bằ shī ba nề ɓàrāwòn (wani nề)
'it's not *he* who's the thief (it's someone else)'

There is one emphatic equational-like construction with a marked colloquial flavour which involves the use of a copula followed by the linking preposition **dà** 'with' plus an independent pronoun which is coreferential with an understood referent. This is a possessive formation with the inverted structure [Predicate + copula + **dà** 'with' + Subject], where the initial Predicate corresponds to a possessed predicate noun and the Subject is the pronominal possessor, e.g. **kařimcì nē dà shī** 'he's *generous* (alright)' (lit. generosity COP with 3m), **kuɗī nề dà sū** 'they've got *money* (they have)' (money COP with 3pl). This construction is parallel to the stylistic use of **dà** + pronoun to reinforce augmentative (and some simple) predicate adjectives, e.g. **wata yārinyằ santalēlìyā dà ita** 'a (real) *shapely* girl' (§**5**:6.4).

2.6. Pseudo-cleft constructions

Pseudo-cleft sentences are bi-clausal, with the first higher clause a nominal relative formation typically headed by **àbîn dà**... 'the thing that, what...', or a relative pro-form, e.g. **wandà** 'the one who (m)', etc. This subject clause is then followed by an identifying non-verbal predicate which explicitly introduces the new topic/information, followed by a copula. Pseudo-clefts express exhaustive identification, i.e. X and no other X, and correspond to *wh*-clefts in English. Examples:

[**àbîn dà akȅ bùkātȁ**]$_{\text{Subj}}$ [**ruwan famfȍ**]$_{\text{Pred}}$ [**nē**]$_{\text{COP}}$
'what is needed is piped water'
[**wandà zâi yi aurē**]$_{\text{Subj}}$ [**àbōkīnā**]$_{\text{Pred}}$ [**nȅ**]$_{\text{COP}}$
'the one who will marry is my friend'

The identifying predication can be made even more emphatic by linking the subject and complement clauses with an independent pronoun + copula phrase (structurally a focus cleft construction), where the pronoun and copula can agree with either the subject or complement NP depending upon the speaker. Examples:

àbîn dà akȅ bùkātȁ shī nȅ ruwan famfȍ 'what is needed is *piped water*'
àbîn dà ya fȁru shī nȅ wani yā shigō cikin gidā
'what happened was that *someone had got into the house*'
ā'ȁ, waddà nakȅ nufî ita cȅ Fātimà 'no, the one I mean is *Fatima*'
[**àbîn dà nakȅ sô**]$_{\text{m}}$ [**shī nȅ**]$_{\text{m}}$ **shìnkāfā**
= **àbîn dà nakȅ sô** [**ita cȅ**]$_{\text{f}}$ [**shìnkāfā**]$_{\text{f}}$ 'what I want is *rice*'
Note too: **ruwan famfȍ shī nȅ àbîn dà akȅ bùkātȁ**
'*piped water* is what is needed' (where the order of clauses is reversed)

Alternatively, the higher subject clause can be followed by a verbal complement, often a finite clause with a Subjunctive TAM, with the optional linking independent pronoun + copula phrase. Examples:

àbîn dà nakȅ sô (shī nȅ) kì yi aurē 'what I want is for you to get married'
yaddà zā kà yi (shī nȅ) kà kāwō mîn wàsīƙàř tùkùna
'what (how) you need to do is to bring me the letter first of all'

2.7. Sentence-level emphasis (with copula ***nē/nȅ*** *or* ***kȅ nan*****)**

In addition to its function in nonverbal equational sentences (§**11**:6.1.1), including those containing a focus constituent, the masculine singular copula **nē/nȅ** can be interpreted as having wide scope over, and reinforcing the truth

conditions and semantic content of, the whole event expressed in verbal sentences (though the semantic force is not always translatable into English). With S- or VP-level focus, the copula is placed in final position following the central (subject, verb, object, complement) elements of the clause, and normally before more peripheral adverbs, or embedded subordinate clauses. It can occur either before or after the closing negative marker. (The copula can also be used in constructions entailing in situ constituent focus (§2.2), but the two types are pragmatically distinct and involve different presuppositions and discourse content.) Examples, usually affirmative, of sentential focus are:

yā yi ƙaryā nè 'he did lie'
3m.PF do lie COP(m)
yā ɓātà minì sūnā nè 'he slandered me'
3m.PF spoil IOM.1sg name COP(m)
bài cikà zuwà nân ba nè 'he doesn't come here too often'
NEG.3m.PF do often come.VN here NEG COP(m)
zā mù zàɓi shirìn dà zâi fitař dà mū nè
'we will choose the plan that will rescue us'
ɗinkì yā kàsu kalà biyu nè 'sewing is divided into two types'
an zàɓē shì ciyàmân nē 'he's been elected chairman'
yā ràsu nè rānař Àlhàmîs dà ta shigè 'he died last Thursday'
nā kirā shì wāwā nè sabòdà sākařcìn dà yakè yî
'I called him a fool because of the stupid things he does'
gwamnatì tanà yîn hakà nē don tà gyārà zaman lāfiyàř jàma'à
'the government is doing this in order to improve peoples' lives'
mè kè fàruwā nè à jàřīdàř *Gaskiyā Tā Fi Kwabò*?
'what's happening then at the *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* newspaper?'
Kwàmishinà yanà zântâwā nè dà manèmā làbàřai...
'the Commissioner was talking with news reporters...'
wannàn làbārì yanà zuwà mukù nē dàgà Sāshèn Hausa na BBC
'this news is coming to you from the BBC Hausa Service'

wannàn yā dõgarà nē à kân adàdin yawàn jàma'ầ
'this depends on the total number of people'
wannàn yā fầru nề sabõdà hūtū na mầkwànnī biyu dà na yi
'this happened because of the two week holiday I had'

A tensed sentence containing a TAM can be bracketed and scoped by the negative equational markers **bầ (wai)...ba** in order to reinforce a negative proposition. Examples (with Perfective and Imperfective TAMs):

bầ wai mầtātā tā yi yājĩ ba nề
'it's not the case that my wife has left in a huff'
bầ wai nā yi niyyàř kōmầwā ba nề
'it's not the case that I plan to return'
bầ wai inầ sôn ìn bař wannàn aikĩ ba nề
'it's not that I want to quit this job'

The more emphatic marker **kề nan** can also be used as a reinforcing element at sentence-level (as well as in identificational/equational expressions, §**11**:6.1.2). Examples:

kin gamầ kề nan?	'have you finished then?'
2f.PF finish it is	
inầ bînkà naiřầ ďàrī kề nan	'you owe me 100 *naira* then'
zā sù tāshì kề nan	'that's it they're going to leave'
bàn cìka ďan gàrin nàn kề nan ba	
'I haven't lived in this town for too long'	

It can also occur as a clause-initial connector in the expanded emphatic phrase **shī kề nan** 'that's that/it', with an expletive 3m independent pronoun **shī**, where it has a summative force. Examples:

shī kề nan duk an gamầ	'that's that it's all been finished'
shī kề nan yâu	'that's it for today'

It also regularly occurs, usually as **shī kè nan**, with following **sai** 'then' as a conclusive connector in narrative discourse, e.g. ...**shī kè nan sai sukà tāshì** '...that was that then they left'.

Kè nan is also used, often as part of S-initial cleft constructions, either with a tensed TAM or nonfinite predicate, to express various temporal notions, especially time-span 'for, since'. Examples:

kwānā nawà kè nan bà mù ga jūnā ba?
day how many it is NEG 1pl.PF see each other NEG
'how many days is it since we've seen each other?'
watà shidà kè nan nakè řubùtà takàřdař nàn
month six it is 1sg.FOC-IMPF write paper this
'I've been writing this paper for six months'
yâu shèkarà tàlàtin kè nan dà mutuwàřsà
today year 30 it is with death.of.3m
'it's now 30 years since he died'
an řubùtà littāfìn nân yâu shèkarà hàmsin kè nan
4pl.PF write book this today year 50 it is
'it's 50 years since this book was written'

2.8. Focus with particles ('only', 'just', 'even', 'at least', etc.)

Hausa has a number of mainly adverbial focus particles or subjuncts. 'Only' constructions are a subtype of exhaustive focus, and focus phrases can be exclusively specified by non-scalar restrictive particles like post-focus **kaɗai** 'only, alone' (cf. numeral **ɗaya** 'one'), **kawài** 'just, only, merely, simply', **kurùm** 'only, merely', or pre-focus **sai** 'only, just, except' (with a negative implication). The copula is often omitted, but can be used to reinforce **kaɗai** and **kawài**. Examples:

shī kaɗai nè ya sanì	'only he knows'
ƙarfè biyu nè kawài	'it's only 2 o'clock'

hakà kawài zā kà yi	'that is just what you have to do'
sayař dà tābà kawài nakè (yî)	'(it's) just selling tobacco that I do'
(where focus = infinitival phrase)	
kèkè kurùm mukè sayâřwā	'(it's) just bikes we sell'
sai Gařbà mukà ganī	'(it's) only Garba we saw'
sai dà rāna sukè zuwà	'(it's) only in the afternoon they come'

(cf. negative **bā sà zuwà sai dà rāna** 'they don't come except in the afternoon')

The particularizing pre-focus subjunct **à ƙallà** 'at least' also requires a restrictive focus TAM, e.g. **à ƙallà fāsinjōjī gōmà** [**sukà**]$_{3pl.FOC-PF}$ **mutù** 'at least ten passengers died'.

'Even' constructions are introduced by the pre-focus particles **hař** 'even (including)', or **kō** '(not) even', both of which can combine with post-focus additive **mā** 'also'. However, because 'even' expressions merely *add* information which is true of the focus constituent—unlike exhaustive-exclusive subjuncts such as **kaɗai** 'only'—they do not require focus TAMs. Examples:

kō màlàmanmù mā sun zō bìkī	'even our teachers came to the party'
kō Jummai tanà nan	'even Jummai was there'
kō gaisàwā bà mù yi ba	'we didn't even exchange greetings'
(= **kō** + preposed verbal noun)	
hař mā gidân yā ƙōnè	'even the house burned down'
Audù hař yā fi Tankò kuɗī	'Audu is even richer than Tanko'

ban dà Mammàn, hař Gàmbo mun (= mukà) ganī

'apart from Mamman, we saw even Gambo'

3. Questions and Question-Words

There are two types of direct questions depending upon the expected reply: *wh*-questions (§3.1) and *yes-no* questions (§3.4). See Newman (2000: chap. 60) for detailed discussion.

3.1. Wh-questions

Wh-questions, both positive and negative, are formed with *wh*-words of various types. The *wh*-element (subject, object or adjunct) usually appears in the sentence-initial focus position, and so requires a focus TAM.[4] Depending on speaker/dialect, interrogative constructions containing S-initial *wh*-constituents usually attach a floating L tone, together with lengthening, to the S-final element—the so-called "q-morpheme" /ˋ:/ (see Newman & Newman 1981, Newman 1995: 776-79). This produces a F(all) on a phrase-final H tone, but has no effect on a final L or F (HL) syllable, and acts to lengthen final short vowels, thereby neutralizing the long:short vowel distinction, and applying vacuously to final long vowels and consonants. Otherwise, the normal declarative intonation is preserved, though with a marginally higher overall pitch for some speakers. Examples of the output of q-morpheme /ˋ:/ attachment (not indicated elsewhere) are:

wȁ ya shigō? [shigô]	'who came in?'	(< **shigō** + /ˋ:/)
yàushē ka sàuka? [sàukâ]	'when did you arrive?'	(< **sàuka** + /ˋ:/)
don mȅ bà kà zō ba? [bâ]	'why didn't you come?'	(< **ba** + /ˋ:/)
gùdā nawà sukà mutù? [mutû]	'how many died?'	(< **mutù** + /ˋ:/)
wȁ ya zō? [zô]	'who's come?'	(< **zō** + /ˋ:/)
mȅ ka taraȓ? [tarâȓ]	'what did you find?'	(< **taraȓ** + /ˋ:/)
nawà nē? [nê]	'how much?'	(< **nē** + /ˋ:/)

Note the vacuous application in **mȅnē nȅ wannàn**? [wannàn] 'what's this?'.

*3.1.1. Who, whom, whose? = (m) **wȁ, wȁnē nȅ, wȁyê**, (f) **wȁcē cȅ**, (pl) **su-wȁ, su-wȁnē nȅ, su-wȁyê***

The nonspecific interrogative personal pronoun is **wȁ** 'who, whom, whose?', which is treated as default, unmarked 3m for purposes of concordial agreement

[4]The same *wh*-words also combine with concessive-conditional **kō** 'even if' to produce generic **kō**-*wh* proforms, also with focus TAMs, e.g. **kōmȅ [kikȅ]**$_{\text{FOC-IMPF}}$ **sô zân bā kì** 'whatever you want I'll give you', **kōwȁ [ya]**$_{\text{FOC-PF}}$ **zō**... 'whoever comes...' (**§14**:3.3.4). **Kō**-*wh* words are also used as universal quantifiers (with general TAMs), e.g. **kōwā [yā]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **san hakà** 'everyone knows this' (**§9**:5).

on gender targets. Its plural is formed by attaching the 3pl clitic **su-**, i.e. **su-wà** (= orthographic **su wa**). Conjoined (**dà**) **wà dà wà** (lit. (and) who and who) can also be used as a distributive plural. Examples (with *wh*-subjects, objects, possessives and prepositional complements):

wà ya shigō?	**su-wà sukà shigō**?
who(m) 3m.FOC-PF come in	3pl-who 3pl.FOC-PF come in
'who came in?'	'who (pl) came in?'
wà ka ganī?	**dōkìn wà ya ci sukùwā**?
who(m) 2m.FOC-PF see	horse.of who(m) 3m.FOC-PF win race
'whom did you see?'	'whose horse won the race?'
dà wà sukè zuwà?	'with whom are they coming?'
with who(m) 3pl.FOC-IMPF come.VN	
su-wà zā kà gayà wà?	'whom (pl) will you tell?'
3pl-who FUT 2m tell IOM	

The basic personal proform can be expanded into the gender/number-sensitive forms **wànē nè** (m), **wàcē cè** (f), **su-wànē nè** (pl). These maximally explicit *wh*-constituents consist of the basic interrogative form **wà**, followed by a repeat copula **wà<u>nē</u> <u>nè</u>** (m), **wà<u>cē</u> <u>cè</u>** (f), plus a **su-** pronoun clitic in the 3rd person plural **<u>su</u>-wà<u>nē</u> <u>nè</u>** (orthographic **su wane ne**). These and other *wh*-words (pronouns and determiners) are thus cleft constituents whose inherent focal properties are marked by the copula elements. Examples (verbal and nonverbal equational clauses):

wànē nè ya mutù?	'who (m) died?'
wàcē cè ta mutù?	'who (f) died?'
su-wànē nè (= **su-wà**) **sukà mutù**?	'who (pl) died?'
wànē nè kai?	'who are you (m)?'
wàcē cè ita?	'who is she?'
kū su-wànē nè?	'who are you (pl)?'

(= 2pl independent pronoun **kū** plus in situ pl *wh*-form **su-wànē nè**)

The common personal proforms **wằyê** and **su-wằyê** (orthographic **su waye**) have masculine singular and plural reference respectively (the identity of the **-yê** suffix is unclear), e.g. **wằyê kikề sô**? 'whom (m) do you like?', **su-wằyê sukề faɗîn hakà**? 'who (pl) say this?'. Optional insertion of the copula increases the specificity of the focal *wh*-element, e.g. **su-wằyê nē sukề faɗîn hakà**? 'who (pl) is it say this?' (see also examples below).

There is also a special rhetorical and often contemptuous usage of the invariant form **wằnē** 'who?' (= **wằ** + fused copula), with a following noun or independent pronoun not restricted in gender or number, e.g. **wằ nē mùtûm/Mūsā/Hàlīmà**? 'who is a human being/Musa/Halima (how can they do this)?', **wằnē nī/kē/shī/ita/sū**? 'who am I/you/he/she/are they (to attempt this)?'. A phrase-final H tone usually takes an extra high exclamatory rhetorical register, and appears as a Fall following q-morpheme /ˋ:/ attachment.

3.1.2. What? = (m) ***mề, mềnē nề, mềyê, (f) mềcē cề***

The basic nonpersonal interrogative proform is **mề** 'what?', treated as unmarked masculine singular for purposes of subject-agreement. Like its personal counterpart **wằ** 'who?', it can be expanded into gender-sensitive (though not number-sensitive) forms made up of **mề** plus a repeat copula, i.e. (m) **mềnē nề**, (f) **mềcē cề** (rare). The distributive plural is expressed by a conjoined (**dà**) **mề dà mề** phrase (lit. (and) what and what?). The common and more informal variant **mềyê** also has default masculine singular reference, as with personal **wằyê**. Examples:

mề ya fằru?
what 3m.FOC-PF happen
'what's happened?'

mề ka cề?
what 2m.FOC-PF say
'what did you say?'

mề zâi hanằ ka?
what FUT.3m prevent 2m
'what's to stop you?'

dà mề dà mề kukà zō?
with what and what 2pl.FOC-PF come
'what (things) did you come with?'

mềnē nề dàlīlìnsà?	**mềyê àmfânin hakà**?
what reason.of.3m	what use.of this
'what's the reason for this?'	'what's the point of this?'

The overtly-marked feminine singular pronoun **mềcē cề** is normally only used as a specific pronoun, and is typically attested in contexts where there is an antecedent feminine-gender referent, e.g. **tā ƙōnề—mềcē cề ta ƙōnề**? 'it (f) has burned—what (f) has burned?'.

3.1.3. Which/what X(s)? = determiner ***wànè*** *(m),* ***wàcè*** *(f),* ***wàɗànnè*** *(pl); which one(s)? = pronoun* ***wànnē*** *(m),* ***wàccē*** *(f),* ***wàɗànnē*** *(pl)*

The specific interrogative determiners and pronouns—personal and nonpersonal reference—contrast semantically with **wầ** and **mề** etc. in that they imply a specific choice from a restricted range of similar alternatives. The prehead **wànè** etc. 'which/what X(s)?' determiners are all L tone, show the full three-way (m/f/pl) agreement pattern, and are made up of a **wà** deictic element, followed by idiosyncratic short-vowel L tone **nè/cè/nè** variants of the copula, i.e. **wà-nè** (m), **wà-cè** (f). The plural also infixes **-ɗàn-**, i.e. **wà-ɗàn-nè**. Examples:

wànè mùtûm nē bài zō ba?	'which man is it didn't come?'
wàcè yārinyầ zā kà àurā?	'which girl will you marry?'
wàɗànnè sàmầrī akà kāmầ?	'which youths were arrested?'

Interrogative determiners are especially common with the sortal-quality NP **irìn** 'sort, kind, type of, etc.' in a partitive-possessive construction—the only possible construction with noncount mass nouns. The determiner number-gender concord is assigned by the semantically "dominant" controlling noun following **irìn**. Examples:

[wànè]$_{m}$ **irìn [àbinci/mâi/buřōdì̀/hatsī]**$_{m}$ **kikề sô**?
'what sort of food/oil/bread/corn do you like?'

[wàcè]$_f$ irìn [rǐgā]$_f$ kikà sàyā? 'what kind of gown did you buy?'
[wàɗànnè]$_{pl}$ irìn [kùrǎkùrai]$_{pl}$ sukàn yi?
'what kinds of mistakes do they make?'
Note too **[wàcè]$_f$ irǐ kikà sàyā**? 'what (f) kind did you buy?', where the non-overt feminine singular referent is context-recoverable.

The morphologically related specific interrogative pronouns also show a three-way agreement distinction. They consist of the same deictic formative **wà** plus the linker (m/pl = **-n**, f = **-C** < ***-t**, where **C** = copy of following consonant), followed by the H tone (probably polar) copula **nē** (m/pl), **cē** (f), with the plural again infixing **-ɗàn-**. Examples:

wànnē/wàccē/wàɗànnē kukà kāwō? 'which one(s) (m/f/pl) did you bring?'
wàccē cè kakè sô? 'which one (f) is it you want?'

The implied or prementioned larger class of alternatives can be overtly expressed in a following genitive prepositional or partitive phrase:

wàccē cikinsù kikà sàyā? 'which one (f) among them did you buy?'
wànnensù kikà fi sô? 'which one (m) of them do you prefer?'

3.1.4. Where? = ***ìnā***

The pro-locative *wh*-adjunct (simple place adverb) is **ìnā** 'where?', e.g.

ìnā kuɗîn (yakè)? 'where is the money?'
ìnā nè sukà jē? 'where is it they have gone?' (with following copula)
ìnā zuwà? 'where (are you) going?'

It is also regularly encountered in more restricted interrogative contexts where it sometimes has a modal-like manner force. Examples:

Formulaic greetings: **ìnā kwānā**? 'good morning' (lit. where spending the night?), **ìnā wunǐ**? 'good afternoon' (where spending the afternoon?), **ìnā aikǐ**?

'how's work?', **ìnā gàjiyǎ**? 'how's the tiredness?', **ìnā ìyālǐ**? 'how's the family?', **ìnā làbārǐ**? 'what's new?'.

Rhetorical/exclamatory: (**àmmā**) **ìnā = ànā**? '(but) how on earth could that be? no way! no chance!', with extra high register on final Falling tone (= H plus L tone q-morpheme).

Name-asking: **ìnā** (= **mềnē nề**) **sūnankà**? 'what is your name?' (note too **ìnā dàbāřǎ**? 'what's the plan?').

The same *wh*-adjunct can also be used in the quasi-idiomatic assertive phrase **ìnā** X **ìnā** Y? (lit. where X where Y?), where it expresses X-Y incompatibility (Attouman 1987). Examples:

ìnā kai ìnā shī? 'you don't compare with him'
(lit. where you where he?)
ìnā Mùsùlmī ìnā cîn nāmàn àladề?
'Muslims and eating pork don't go together' (where Y = verbonominal phrase)
ìnā nī dà shìgā gidan giyǎ? 'how could I go into a bar?'
(where Y = verbonominal phrase introduced by **dà** 'with, and')
Note too the comparable negative existential construction **bâ nī bâ ita** (= **bâ ni bâ ta**) 'I have nothing to do with her' (lit. there is not me there is not her).

3.1.5. When? = ***yàushē*** *or* ***yàushè***

There are two variants of the pro-temporal *wh*-word (time adverb) 'when' current in SH—**yàushē** and **yàushè**. Examples:

yàushē nề sukề zuwǎ? 'when is it they are coming?'
yàushè zā kà dāwō? 'when will you return?'

The *wh*-NP **wànè lōkàcī** 'what time?' is also regularly used to form an equivalent question, e.g. **wànè lōkàcī zā kù tāshì**? 'what time/when will you leave?'.

3.1.6. How? = ***yǎyǎ*** *(also* ***ƙǎƙǎ****)*

The 'how?' question word (manner adverb) is the reduplicated form **yǎyǎ**, and it is sometimes preceded and made more specific by the preposition **ta** 'via, by way/means of'. Some speakers use **ƙǎƙǎ** as an alternative. Examples:

yǎyǎ zā à yi?	'what's to be done?' (lit. how will one do?)
yǎyǎ bà sù dāwō ba?	'how come they haven't returned?'
ƙǎƙǎ ka zō dà wuri hakà?	'how (is it) you've come so early?'
ta yǎyǎ zā mù shāwō kân màtsalàr̃?	
'how can we overcome the problem?'	

Like the *wh*-adjunct **ìnā** 'where?' (§3.1.4), **yǎyǎ** is regularly used in name-requesting and formulaic greetings, e.g. **yǎyǎ (= ìnā) sūnan mālàminkà**? 'what is your teacher's name?', **yǎyǎ cìnikī**? 'how's business?', **yǎyǎ (= ìnā) gidā**? 'how's the family?', **yǎyǎ yârā**? 'how are the children?', **yǎyǎ yâu**? 'how's (it going) today?', **yǎ gàrī**? 'how's (life in) the town?' (= common non-reduplicated form).

3.1.7. How many/much? = ***nawà***

The simple question word corresponding to both 'how much?' with a noncount noun, and 'how many?' with a sg/pl count noun, is the interrogative numeral **nawà**, which modifies a preceding head. Examples:

nair̃ǎ nawà kakè sô?	'how many *naira* do you want?'
mōtǎ nawà gàrē shì?	'how many cars does he have?'
sàu nawà na gayǎ makà?	'how many times have I told you?'

To get a distributive meaning, the *wh*-adjunct **nawà** is repeated, e.g. **waɗànnân nawà nawà nē**? 'how much each are these?'.

A noncount noun takes the genitive linker:

shìnkāfar̲ nawà kikà sawō?	'how much rice did you buy?'
(lit. rice.of how much...)	

gwâl ɗi<u>n</u> nawà ka sāmù?	'how much gold did you get?'
mâ<u>n</u> nawà zân kāwō?	'how much oil shall I bring?'

It is also used with **ƙarfè** 'o'clock' to enquire about clock times, e.g. **ƙarfè nawà yànzu**? 'what time is it now?', **ƙarfè nawà zā kà shigō makaɗantā**? 'what time will you come into school?'.

Nawà can also function as an autonomous proform:

nawà nē wannàn?	'how much is this one?'
nawà kwalbaɗ nàn kè ɗaukà?	'how much does this bottle hold?'
nawà ka bā shì?	'how much did you give him?'

3.1.8. Why? = ***don mè, sabòdà mè,*** *or* ***mè ya sâ***

The 'why?' *wh*-elements are all complex phrases formed with **mè** 'what?'—either prepositional **don mè, sabòdà mè** (lit. because of what), or verbal **mè ya sâ** (lit. what 3m.FOC-PF cause). Examples:

don mè kakè kūkā?	'why are you crying?'
sabòdà mè bà kà gayà minì ba?	'why didn't you tell me?'
mè ya sâ ka dainà zuwà ajì?	'why have you stopped coming to class?'

3.2. Wh-movement and syntactic function

Hausa can *wh*-front on a wide range of syntactic functions, as with focus, relativization and topicalization. Following leftward movement, *wh*-objects either leave a gap or a resumptive pronoun in the *wh*-site. The normal pattern is for *wh*-direct and indirect objects to leave a gap, though prototypically human *wh*-indirect objects can leave a redundant resumptive pronoun. Examples:

mè ka sàyā Ø?	'what did you buy?'
what 2m.FOC-PF buy	(= *wh*-direct object)
su-wà kikà gayà wà Ø (= **musù**)?	'who (pl) did you tell (them)?'
3pl-who 2f.FOC-PF tell IOM (= IOM.3pl)	(= *wh*-indirect object)

Hausa has no possessive *wh*-word 'whose?'. With *wh*-possessives, either the entire 'noun-of *wh*-word' phrase is fronted—the only option with subjects—or the leftward *wh*-constituent leaves a resumptive possessive pronoun in the base position. Examples:

'yař wȁ ta yi aurē?
daughter.of who 3f.FOC-PF do marriage
'whose daughter got married?'
'yař wȁ ka àurā? = **wȁ ka àuri 'yařsà**?
daughter.of who 2m.FOC-PF marry = who 2m.FOC-PF marry daughter.of.3m
'whose daughter did you marry?'

With *wh*-objects of prepositions, e.g. the core prepositions **dà** 'with', **dàgà** 'from', **gà** 'to, for, etc.', the preposition can either be pied-piped along with the *wh*-object, or can remain in situ with an obligatory resumptive pronoun, since core prepositions cannot be stranded. Genitive prepositions can leave a gap in the *wh*-site. Examples:

dà mȅ kikà zō? = **mȅ kikà zō dà shī**?
with what 2f.FOC-PF come = what 2f.FOC-PF come with 3m
'with what did you come? = what did you come with (it)?'
gà wȁ zā kà mai dà littāfìn? = **wȁ zā kà mai dà littāfìn gàrē shì**?
to who FUT 2m return book.DD(m) = who FUT 2m return book.DD(m) to 3m
'to whom will you return the book? = whom will you return the book to (him)?'
dàgà wȁ ka sȁmu wàsīƙàř? = **wȁ ka sȁmu wàsīƙàř dàgà gàrē shì**?
from who 2m.FOC-PF get letter.DD(f) = who 2m.FOC-PF get letter.DD(f) from to 3m
'from whom did you get the letter? = whom did you get the letter from (him)?'
(Notice that the source locative preposition **dàgà** 'from' cannot be followed directly by a d.o. pronoun so **gàrē** is inserted.)

cikin mɛ̀ **zā kà sakà kāyā**? = **mɛ̀** **zā kà sakà kāyā ciki Ø** = **cikinsà**?
inside.of what FUT 2m put stuff = what FUT 2m put stuff in = inside.of.3m
'in what will you put the stuff? = what will you put the stuff in (it)?'

3.3. Wh-elements in situ

It is possible for *wh*-constituents to remain in the base-position in interrogative sentences, in which case a general non-focus TAM is used in tensed clauses—recall that focussed constituents can also occur in situ (§2.2). Note that these in situ *wh*-questions are *not* echo-questions (see below). Base-position *wh*-elements are especially common in nonverbal sentences, e.g. equational constructions where the *wh*-word functions as the complement. Examples:

wɛ̀nē nɛ̀ shī?	'who is he?'	=	**shī wɛ̀nē nɛ̀**?	'he is who?'
mɛ̀nē nɛ̀ wannàn?	'what is this?'	=	**wannàn mɛ̀nē nɛ̀**?	'this is what?'
nawà nē fàřāshìn wannàn?		'how much is the price of this?'		
= **fàřāshìn wannàn nawà nē**?		'the price of this is how much?'		

In situ *wh*-elements are also encountered in nonverbal tensed clauses with Imperfective TAMs, as an alternative to the *wh*-fronting, and with essentially the same meaning.[5] Parallel to in situ focus, adverbs seem to occur most naturally as in situ *wh*-elements. Examples:

[ìnā]$_{WH}$ **sukè yànzu**? 'where are they now?'
where 3pl.FOC-IMPF now
= **sunà [ìnā]**$_{WH}$ **yànzu**?
3pl.IMPF where now (lit. they are where now?)
yanà [ìnā]$_{WH}$ **yànzu**?—**yanà [Amìřkà]**$_{FOC}$
3m.IMPF where now—3m.IMPF America 'where is he now?—he's in *America*'

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[5] As with in situ focus, speakers of Eastern Hausa tolerate in situ *wh*-constructions with a wider range constituents (e.g. direct objects), as well as sentence-types (e.g. verbal). Examples: **kin ga dà wā dà wā à makařantā**? (= SH **dà wā dà wā kikà ganī à makařantā**?) 'whom (pl) did you see at school?', **zā kà tàfi yàushē**? (= SH **yàushē zā kà tàfī**?) 'when will you go?'.

sàu [**nawà**]$_{WH}$ **na gayà makà**? 'how many times have I told you?'
= nā gayà makà sàu [**nawà**]$_{WH}$? (lit. I have told you times how many?)
(= tensed verbal clause with general Perfective TAM)

In some cases, in situ position actually seems to be preferred, e.g. **saurā mè**? 'what's left?' (lit. remainder what?), **kanà nan hař yàushē**? 'you're around until when?', **sàukař/zuwàn yàushē**? 'when did you arrive/come?' (arrive/come.VN.of when?).

If the pre-TAM subject is questioned, the normal word order is maintained and the TAM takes the Focus form (parallel to subject-focus):

[**wà**]$_{Subj}$ [**kè**]$_{FOC\text{-}IMPF}$ **faɗìn hakà**? 'who says this?'
[**su-wà**]$_{Subj}$ [**sukà**]$_{FOC\text{-}PF}$ **fāɗì à jařřàbâwâř**? 'who (pl) failed in the exam?'

Recapitulatory *wh*-echo questions are formally identically with in situ *wh*-questions, i.e. the normal declarative linear order is preserved together with general TAMs, and any *wh*-element can be selected to indicate the misunderstood/misheard item or express surprise. Examples:

kin ga wà à kàsuwā? 'you saw *who* in the market?'
kin sàyi mè? 'you bought *what*?'
zā kà tàfi ìnā? 'you're going *where*?'
yā tàfi yàushē? 'he left *when*?'
su-wà zā sù zō? '*who* (pl) will come?'

3.4. Yes-no questions

In *yes-no* questions, both positive and negative, the basic declarative word-order is maintained, and the interrogative status is characterized by one or more of several distinctive morphological and intonational features, with the co-patterning varying according to idiolect/dialect (see also §**2**:4.2). *Yes-no*

questions can use the same phrase-final "q-morpheme" (/ˋ:/) as *wh*-word questions, i.e. with lengthening and optional L tone attachment (§3.1). Examples:

sun kāmầ shi? [shî] 'did they catch him?'
(= [shī] without floating L tone attachment for some speakers)
yā tāshì? [tāshḭ̀] 'has he got up?'
ìn zō ōfìshinkà? [ʔōfìshiŋkà̰] 'should I come to your office?'
bābù wândà ya zō? [zô] 'didn't anyone come?'

They can also be indicated by an interrogative marker of some kind in S-initial position, e.g. (individual glosses provided where possible) **kō** (also an S-final tag and marker of concessives), **anyầ** (= doubt, often with **kùwa**), **shîn = shìn** (often used following **kō**). The marker can occur in phrase-final tag position, e.g. **fà** 'what about (contrastive)?', **kō** 'or (what)?', **kùwa = kò̀** 'really, then?', or the copula **nē/nè**. Examples:

Yes-no with S-initial interrogative marker
kō kin sầmē shì? [shḭ̀] 'did you find him then?'
kō zā kà arầ minì bīr̃ònkà? [bīr̃ònkà̰]
'I wonder could you lend me your pen?'
anyầ kùwa hakà sukà fàɗā? [fàɗâ] 'is that really what they said?'
shìn kō kā san tà? [tà̰] 'do you know her then?'

Yes-no with S-final interrogative tags
zâ ni gidā—Audù fà? [fà̰] 'I'm off home—what about Audu?'
yā tàfi kō? [kô] 'he's gone has he?'
kā zō kùwa? [kùwâ] 'you've come then?'
zā kì dafà àbinci nè? [nè] 'you're going to cook some food are you?'
bā kầ cìn gōr̃ò nē? [nê] 'you don't eat kolanuts then?'

The phrase-final negative particle **ba** is also regularly used as a tag with the meaning 'or not?' in *yes-no* questions, appearing as either long H [bā] or F [bâ]

(with optional floating L), e.g. **wannàn ba**? [bā] or [bâ] 'this one or not?'. Some interrogative tag particles, e.g. **kō** 'or (what)?', can have a surface rising tone, e.g. **zā kà tàfi kō**? [kǒ] 'are you going to go or what?'.

Intonationally, global declarative downtrend is suspended in *yes-no* questions, and the pitch on each syllable is raised to a slightly higher level than in the corresponding declarative utterance (= global raising), though there is some intonational variation. In addition, final H key-raising acts to raise the pitch of the rightmost lexical H tone in the *yes-no* question (including HL = Falling) and any remaining L tones in the string. Examples (final H key-raising indicated with ↑):

zā sù gayǎ ↑masà? [masà]	'will they tell him?'
kin ↑būɗè àkwǎtìn?	'did you open the box?'
yā sàyi rì↑gā? [rìgâ]	'did he buy a gown?'
sun tàfi ↑ƙauyè?	'did they go to the village?'
kā kāwō ku↑ɗîn?	'did you bring the money?'
bā kǎ ↑zuwà?	'aren't you coming?'
bà sù biyā ↑ba? [bâ]	'haven't they paid?'
dà ruwā ↑nân?	'is there any water here?'
rìgā cè ka sà↑yā? [sàyâ]	'was it a *gown* you bought?'

(= *yes-no* question with preposed focus constituent)

Another variant of *yes-no* question intonation allows the tone on the phrase-final rightmost syllable to be assigned a pitch higher than the preceding tone. Final Falling tones simplify to H and together with final lexical L tones are realized at a higher level than preceding H tones (final H tones pattern with the above). Examples of final-raising are:

sun tàfi ƙau↑yē? (< **ƙauyè** + final-raising)	'did they go to the village?'
bā kǎ zu↑wā? (< **zuwà** + final-raising)	'aren't you coming?'

tā tàfi ùnguw↑ař? (< **ùnguwâř** + final-raising)

'did she go visiting (the neighbourhood)?'

*3.5. Alternative (**kō**) X **kō** Y questions*

Alternative questions use the exclusive particle **kō** 'or', the same interrogative **kō** word used in *yes-no* questions, as well as with indirect questions and concessive conditionals. **Kō** can also be placed in front of the first conjoin as reinforcement in a correlative **kō**...**kō** construction, and can be followed by the modal particle **kùwa** (= **kȍ**). Examples:

kō zā kà zaunǎ kō kùwa zā kà tāshì?
'will you stay or leave?'
kanǎ sôn wannàn kō wancàn?
'do you want this one or that one?'
kai mālàmī nè kō kȍ ɗālìbī?
'are you a teacher or a student?'

4. Relative Clauses

For various treatments of relative clauses in Hausa see Gouffé (1964), Hodge (1982), Jaggar (1998), McConvell (1973, 1977), Newman (2000: chap. 64), Parsons (1981: 46ff.), Rufa'i (1983), Schachter (1973), and Tuller (1986: 80ff.).

4.1. Restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are embedded subordinate constructions which follow their antecedent NPs and insert an invariant clause-initial relativizer **dà** 'who, whom, that, which, etc.' (also a subordinating complementizer, see **§13**:3.3). Relativization, like syntactic focus constructions and *wh*-questions, moves a constituent to clause-initial position, and any Perfective or Imperfective TAMs in the postmodifying RC take the focus form. The examples below illustrate

prototypical restrictive RCs dominated by initial definite head nouns (see §4.2 for nonrestrictives):

gǎ [mōtà-r̃] [dà [mukà sàyā jiyà]]$_{RC}$
PRESENT car-DD(f) REL 1pl.FOC-PF buy yesterday
'here's the car that we bought yesterday'
kā ga [bǎ̀ƙî-n] [dà [sukà isō yànzu]]$_{RC}$?
2m.PF see guests-DD(pl) REL 3pl.FOC-PF arrive now
'did you see the guests who just arrived?'

If the antecedent noun is definite, it suffixes the gender/number-sensitive definite determiner (DD) **-`n** (m/pl), or **-`r̃** (f). The floating L tone backs up to produce a Fall on a preceding H tone host syllable, e.g. **bǎ̀ƙī** + **-`n** → **bǎ̀ƙîn** 'the guests', though there is an increasing tendency to simplify a head-final F to H before the L tone relativizer **dà**, e.g. **bǎ̀ƙîn dà** → **bǎ̀ƙin dà** 'the guests who'. The feminine singular DD **-`r̃** usually assimilates to/geminates with the initial /**d**/ of the relativizer, e.g. **mōtàr̃ dà** = [mōtàd dà] 'the car that'. It is also possible to use two suffixal DDs in definite RCs, one on the initial head noun followed by one on the rightmost element of the RC, e.g. **kin san [mutǎ̀nê-n] [dà [sukà zô-n]]**? 'do you know the people who have come?'. Other post-head determiners are possible, e.g. (demonstrative) **ìnā [littāfîn nan] [dà [na bā kà]]**? 'where's that book that I gave you?', (possessive pronoun) **kā tunà [bùdurwar̃sà] [dà [mukà ganī jiyà]]**? 'do you remember his girlfriend whom we saw yesterday?'. Pronoun heads, from the independent set, can appear either without any determiner or with connective-anaphoric **ɗîn** (= **ɗi** + **-`n**), e.g. **[ita (ɗîn)] [dà [nakȅ gayǎ̀ makà]]** 'she whom I was telling you about'. The head noun and relativizer **dà** do not have to be juxtaposed, e.g. **[yāròn fa] [dà [mukà ganī jiyà]]** 'the boy (indeed) that we saw yesterday' (with the modal particle **fa** 'indeed' inserted).

Indefinite RC heads simply appear as bare nominals if non-specific/generic. Specific indefinites are usually premodified by an appropriate form of the gender/number-inflected specific indefinite determiner (SID). Examples:

sun ɗàuki [ma'àikàtā] [dà [sukà ƙwarè sôsai]]
3pl.PF take workers REL 3pl.FOC-PF be experienced really
'they've taken on workers who have a lot of experience'
[wani yārò] [dà [kè nan à lōkàcîn]] yā ga kōmē
SID(m) boy REL FOC-IMPF there at time.DD(m) 3m.PF see everything
'a (specific) boy that was there at the time saw everything'

Note too **[wasu yârân] dà sukà ga haɗàřîn**... 'some other boys who saw the accident...', where the combination of both the indefinite and definite determiners on the head noun yields an additive-incremental 'some other (boys)' reading.

Relative clauses can also be introduced by a complex relative pronoun (relpro) which copies the gender-number features of the overt antecedent—HL **wandà** (m), HL **waddà = waccè** (f), HLL **waɗàndà** (pl). These explicit pronouns can also behave as relative proforms meaning 'the one(s) who(m), which, that, etc.' (see below). They are made up of the general deictic formative **wa(a)**—probably attested in other pronouns/determiners, e.g. **wà** 'who?', **wani** 'a certain'—plus the (m) **-`n** or (f) **-`ř** (< * **-`t**) definite determiner which produces a Fall on the **wâ-**, followed by the relativizer **dà**, i.e. (m) **wa + `n + dà** → **wândà**, (f) **wa + `ř + dà** (probably **wa + `t + dà**) → **wâddà** (with assimilation/gemination). The FL singular pronouns commonly simplify to HL **wandà**, and **waddà = waccè** (the illustrative forms used here). The plural form also infixes the **-ɗàn-** pluralizer. Definite antecedent NPs normally occur as bare nominals without any definite determiner if the explicit **wandà** etc. pronoun is selected to introduce the RC, though some speakers find this noun + relpro combination awkward. With indefinite antecedents, speakers freely use either the relativizer **dà** or the **wandà** etc. relative pronoun. Examples (affirmative and negative):

[yāròn] [dà] sukà dồkā yanà asìbitì
= **[yārồ]**$_{m}$ **[wandà]**$_{m}$ **sukà dồkā yanà asìbitì**
'the boy that they beat up is in hospital'

[wata yārinyǎ] [dà] kɛ̀ nan à lōkàcîn tā ga kōmē
= [wata yārinyǎ]$_{f}$ [waddà]$_{f}$ kɛ̀ nan à lōkàcîn tā ga kōmē
'a girl who was there at the time saw everything'
gǎ [mǎlàmân] [dà] bà sù yi yājìn aikǐ ba
= gǎ [mǎlàmai]$_{pl}$ [waɗàndà]$_{pl}$ bà sù yi yājìn aikǐ ba
'there are the teachers who didn't go on strike'
sun ɗàuki [ma'àikàtā] [dà] sukà ƙwarɛ̀ sɔ̀sai
= sun ɗàuki [ma'àikàtā]$_{pl}$ [waɗàndà]$_{pl}$ sukà ƙwarɛ̀ sɔ̀sai
'they've taken on workers that have a lot of experience'

Note too **[yârân nan] na àbōkinkà Àlhajì Mūsā [waɗàndà] [?dà] sukɛ̀ makaɾantā yànzu** 'those boys of your friend Alhaji Musa who are at school now', where the full relpro **waɗàndà** is preferred because of the distance between the antecedent **yârân nan** 'those boys' and the subsequent RC.

The relative pronouns can also be used as coindexed proforms to substitute for an NP head, in addition to an all L tone set **wàndà** (m), **wàddà = wàccɛ̀** (f), **wàɗàndà** (pl), the allomorph used by some speakers in nonrestrictive RCs (§4.2). For some speakers, the HL **wandà** etc. variant is preferred if the referent is hearer-*new*, parallel to its use as a relpro with indefinite heads. Examples:

bàri ìn gayǎ makà lǎbāɾìn waddà na ganī jiyà
'let me tell you about the one (f) that I saw yesterday'
tɔ̄ àmmā duk dà hakà, àkwai waɗàndà bà sù yàɾda ba
'OK nevertheless, there are those who don't agree'
Cf. use (for some speakers) of all L relpros as proforms for hearer-*old* referents:
lǎbāɾìn yā ci gàba dà cêwā wàɗàndà sukà mutù ɗîn...
'the story added that those who had died...'
waddà = wàccɛ̀ zā tà zō ƙanwàɾtà cē
'the one who (f) will come is her younger sister'

The HL relpro also collocates with the collective universal determiner **duk** 'all, every' to introduce concessive-conditionals to indicate indefinite, non-referring (personal) 'everyone/anyone who, whoever, etc.' (lit. all who), e.g. **duk wandà ya san asalin wannàn rìkicī**... 'everyone/anyone who knows the origin of this conflict...'. It is also used in constructions following a negative existential (= 'no one, etc.', lit. there is not the one that), e.g. **bābù wandà ya san asalin wannàn rìkicī** 'no one knows the origin of this conflict' (see §**9**:5 for details). Note too the adverbial relative constructions **duk indà kikà jē daidai nề** 'wherever you go is OK', **duk àbîn dà ya fằru, kâř kì dằmu** 'whatever happens, don't worry' (see below). As an alternative to these universal generic constructions, Hausa can use concessive-generic **kō-***wh* proforms, e.g. **kōwā ya san asalin wannàn rìkicī** 'whoever/anyone who knows the origin of this conflict', **kōmē ya fằru, kâř kì dằmu** 'whatever happens, don't worry' (see §**14**:3.3.4).

Adverbial relative clauses of place, time, manner and reason are formed with **dà**, often with generic lexical noun heads, as follows: **îndà = indà** 'where, the place that' (cf. corresponding *wh*-word **ìnā** 'where?'), **yâddà = yaddà** 'how, the manner that' (cf. **yằyằ** 'how?'), **àbîn dà** 'what' (lit. the thing that), **lōkàcîn dà = sā'àn dà/sân dà/san dà = yằyîn dà** 'when, the time that', **àbîn dà ya sâ** 'why' (the thing that caused) = **dàlīlìn dà** 'why, the reason that'. Examples:

zân tàfi makařantā indà akề kōyař dà Hausa
'I'm going to a school where Hausa is taught'
(with overt locative noun head)
sằ ta indà na gayằ makà
'put it where I told you'
bàn san lōkàcîn dà zā sù isō ba
'I don't know when they will arrive' (= indirect question)
gằ yaddà haďàřîn ya fằru
'here's how the accident happened'
àbîn dà bā mằ sô kề nan
'that's just what we don't want'

The lexicalized temporal subordinator **lōkàcîn dà** (= **yǎyîn dà**, etc.) 'when' is anomalous in permitting a general (non-focus) Imperfective TAM in the following RC, e.g. **lōkàcîn dà inǎ yārò**... 'when I was a boy...'.

The NP head can be separated from a postponed RC, e.g. **nā ga [wani mùtûm] jiyà à kǎsuwā [dà yakè zāgǎwā yakè ihǔ]** 'I saw [a man] yesterday in the market [who was going around shouting]' (where the discontinuous conjoined RC and antecedent are separated by time and place adverbs), **[mōtǎr] tā ɓācì [waddà ka sayař mîn]** '[the car] has broken down [that you sold me]' (with a full TAM clause intervening). Postnominal RCs can also modify NPs already containing other posthead modifiers, e.g. **làbāřì [mafì mūnì] [dà mukà taɓà jî]** 'the most evil story we ever heard' (lit. story most evil that...), **mōtǎ [mài àřàhā] [dà na sàyā]** 'a cheap car that I bought' (car cheap that...).

As noted and exemplified above, an important syntactic characteristic of relative clauses is that they require the same Focus Perfective or Imperfective TAMs as other *wh*-fronting operations whereby constituents are similarly extracted and moved to the clause-initial informational focus position, e.g. focus-fronting (§2.1), *wh*-interrogation (§3.1), and *wh*-ever expressions (§**14**:3.3.4).[6] The semantic correlate common to all these narrow focus movement rules is that the identification of the leftshifted element is highly constrained, i.e. it is uniquely restricted/defined/specified, etc. As with focus and *wh*-constructions, there is also a constraint against using the quasi-modal Potential and Subjunctive TAMs in restrictive RCs. Examples:

[nâ]$_{POT}$ **sàyi irìn wannàn mōtǎ** 'I'll probably buy this type of car'
Cf. **gǎ [irìn mōtàř dà [zân]**$_{FUT}$ **sàyā]**
'here's the kind of car that I will buy'
but not *__gǎ [irìn mōtàř dà [nâ]__$_{POT}$ **sàyā]**
'here's the kind of car that I will probably buy'

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[6]The Focus TAM requirement can in fact be relaxed when an adverb intervenes between the relativizer and TAM, e.g. **ìnā ɗ'ǎlìbân dà [kōyàushē]**$_{ADV}$ **[sukè]**$_{FOC\text{-}IMPF}$ **zuwǎ ajìn nân**? = (for some speakers) **ìnā ɗ'ǎlìbân dà [kōyàushē]**$_{ADV}$ **[sunà]**$_{IMPF}$ **zuwǎ ajìn nân**? 'where are the students who always come to this class?'. In appositional nonrestrictive RCs (§4.2), general (non-focus) TAMs are even more widespread.

bâ [wandà [zâi]$_{FUT}$ cê musù kōmē]
'no one will (may/can) say anything to them'
But not ***bâ [wandà [yà]$_{SJN}$ cê musù kōmē]**
'no one may/can say anything to them'

It is also possible for the embedded relative clause to contain a nonverbal equational predicate:

habà, [yāròn [dà] [shī ɗan-sakandàřè nē]]?
'come on, a boy who's a secondary school student?'
àkwai [wasu mutànē [waɗàndà] [aikìnsù kawài ròƙō]]
'there are some people whose only work is begging'
[diyyàř [dà] [ita cè mafì yawà à tārīhì]] tā bâ mutànē màmākì
'the compensation which is the most in history surprised people'

Some speakers prefer to insert a TAM filler **yakè** in the equational RC following the relativizer **dà**. This dummy element consists of an empty 3m subject pronoun **ya-** with the **-kè** Focus Imperfective-2 TAM used with nonverbal complements (R. M. Newman 1976). The pro-relative TAM , used to convert a nonverbal into a verbal RC, can also be used in embedded equational, existential and presentative RCs. Examples:

habà, [yāròn dà [yakè] shī ɗan-sakandàřè nē]?
'come on, a boy who's a secondary school student?'
[yârân dà [yakè] 'yan mahàutā nè] 'boys who are children of butchers'
[ɗākìn dà [yakè] àkwai mutànē dà dāmā]
'the room where there are many people'
[shī dà [yakè] bà Mùsùlmī ba] 'he who is not a Muslim'
[mùtumìn dà [yakè] gà shi yanà zāgìn bàbansà] shàƙiyyì nē
'the person who is there abusing his father is a rogue'

The subject-agreement pronoun in the pro-relative TAM can be referential and copy the number-gender features of the head NP in subject relatives:

[yārinyàř]$_{f}$ dà [yakè]$_{m}$ 'yař mahàucī cè
= [yārinyàř]$_{f}$ dà [takè]$_{f}$ 'yař mahàucī cè
'a girl who is a butcher's daughter'
[yârân]$_{pl}$ dà [yakè]$_{m}$ 'yan mahàutā nè
= [yârân]$_{pl}$ dà [sukè]$_{pl}$ 'yan mahàutā nè
'boys who are children of butchers'

The same gender/number-sensitive pro-relative can also be used in tensed relative clauses, both subject and non-subject. In this case the following sentential TAM, which is now outside the domain of the focus/relative TAM rule, occurs in the general (non-focus) form. Examples:

yārinyàř dà [takè] [sun]$_{PF}$ bùgē tà tā warkè
'the girl whom (she is) they beat has recovered'
yârā waɗàndà [sukè] [sun]$_{PF}$ ìsa sù shìga makařantā
'children who (they are) are old enough to enter school'
mālàmîn dà [yakè] [yanà]$_{IMPF}$ dà kyâu yà kōyař dà Hausa
'the teacher who (he is) it is good that he teaches Hausa'

4.1.1. Extracted item: deletion or resumptive pronoun in the base position?

Following extraction from its basic argument position, the antecedent NP, depending upon its syntactic role, leaves either a gap or an overt resumptive pronoun, explicitly indicating the role of the head, in the base position. Hausa can relativize from a wide range of syntactic positions, and the normal pattern for marking the relativized site is as follows, proceeding from the least to most explicit strategy: (a) deletion for subject relatives (the most accessible position on the hierarchy) and direct object-headed relatives, i.e. with no overt indication of the role of the RC head; (b) deletion or an overt coreferential pronoun for relativized indirect objects and genitive preposition objects; (c) either pronominalization for core prepositions (comitative-instrumentals and relationals) or deletion (locatives); (d) resumptive pronouns for possessor NPs in the RC.

When the head noun is the surface subject of a relativized predicate, its grammatical role is not explicitly coded, though the person-number-gender features of the subject show up on the subject-agreement pronoun. Examples:

mùtumìn dà Ø ya zō jiyà yā tāshì
man.DD(m) REL 3m.FOC-PF come yesterday 3m.PF leave
'the man who came yesterday has left'
wata ɗālìbātā waddà Ø zā tà tàfi Nàijēřiyà
SID(f) student.of.1sg RELPRO(f) FUT 3f go Nigeria
'a student of mine who will go to Nigeria'

Deletion is also the strongly preferred strategy for relativization on direct objects:

ìnā mōtàř dà zā kà sàyā Ø? 'where's the car that you're going to buy?'
yāròn dà sukà dòkā Ø yanà asìbitì 'the boy that they beat up is in hospital'

It is also the norm with objective genitives, e.g. following strong verbal nouns and dynamic-activity nouns:

gà yārinyàř dà nakè sô Ø 'there's the girl I love'
ìnā littāfìn dà kakè màganà Ø? 'where's the book that you're talking about?'

With indirect object relatives, the indirect object marker **wà** remains in position after the verb and deletion is the usual pattern, though a copy pronoun is possible. Examples:

mutànên dà sukà ƙi sayař <u>wà</u> Ø dà àbinci sukà fìta (lit...sell IOM food...)
= mutànên dà sukà ƙi sayař <u>musù</u> dà àbinci sukà fìta (...sell IOM.3pl food...)
'the men they refused to sell food to left'
ìnā yāròn dà akà sācè <u>wà</u> Ø rìgā? (...steal IOM gown)
(with optional lengthening of the IOM vowel to **wà** when the i.o. has been moved)

= **ìnā yāròn dà akà sācè̀ masà rī̀gā**? (...steal IOM.3m gown)
'where's the boy whose gown was stolen?'

Similarly, with prepositional object relatives, if the PP in the related independent sentence is headed by a so-called "genitive preposition" (§**15**:3.3), e.g. **bāya-n** 'behind (of)', **ciki-n** 'inside (of)', **gà ba-n** 'in front of', **kâ-n** 'on top of', **ƙàr̃ƙashi-n** 'underneath (of)', the preposition remains in situ and either deletion, leaving a simple adverbial or nominal form, or pronominalization with a resumptive genitive pronoun is possible. Examples:

gǎ àkwǎtìn dà na sakà kāyā à ciki/kâi/ƙàr̃ƙashī Ø
(lit...inside/on top/underneath)
= **gǎ àkwǎtìn dà na sakà kāyā à cikinsà/kânsà/ƙàr̃ƙashinsà**
(lit...inside.of.3m/top.of.3m/underneath.of.3m)
'there's the box I put the stuff inside/on/under (it)'

With the core locative prepositions **à** 'in, at, on, etc.', **dàgà** 'from', and **ta** 'by way of, via', in situ occurrence is not possible. Instead, the governing preposition is pied-piped into position before the RC-dominating locative head (**à** can then be deleted), and deletion is obligatory in the RC. Examples:

bàn san (**à**) **gàrîn dà sukà zaunǎ̀** Ø **ba** (lit...in town that they settled...)
'I don't know the town that they settled in'
bàn san dàgà gàrîn dà sukà fitō Ø **ba** (...from town that they came...)
'I don't know the town that they come from'
bàn san ta hanyàr̃ dà sukà bi Ø **ba** (...via road that they followed...)
'I don't know the route that they followed'

An overt copy pronoun in the base position is obligatory with the remaining syntactic roles, i.e. relativized possessives, oblique comitative-instrumentals and relationals. Hausa has no possessive relative pronoun equivalent to 'whose', and

instead uses a coreferential bound possessive pronoun to overtly indicate the relativized possessor position. Examples:

an gānō mōtàř dà gìlāshìnţà ta fashè (lit...car that window.of.3f...)
'the car whose window broke has been found'
mùtumìn dà zân àuri 'yařsà àttājìřī nè
(man that I will marry daughter.of.3m...)
'the man whose daughter I'm going to marry is a wealthy person'

Similarly, if the prepositional phrase in the related independent sentence is headed by comitative-instrumental **dà** 'with' or relational **gà** 'in (relation to), to, from, etc.' (= **gàrē** before pronoun), it is followed by an obligatory gap-filling coindexed pronoun in the relativized predicate, i.e. pied-piping is not possible. Examples:

ìnā yāròn dà sukà zō dà shī? (lit...boy that they came with 3m)
'where is the boy that they came with?'
gằ wuƙâř dà nakè yankà nāmằ dà ita (...knife that I cut meat with 3f)
'here's the knife that I cut the meat with'
gằ mùtumìn dà na sàyi wannàn gàrē shì
(...man whom I bought this from 3m)
'there's the man whom I bought this from'
(Cf. the corresponding *wh*-expressions, however, where these prepositions can be pied-piped along with the *wh*-object, §3.2.)

4.2. Nonrestrictive relative clauses

Nonrestrictive RCs are distinguished from restrictive RCs by formal and prosodic features which are in near complementary distribution (Jaggar 1998). Nonrestrictive RCs are a stylistic feature typical of more formal, written genres, including modern journalistic Hausa and advertizing. With some speakers, the basic distinction lies in the choice of the relativizing pronoun: nonrestrictives are

introduced by a distinctive all L tone allomorph of the explicit pronoun **wàndà/wàddà/wàɗàndà** (m/f/pl). Some speakers, on the other hand, use the same HL **wandà** etc. forms characteristic of restrictive RCs. Intonationally, the appositional "afterthought" status of the nonrestrictive RC is also represented by a distinct tone unit, initiated and completed by a discernible pause (= orthographic commas), and often with a lower overall pitch. Examples (with all L tone relative pronouns):

aikìn nân, wàndà ka bā nì jiyà, yā fi ƙarfīnā
'this work, which you gave me yesterday, is too much for me'
ita Hàlīmà, wàddà nakề sôntà sòsai, 'yař Kàdūna cề
'this Halima, whom I really love, is a Kaduna girl'
ɗàlìbân, wàɗàndà sukà gamà aikìnsù, duk sun tàfi
'the students, who have finished their work, have all gone'
dà ya tàfi Amìřkà sai ya ga iyàyensà, wàɗàndà sukà jimầ can
'when he went to the U.S.A. he saw his parents, who had been there for some time'
kāyân, wàɗàndà zā à rarràbā wà mutầnên, duk sun zō dàgà Amìřkà
'the goods, which will be distributed to the people, have all come from the U.S.A.'
wani diřēbà, wàndà dầ mā yārồnā nề... (= nonverbal predicate)
'a driver, who has been my employee all along...'

Interestingly, with nonrestrictives, some speakers, especially of SH, allow the general *non*-focus form of the Perfective and Imperfective TAMs as a secondary alternative to the usual focus set required in restrictive RCs. Examples:

ɗàlìbân, wàɗàndà [sun]$_{PF}$ **gamà aikìnsù, duk sun tàfi**
'the students, who have finished their work, have all gone'
dà ya tàfi Amìřkà sai ya ga iyàyensà, wàɗàndà [sun]$_{PF}$ **jimầ can**
'when he went to the U.S.A. he saw his parents, who had been there for some time'

bāyan zàngà-zangàř sai ya kōmầ ƙauyèn iyầyensà, wàndà [yanầ]$_{IMPF}$ can kudancin ƙasâř

'after the demonstrations he returned to his parents' village, which was down there in the south of the country'

This focus vs. general TAM variation relates to the fact that nonrestrictive RCs are coordinate-like appositional structures which do not uniquely restrict/define/identify etc. their antecedents, and so are not subject to the same focus TAM constraints as restrictive RCs.

5. Topicalization

Topicalization is an information-packaging operation which places presupposed, discourse-old information (= topic) in position before discourse-new information (= comment). Although topicalization and focus-fronting (§2.1) both entail an initial position constituent (leaving aside the matter of base-generation of topics), there are interesting structural and discourse-semantic differences. In contrast to monoclausal focus constructions where the preposed focus is typically discourse-*new*, the context-familiar affirmative only topic is located in a structurally distinct, preclausal topic position, and the following comment consists of a separate main sentence, with no substitution of a focus verbal TAM as is required with ex situ focus. Topic-comment constructions thus have the approximate structure [TOPIC], COMMENT-S. The adjoined topic, e.g. NP, VP, adverbial, is external to the clause proper and is typically segregated from the comment by a prosodic (often comma-marked) pause. The topic can also be followed by a qualifying modal particle or topic-restrictor, e.g. **dai**, **fa**, **kàm** 'indeed, as for, etc.', **kuma**, **kùwa (= kò(o))**, **mā** 'and, moreover, etc.'. A number of complex prepositions also regularly function as topic-restrictors, e.g. **danganề dà = dàngàne dà**, **à kân**, **gàme dà**, **bisà gà** 'with regard to, concerning, etc.', all of which are pre-topic and can co-occur with post-topic

particles. An exclamatory particle can also intervene between the topic and comment, e.g. **ai** 'well', **àshē** 'surprisingly', **wàllāhì** 'honestly, really'. See also Abdoulaye (1993), Jaggar (1978), Junaidu (1987, 1989, 1990), McConvell (1973), Newman (2000: chap. 72), Tuller (1986), and Wolff (1993: chap. 7).

Examples (with a range of topic constituents and comment-S types):

[Mànsûř kùwa]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[yā sǎmu bàbban dìgìřî]**$_{\text{comment}}$
Mansur as for 3m.PF get large.of degree
'as for Mansur, he got a PhD'
Cf. the corresponding focus construction:
[Mànsûř]$_{\text{focus}}$ **nē ya sǎmu bàbban dìgìřî** 'it was *Mansur* who got a PhD'
Mansur COP(m) 3m.FOC-PF get large.of degree
[nī dai]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[bǎ zân shigō makařantā ba yâu]**$_{\text{comment}}$
1sg as for NEG FUT.1sg come in school NEG today
'as for me, I won't come into school today'
[ita kàm]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[tanǎ̀ kàřàtū kullum]**$_{\text{comment}}$
3f as for 3f.IMPF studying always
'as for her, she studies all the time'
[Kànde]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[ai yā rìgā yā àurē tà]**$_{\text{comment}}$
Kande well 3m.PF already do 3m.PF marry 3f
'Kande, well he's already married her'
[gōřò kàm]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[bābù]**$_{\text{comment}}$ 'as for kolanuts, there aren't any'
kolanuts as for NEG EXIST
[àbōkinkà Jùnaidù]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[yàushè zâi kirāwō nì]**?$_{\text{comment}}$
friend.of.2m Junaidu when FUT.3m call 1sg
'your friend Junaidu, when will he call me?'
[Sābo]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[ai fùřòfēsǎ̀ nē shī]**$_{\text{comment}}$ 'Sabo, well he's a professor'
Sabo well professor COP(m) 3m
[gàme dà màganàř àlbâshinkà mā]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[zân biyā kà naiřǎ̀ dubū]**$_{\text{comment}}$
regarding matter.of salary.of.2m moreover FUT.1sg pay 2m *naira* thousand
'regarding the matter of your salary moreover, I'll pay you a thousand *naira*'

[būɗè ƙōfā kàm]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[ai daidai nè]**$_{\text{comment}}$
open door as for well OK COP(m)
'as for opening the door, well that's OK'

Whereas the subject-agreement pronoun contained within the Focus Imperfective person-aspect complex is commonly deleted in same-clause subject focus constructions, e.g. **ita cè Ø-kè (</= takè) kàřātū kullum** 'it's *she* who's always studying', pronoun-drop is not possible with preclausal subject topics, e.g. **ita (kàm), tanā kàřātū kullum** 'as for her, she studies always', but not ***ita (kàm), Ø-nā kàřātū kullum**.

Apart from a break between the topic and comment, there are several other prosodic correlates to the operation (all of which require further investigation). Firstly, sentence downdrift is normally suspended and the comment initiates a new downdrift pattern appropriate to the sentence-type. Secondly, with some speakers a topic-final short vowel undergoes prepausal lengthening, e.g. (lengthening marked only in these examples) **Abbā̲, ai yā kōmā gidā** 'Abba, well he's gone home' (cf. **Abbà yā kōmā gidā** 'Abba has gone home').

Hausa topicalizes on the same set of grammatical functions as are accessible to focus (§2.4) and *wh*-questions (§3.2). Whereas deletion is the preferred strategy with focus, however, topics normally leave a resumptive pronoun in the base position, especially with animate/human referents. With preposed subject topics, there is an obligatory gap in the subject position, though the subject-agreement pronoun remains in situ as part of the person-aspect complex. In the direct object position, either a gap or resumptive pronoun are possible, though a resumptive is strongly preferred with animate (human) antecedents. With indirect object antecedents, which are overwhelmingly human, pronominalization is the norm. Using the neutral declarative sentence **yāròn yā kai wà Mūsā kuɗī** 'the boy took the money to Musa' as the base, the following sentences exemplify topicalization on these core NP roles:

[yāròn dai], Ø yā kai wà Mūsā kuɗī (= subject topic)
boy.DD(m) as for 3m.PF take IOM Musa money
'as for the boy, he took the money to Musa'
[kuɗī dai], yāròn yā kai wà Mūsā (sū) (= inanimate d.o. topic)
money as for boy.DD(m) 3m.PF take IOM Musa 3pl
'as for the money, the boy took (it) to Musa'
Cf. **[Audù], ai sai kù nèmē shì kō'ìnā** (= animate d.o. topic)
Audu well just 2pl.SJN look for 3m everywhere
'Audu, well just look for him everywhere'
[Mūsā dai], yāròn yā kai masà kuɗī (= i.o. topic)
Musa as for boy.DD(m) 3m.PF take IOM.3m money
'as for Musa, the boy took the money to him'

Examples of other topic-sensitive clause constituents are:

Possessive: **[àbōkinkà kò], nā sàdu dà màtařsà jiyà** 'as for your friend, I met his wife yesterday', **[wannàn yārò] sūnansà Audù** 'this boy his name is Audu' (with obligatory possessor pronouns).
Locative: **[Amìřkà], wàllāhì àkwai kuɗī can** 'the U.S.A., hey there's money there' (antecedent usually picked up with a pro-locative adverb).
Object-of-preposition: **[Gàmbo], ai mun mai dà kuɗī gàrē shì** 'Gambo, hey we've returned the money to him', **[yārònā kùwa], nā sàmu wàsīƙà dàgà gàrē shì** 'my son, I've got a letter from him' (resumptive pronouns are obligatory here since core prepositions cannot strand).
Prepositional phrase: ...**[à cikin àkwàtìn kuma] àkwai zīnāřì** '...and in the box there was some gold', **[gà Bàlā] yā fi kyâu yà yi aurē** 'for Bala it's better he get married'.

VP-topicalization of verbonominal or infinitival phrases is also possible, though less common. The substitutive verb **yi** 'do' then fills the VP slot (optionally **yī** + 3m d.o. pronoun **shì**). Examples:

[kai wà Mūsā kuɗī dai], yāròn yā yi = yī shì (= infinitive phrase topic)
take IOM Musa money as for boy.DD(m) 3m.PF do = do 3m
'as for taking the money to Musa, the boy did (it)'
[sàyen àbinci kồ], zā sù yi = yī shì (= verbal noun phrase topic)
buy.VN.of food moreover FUT 3pl do = do 3m
'buying food moreover, they will do (it)'
(Cf. neutral **zā sù sàyi àbinci** 'they will buy food'.)
[fìtā], ai mukàn yi wani lōkàcī (= verbal noun phrase topic)
go out.VN well 1pl.HAB do some time
'(as for) going out, we do sometimes'

If the underlying direct object of a transitive VP does not appear as part of the initial (NP) topic, it is converted to an applicative indirect object in the comment:

[gyārā], sâ yi wà mōtàř gồbe
fix.VN 3pl.POT do IOM car.DD(f) tomorrow
'fixing, they'll probably do (it) to the car tomorrow'
(Cf. neutral **sâ gyārà mōtàř gồbe** 'they'll probably fix the car tomorrow'.)

Another mechanism involves leaving the finite verb in situ as part of the comment, following the topicalized nonfinite verbonominal or infinitival phrase:

[sàyen àbinci kồ], zā sù sàyā 'buying food moreover, they will buy'
buy.VN.of food moreover FUT 3pl buy
[fìtā], ai mukàn fìta wani lōkàcī 'going out, well we go out sometimes'
[gyārā], wàllāhì yā gyārà mōtàř
'fixing, well he's fixed the car'
[sayař dà mōtōcī dai], munà sayař dà mōtōcī irì-irì
'as for selling cars, we sell all kinds of cars'

Repetition in the comment is also possible with simple noun topics, e.g. **[tàbarmā], inà dà tàbarmā mài kyâu**! 'mat, I've got a good mat!'.

Topicalization and focus (in that order) can co-occur in the same sentence (topics, but not foci, are restricted to S-initial position). Examples:

[fuřsunōnī kàm]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[sōjōjī]**$_{\text{focus}}$ **nề sukà tsarề su**
prisoners as for soldiers COP(pl) 3pl.FOC-PF jail 3pl
'as for the prisoners, it was the *soldiers* who jailed them'
[mùtumìn nân]$_{\text{topic}}$, **bầ [shī]**$_{\text{focus}}$ **mukề sô ba**
man this NEG 3m 1pl.FOC-IMPF want.VN NEG
'this man, it's not *him* we want'

Topics, like foci, can be extracted from an embedded clause:

[ßanènkà kùwa], yā kyàutu Ø yà yi aurē
younger brother.of.2m as for 3m.PF be good 3m.SJN do marriage
'as for your younger brother, he should get married'
[yārǒnā], nā yi àlkawàřī zân sāmà masà sābon aikì
boy.of.1sg 1sg.PF do promise FUT.1sg get IOM.3m new.of job
'my boy, I promised I'd get him a new job'
[màigidā dai], tun dà yakè Ø yanà aikì yànzu, mù jirā shì nân
household head since 3m.IMPF work now 1pl.SJN wait for 3m here
'the household head, since he's working now, let's wait for him here'

Multiple layers of topicalization are also possible, and seem to be more felicitous if the topics serve different syntactic functions. Examples:

[cikinsù]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[wasu]**$_{\text{topic}}$, **hidimařsù ta sarkī cề**
inside.of.3pl SID(pl) business.of.3pl of(f) emir COP(f)
'among them, some, their business was with the emir'
[Mūsā kǒ]$_{\text{topic}}$, **[Mařsandî kàm]**$_{\text{topic}}$, **yā sayař**
Musa as for Mercedes concerning 3m.PF sell
'as for Musa, concerning the Mercedes, he's sold (it)'

Two quasi-idiomatic but common expressions are analyzable as topic-restrictors, both of them formed with the core preposition **dà** 'with', and they are equivalent to complex prepositions such as **gàme dà**, **dàngàne dà** 'regarding, concerning'. Both are essentially comparative ('like') constructions. The first consists of the fixed associative phrase **àbinkà + dà** + NP 'you know how it is with...X = you know what X is/are like' (lit. thing.of.2m with NP). Examples:

àbinkà dà jāhìlī	'you know how it is with an ignoramus'
àbinkà dà yâran zāmànī	'you know what modern youths are like'

The second is a construction of the form [N_i(poss. pro.) **dà** pro_i], i.e. a head noun or adjective with an optional possessive pronoun followed by linking **dà** 'with, and' and a coreferential independent pronoun. The overall meaning is usually one of disapproval or contempt. Examples:

tsōhonsà dà shī, mẽ zâi yi dà kòmfūtà?
old man.of.3m with 3m what FUT.3m do with computer
'an old man like him, what's he going to do with a computer?'
mālàmī dà kai, ìnā ruwankà dà mìsàlân dà ɗàlìbai sukà bāyarī?
'a teacher like you, why should you be concerned with the examples that students have given (you)?'
gàjērē dà shī, yầyầ zâi iyà tsallàkè wannàn katangā?
'a shorty like him, how can he climb this wall?'
mùmmūnā dà ita, wầ zâi àurē tà
'she's so ugly, who will marry her?'

Chapter 13
Clausal Complements

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with complex sentences which contain complement structures governed by a variety of complement-taking matrix verbs. Embedded complements in Hausa may consist of complete tensed sentences with finite verbs or can be expressed as nonfinite verbonominal or infinitival phrases, and they often correspond to finite 'that'- and/or nonfinite 'to'-clauses in English. The analysis follows Givón's (1980) typology of clausal complements as adopted by Schuh (1998: chap. 13) for the related language Miya. Givón's model correlates the degree of syntactic binding between a matrix verb and its complement—varying from a free TAM clause (= weak binding) to a nominalized verb or infinitive in the complement (= strong binding)—with the degree of semantic binding—ranging from matrix verbs which merely report an event (= weak) to implicative verbs which imply/presuppose the successful realization of their complement events (= strong). Implicative verbs thus tend to govern complements containing more noun-like verbal noun and infinitival phrases, though this is not an absolute requirement and the semantic correlations with complement form are scalar. See also Quirk et al. (1985: 1180ff.) on English clausal complementation and for Hausa see Bagari (1972, 1976), Dimmendaal (1989), Eulenberg (1972), and in particular Newman (2000: chap. 15) and Yalwa (1995).

2. Implicative Verbs

Implicative verbs imply the successful realization of the event in the complementizing structure. They fall into two classes: (1) self-inducement verbs,

where the higher and lower complement clause subjects are identical; and (2) manipulative verbs, where the two subjects are different. Implicative self-inducement verbs—the class of "aspectual verbs"—have nonfinite nominalized or infinitival complements (§2.1). Implicative manipulative verbs take either nonfinite or finite clausal (often Subjunctive TAM) complements (§2.2).

2.1. Self-inducement aspectual verbs (= same-subject, nonfinite complement)

This category encompasses aspectual verbs (traditionally known as "auxiliary verbs" in Hausa), e.g. **fārà** 'start (doing sth.)', **gamà** 'finish (doing sth.)', **ƙārà** 'do (sth.) again'. For various treatments, see: Abraham (1959b), Galadanci (1969), Jaggar (1977), Newman (2000: chap. 9), Parsons (1981: 317-21), Pilszczikowa (1960), Tuller (1986: 479ff.), and Yalwa (1994, 1995).

Semantically, aspectual verbs (AVs) serve to modify a verbal activity/event in the embedded, same-subject complement, expressing such aspectual verbal notions as initiation, continuation, repetition, iteration, persistence, cessation of an action, and they correspond to either aspectual verbs (e.g. 'start') or adverbial modifiers (e.g. quantificational 'again, more, often') in English. Implicative AVs are typically transitive (with any TAM), though some are **dà**-sociative verbs with prepositional complements, or intransitive-based verbs, and a number involve the metaphorical extension of the more literal, primary meaning of a lexical verb (provided in parentheses in the list below). A few AVs, e.g. frequentatives and inchoatives, overlap considerably in meaning. Some of the more common self-inducive AVs, most of them transitive grade 1 (v1tr) verbs, are:

barì (v2*tr)	'stop, leave off'
ci gàba dà (v0soc) with)	'continue, proceed with' (= phrasal, lit. eat in front
cikà (v1tr)	'do (too) much/often' ('fill')

daɗà (v1tr) 'repeat, do again' ('add')
daɗè dà (v4soc) 'have spent some time since doing sth.'
dainà (v1tr) 'stop'
dingà (v1tr) 'continue, keep on'
dōsà (v1tr) 'keep on'
fārà (dà) (v1tr) 'start, begin (with)'
fàrā (v2tr) 'initiate, introduce'
(where the switch in grades 1/2 signals a meaning difference, parallel to gr1/2 **sōmà/sòmā** below)
fāsà (v1tr) 'postpone, put off, fail to do sth.'
fayè (v4tr) 'do too often/much'
fi (v0tr) 'do sth. usually, mainly' ('exceed')
fiyà (v1tr) 'do (too) often/much'
gamà (v1tr) 'stop, finish'
hanzàřtā (v1tr) 'do sth. quickly, rush to do sth.'
kāmà (v1tr) 'start' ('catch, seize')
kammàlā (v1tr) 'finish, complete'
kōmà (v1intr) 'go back to, resume'
kumà (v1tr) 'repeat, do again'
ƙārà (v1tr) 'do sth. again/more' ('increase')
ƙārè (v4tr) 'finish'
ragè (v4tr) 'do sth. less often' ('reduce')
rasà (v1tr) 'not get/manage to do' ('lack')
riƙà = rinƙà (v1tr) 'keep on' (cf. **riƙè** v4tr 'hold')
sākè (v4tr) 'repeat, do again' ('change')
sāmù (v2tr) 'get/manage to do' ('get')
shā (v0tr) 'do often' ('drink')
shìga (v3intr) 'set about, begin' ('go in')
sōmà (dà) (v1tr) 'start, begin (with)'

sòmā (v2tr)	'initiate, introduce'
taɓà (v1tr)	'have ever done, will ever do' ('touch')
tàsā (v2tr) = **tāshì** (v3bintr)	'set about' (v2 = 'lift', v3b = 'get up')
tsayà (v1intr)	'persist in' ('stop, stand')
yi ta (v0tr)	'keep on' (= phrasal **yi** 'do' + prep. **ta** 'via')

Implicative aspectual verbs entail nonfinite VP complementation, taking either a verbal noun or infinitival phrase as object, and using the pre-noun d.o. C-form of the subcategorizing verb (if transitive). The null subject of the lower nonfinite clause is interpreted as being identical with the overt subject of the higher self-inducement AV clause, i.e. the embedded non-tensed complement is matrix subject-controlled, and the use of a nonfinite complement correlates with the strong semantic binding between the object complement and factive same-subject AV. Examples (with a variety of AV TAMs and nonfinite complement structures):

kā gamà [kařàntà littāfìn]?	(= AV + infinitive phrase)
2m.PF finish read book.DD(m)	
'have you finished reading the book?'	
bà sù fārà [kòyon Hausa] ba	(= AV + verbal noun phrase)
NEG 3pl.PF begin learn.VN.of Hausa NEG	
'they haven't started learning Hausa'	
zân sākè [bugôwā] gòbe	(= AV + verbal noun phrase)
FUT.1sg repeat phone.VN tomorrow	
'I'll phone again tomorrow'	
'yan-sàndā sun shìga [būɗè wutā]	'the police started to open fire'
nâ kumà [bugôwā] gòbe	'I'll probably phone again tomorrow'
kadà kà hanzàřtà [kammàlà aikìn nân]	'don't rush to finish this work'
sun sàmu [zuwà bìkī]	'they managed to come to the party'

sōjìn zā sù fārà [jânyêwā] dàgà ƙasâř
'the soldiers will begin withdrawing from the country'
anà̀ ta [nēmansà] 'he is being looked for'
(with **yi** of the durative phrasal AV **yi ta** dropped in the Imperfective)
munà̀ sô mù sākè [yi makà màganà̀]
= munà̀ sô mù sākè̀ [Ø makà màganà̀]
'we want to talk some more with you'
(with optional deletion of **yi** 'do' before the indirect object in the complement and adjacent pre-i.o. D-form **sākè̀** with a long final vowel)
zā mù riƙà [kòyon Hausa] à jāmi'àř
'we will continue to study Hausa at the university'
yā kōmà̀ [shân tābà̀] 'he's resumed smoking'
(with the intransitive AV **kōmà̀** occurring in its invariant A-form)
matsalōlī bà̀ zā sù taßà [ƙārè̀wā] ba 'the problems will never end'
yā shā [yîn àlkawàřī] 'he promised on many occasions'

It is also possible, depending on semantic compatibility, to stack a sequence of AVs, e.g. **in kā tàfi kudù, dājì̀ zâi [riƙà [ƙārà kaurī]]** 'if you go south, the bush (uncultivated area) will get thicker and thicker' (lit...will continue (to) increase thickness), **bà zā mù [ƙārà [cî gàba dà kařàntà wannàn littāfì̀]] ba** 'we won't continue reading this book any more'.

Some AVs are formed with the sociative preposition **dà** 'with', e.g. (phrasal) **ci gàba dà** 'continue, proceed with', **fārà̀ dà = sōmà̀ dà** 'start with/by', and so govern prepositional complements, e.g. **bàri mù fārà̀ dà [kařàntà bābì̀ na ukù]** 'let's start by/with reading chapter three'. Also included here with canonical AVs are the intransitive verbs **daɗè̀** 'spend a long time' and **jimà̀** 'spend some time'. These quasi-aspectual/temporal verbs are used to indicate a time-span and are subcategorized for nonfinite prepositional complements (also initiated by **dà** 'with'), e.g.

nā daɗè/jimà dà [**zuwà nân gàrī**]
1sg.PF spend some time with come.VN here town
'it's some time since I came to this town'
bàn daɗè dà [**tāshì**] **ba**
NEG.1sg.PF spend some time with get up.VN NEG
'I haven't been up for long'

On semantic grounds, it is also possible to group the aspectual-experiential verb **rìgā** (= **rigā** = **rìgāyà**) 'have already done sth.' with self-inducement AVs, though in this case the verb co-occurs paratactically with a following coordinate finite clause only and with a matching Perfective TAM, e.g. **sun rìgā** [**sun ga sābon watà**] 'they have already seen the new moon', **bài rìgā** [**yā sàmu aikìn**] **ba** 'he hasn't already got the job'.

*2.1.1. Aspectual verbs (+ **yîn**) + dynamic action nouns or abstract nouns*

Aspectual verbs can govern a nominalized complement consisting of **yîn** (= **yî** verbal noun of **yi** 'do' + **-n** linker) plus either a dynamic action noun, e.g. **aikì** 'working', **màganà** 'talking', or abstract noun, e.g. **sanyī** 'cold', **zāfī** 'heat'. Examples:

yàushē zā kì gamà [**yîn aikì**]?	'when will you stop working?'
kà bař [**yîn wàsā**]	'stop fooling around'
an dainà [**yîn sanyī**] **yànzu**	'the cold spell has stopped now'
(lit. 4pl.PF stop do.VN.of cold now, = weather-predicate)	
wannàn nāmàn yā fārà [**yîn wārī**]	'this meat has started to stink'
Audù yā cikà [**yîn tsawō**]	'Audu is extremely tall'

The nominalized pro-verb is commonly deleted in the nonfinite complement, however, resulting in an aspectual + dynamic or abstract noun surface configuration:

yàushē zā kì gamà [yîn aikì]? 'when will you stop working?'
→ **yàushē zā kì gamà** [Ø aikì]?
an dainà [yîn sanyī] **yànzu** 'the cold spell has stopped now'
→ **an dainà** [Ø sanyī] **yànzu**
ɗàlìbai sun fārà (yîn) **bǒřē** 'the students have started rebelling'
yâran nàn sun cikà (yîn) **sǔřūtù** 'these children chatter too much'
kāyan nàn sun fayè (yîn) **nauyī** 'these loads are too heavy'
zā sù shìga (yîn) **yājìn aikì** 'they will start to strike'
gwamnatìn Nàijēřiyà tā dainà (yîn) **àmfǎnī dà Dǒkā ta Biyu**
'the Nigerian government has stopped using Decree Number Two'
bishiyōyī sunà ƙārà (yîn) **tsawō à lōkàcin ruwā**
'trees increase in height at the time of rain'
an fārà (yîn) **kànkarā jiyà**
'it started snowing yesterday'

Although the two variants are basically synonymous, some speakers consider the predicates containing **yîn** 'doing' to be more specific (cf. English 'he is working' vs. 'he is doing work'). In addition to **yî**, other lower clause verbal elements from within the complement can be optionally omitted, leaving an empty position after the implicative AV. This is only possible, however, in highly constrained environments where the following object is a prototypical argument of the activity verbal element and represents activated information, e.g. **Audù yā ci gàba dà (fàɗař) lǎbāřìn** 'Audu continued (telling) the story' (Audu 3m.PF continue (tell.VN.of) story.DD(m)).

If the dynamic or abstract noun object is fronted, then the filler verbonominal **yî** (without the pre-object linker) usually appears in the verbal slot, e.g. **wànè aikì nē zâi sōmà yî**?—**aikìn gwamnatì nē zâi sōmà yî** 'what work is it he will start to do?—it's *government work* he'll start to do'. It is possible, however, for some subcategorizing AVs to be followed by a gap, e.g. **wannàn shī nè irìn**

wǎsân dà ya dainà yî = wannàn shī nè irìn wǎsân dà ya dainǎ Ø '*this* is the kind of sport he stopped (doing)'. Note too **zāgìnsà sukà yi ta yî** '(it was) *abusing* him they kept on doing' where the verbonominal object is preposed.

2.2. Manipulative (different-subject) verbs

Implicative manipulative verbs have different subjects and take either nonfinite (infinitival or nominalized) or full clausal complements. The complement TAM is often Subjunctive, but other (affirmative/negative) TAMs are possible, especially Perfective. Manipulative matrix verbs are free to occur in any TAM, and they group into two major semantic subtypes: causative (§2.2.1), and permissive and prohibitive (§2.2.2).

2.2.1. Causative constructions

Hausa causatives are periphrastic biclausal structures formed with the lexical causative verb **sâ** 'cause, make, get, etc.' (lit. 'put'), and some speakers use the cognate verb **sânyā** as an alternative. See Bagari (1977a, b) and especially Newman (2000: chap. 12) for details. Analytic causatives typically contain a cause-clause expressed by factive **sâ** followed by an implicative result-complement which can be either a tensed TAM clause, a nonfinite nominalized verb or infinitive, or a complement NP. The subject of the higher **sâ**-clause directly initiates the causal action as the controller, and the lower clause contains the argument which is both the controllee of the higher clause and agent-like controller of the action expressed in the complement clause. Controllers are usually human agents (or God), but can be inanimate instruments, e.g. natural forces, psychological states, illnesses. Examples (clausal and NP complements, see below for TAM selections and negation):

[àlƙālī ya sâ] [akà ɗaurè fuřsùnàn] 'the judge had the prisoner locked up'
judge 3m.FOC-PF cause 4pl.FOC-PF lock up prisoner.DD(m)

[nā sâ] [màtātā tà dafà wà bàƙī àbinci]
1sg.PF cause wife.of.1sg 3f.SJN cook IOM guests food
'I got my wife to cook some food for the guests'
[yā sâ ni] [zàzzàɓī]
3m.PF cause 1sg fever
'it gave (caused) me fever'

Subject-to-Object Raising is possible with manipulative **sâ**-causatives. If Raising takes place, the result-complement preserves its clausal structure. Examples (with literal translations):

nā sâ [yà shiryà àbinci] 'I caused that he prepare some food'
1sg.PF cause 3m.SJN prepare food
(where **yà** 'he' is the 3m subject-agreement pronoun followed by the complement verb)
optionally → (with Raising-to-Object):
nā sâ shi [yà shiryà àbinci] 'I caused him to prepare some food'
1sg.PF cause 3m 3m.SJN prepare food
(where **shi** 'him' is the direct object pronoun of the matrix causative verb **sâ**)
mālàmī yā sâ [sun yi aikì] 'the teacher caused that they did the work'
→ **mālàmī yā sâ su [sun yi aikì]** 'the teacher caused them to do the work'

Some speakers consider that the version with the raised object implies that the subject of the causative verb is exerting more direct control over the controllee and the result.

If the raised subject of the lower clause predicate is a noun, there is usually no overt structural difference. Thus, in a surface string such as **mālàmī yā sâ ɗàlìbai sun yi aikì** 'the teacher had the students do the work' there is no formal way of telling whether the noun **ɗàlìbai** 'the students' is the raised direct object of the higher verb **sâ**, i.e. [**mālàmī yā sâ ɗàlìbai**] [Ø **sun yi aikì**], or the non-

raised subject of the complement clause, i.e. [**mālàmī yā sâ**] [**ɗ̀ālìbai sun yi aikì**]. If the matrix causative verb **sâ** has an Imperfective TAM, however, then the application or not of raising is overt—cf. [**yanǎ̀ sâ yārònsà**] [**Ø yà wankè masà mōtǎ̀**] 'he gets his boy to wash the car for him' (with **yārònsà** 'his boy' raised to object of **sâ**), and (same meaning) [**yanǎ̀ sâwā**] [**yārònsà yà wankè masà mōtǎ̀**], where **sâwā** is the verbonominal form used with no following object.

The matrix causative verb can take any TAM, though it is often Perfective. The lower verb can either copy the higher TAM, including its general or focus TAM properties, if the result is realized, or be in the Subjunctive if the outcome is open to question. Examples (affirmative, see below for negatives):

yā sâ [**sun kāmè ɓàrāwòn**] (Pf...Pf.)
'he had them arrest the thief' (and they did)
Cf. **yā sâ** [**sù kāmè ɓàrāwòn**] (Pf...Sjn.)
'he had them arrest the thief' (and maybe they did)
sai sukà sâ [**kařnukànsù sukà biyō shì**] (Foc-Pf...Foc-Pf.)
'then they set their dogs on him' (and the dogs did follow him)
(lit...caused their dogs they followed him)
Cf. **sai sukà sâ** [**kařnukànsù sù biyō shì**] (Foc-Pf...Sjn.)
'then they set their dogs on him' (and maybe the dogs followed him)
gwamnatì tanǎ̀ sâ [**anǎ̀ ƙuntàtā masà**] (Impf...Impf.)
'the government is having him harassed' (and he is being harassed)
Cf. **gwamnatì tanǎ̀ sâ** [**à ƙuntàtā masà**] (Impf...Sjn.)
'the government is having him harassed' (and maybe he is being harassed)

If the higher verb occurs with other than a Perfective or Imperfective TAM, e.g. Future, Potential, Subjunctive, Imperative, or Habitual, the complement verb will take a Subjunctive TAM. Examples:

zâi sâ [à ɗaurè ka] (Fut...Sjn.) 'he will have you arrested'
yâ sâ [à ɗaurè ka] (Pot...Sjn.) 'he will probably have you arrested'
yanǎ dà ìkò yà sâ [à ɗaurè ka] (Sjn...Sjn.)
'he has the power to have you arrested'
sǎ ta [tà tàmbàyi mālàmintà]! (Imper...Sjn.)
'get her to ask her teacher!'
yakàn sâ [nà sassàbē masà gōnā] (Hab...Sjn.)
'he gets me to clear his farm for him'

Lower clause free TAMs are possible given an appropriate context, however, and are especially common following the complex interrogative and anaphoric focus phrases **mè ya sâ** 'why?' (lit. what 3m.FOC-PF cause) and **shī (nè) ya sâ** 'that's why' (3m (COP(m)) 3m.FOC-PF cause). As with the above examples, these Focus-Perfective TAM phrases require a focus TAM in the lower clause (if Perfective or Imperfective). Examples:

[mè ya sâ] [kakè yîn hakà]? 'why are you doing this?' (Foc-Impf.)
[mè ya sâ] [zā kà yi hakà]? 'why are you going to do this?' (Fut.)
[shī ya sâ] [ya sō yà sàki mǎtařsà]
'that's why he wanted to divorce his wife' (Foc-Pf.)
[shī ya sâ] [yakàn tāshì dà wuri] 'that's why he gets up early' (Hab.)
[rashìn mōtōcī nè ya sâ] [mutǎnē kè tàfiyǎ à ƙasà]
'it's the lack of cars that caused people to travel by foot' (Foc-Impf.)

A wide range of TAMs is also possible following the fixed formulaic expression **Allàh (yà) sâ** 'may God cause/grant' (God 3m.SJN cause):

[Allàh (yà) sâ] [zā kà ci jařřàbâwā]
'may God grant you pass the exam' (Fut.)

[**Allàh** (**yà**) **sâ**] [**kā ci jařřàbâwā**]
'may God grant you have passed the exam' (Pf.)

As an alternative to a finite clause with a verbal TAM, the cause predicate can contain a nonfinite nominalized or infinitival phrase, in which case the direct object of the higher causative verb is overt. Examples:

shī ya sâ (**ni**) [**na ji yunwà**] (Foc-Pf.) 'that's what made me feel hungry'
= **shī ya sâ ni** [**jîn yunwà**] (verbal noun phrase)
mālàmī yā sâ (**mu**) [**mù kařàntà wannàn**] (Sjn.)
= **mālàmī yā sâ mu** [**kařàntà wannàn**] (infinitival phrase)
'the teacher has got us to read this'
kadà kà sâ (**su**) [**sù yi aikìn dà ya fi ƙarfinsù**] (Sjn.)
= **kadà kà sâ su** [**yîn aikìn dà ya fi ƙarfinsù**] (verbal noun phrase)
'don't get them to do work which is too much for them'
bà sù iyà sù sâ dōkìn [**yà shā ruwā**] **ba** (Sjn.)
= **bà sù iyà sù sâ dōkìn** [**shân ruwā**] **ba** (verbal noun phrase)
'they couldn't get the horse to drink'

Constituents of either of the two clauses can be extracted and moved to the initial focus slot as (a) *wh*-expressions, (b) relative clause heads, (c) focus elements, or can occur as (d) leftmost topics. Examples:

(a) **wànè mālàmī ya sâ ɗàlìbai sukà bař ajìnsù**?
'which teacher had the students leave their class?'
wằnē nề zā kà sâ yà kwāshè kāyân?
'who will you get to clear away the stuff?'
(b) **ìnā wandà ya sâ ta ta mayař dà kuɗîn**?
'where is the one who got her to give back the money?'

ìnā yārinyàř dà ya sâ ta mayař dà kuɗîn?
'where is the girl he got to return the money?'

(c) **Audù nē zâi sâ su sù kammàlà aikìn**
'it's *Audu* who will get them to finish the work'
sū nè Audù zâi sâ sù kammàlà aikìn
'it's *they* that Audu will get to finish the work'

(d) **nī kùwa, nā sâ ta tā ɗàuki bàbban dìgìřî**
'as for me, I got her to take a PhD'
ita kùwa, nā sâ ta tā ɗàuki bàbban dìgìřî
'as for her, I got her to take a PhD'

In causative constructions either the higher and/or lower clause can be negated. If the higher clause TAM is negated, the final **ba** of the **bà(a)...ba** negative pairing is placed after the complement clause, bracketing any postverbal constituents. Examples:

bàn sâ su sun kōrè shi ba 'I didn't get them to chase him away'
bầ zā tà sâ 'yařtà tà tāshì dà wuri ba
'she won't get her daughter to get up early'
bầ nakàn sâ Mūsā yà shārè ōfis kullum ba
'I don't have Musa sweep the office every day'
Note too: **kadà kù sâ ta tà jē makařantā** 'don't make her go to school'
(with a negative-prohibitive Subjunctive TAM in the matrix)

Examples of negated complement clauses are:

cīwòn kâi nē ya sâ bàn ɗàuki jařřàbâwā ba
'it was a headache that caused me not to take the exam'
Allàh yā sâ bài mutù ba 'God willed that he didn't die'

If both clauses are negated, the second **ba** functions as the closing negative morpheme for both expressions, e.g. (with negative focus higher clauses):

bằ nī nề na sâ Hàlīmà bà tà shìga jāmi'ằ ba
'it wasn't *me* who got Halima not to enter university'
bằ mijìntà ya sâ bà tà kōmằ gidan iyằyentà ba
'it wasn't her *husband* who caused her not to go back to her parents' house'

Manipulative **sâ**-causatives can also take an affected direct object, typically personal but not necessarily controlling, followed by an object complement denoting a resulting attribute, and usually consisting of a dynamic action noun. Examples:

yā sâ [**ta**]$_{\text{d.o.}}$ [**fushī**]$_{\text{comp. obj.}}$	'he made her angry'
yakàn sâ Mūsā dằriyā	'he makes Musa laugh'
shī ya sâ ta tsằdā	'that's what made it expensive'
wằ ya sâ ki kūkā?	'who's made you cry?'
wannàn àbinci nề ya sâ ni cīwòn cikĩ	
'it's *this food* that caused me stomach-ache'	
yā sâ madařā tsāmī	'it made the milk sour'

The verb **aikằ** 'send' approximates causative **sâ** in its factive-like semantics, and takes a full clause complement. The transitive verb in the lower clause is often **kirā(wō)** 'summon, call'. Examples:

nā aikằ sun kirāwō tà	'I sent (them) to summon her'
1sg.PF send 3pl.PF call 3f	
zân aikằ à kirāwō tà	'I will send (them) to summon her'
FUT.1sg send 4pl.SJN call 3f	

sarkī yā aikà bàfādèn yà zō 'the emir sent for the courtier to come'
emir 3m.PF send courtier.DD(m) 3m.SJN come

The general verb **yi** 'do' is also functionally analogous, though it can control a different-subject TAM complement, and is used in future rhetorical questions which literally translate as 'how will X do X...?' or 'how will 4pl. do X...?', e.g. **yầyầ zân yi ìn san kà**? 'how on earth could I know you?' (how FUT.1sg do 1sg.SJN know 2m), **yầyầ zā à yi mùtûm yà shìga wannàn mōtà**? 'how can a person get into this car?' (how FUT 4pl do person 3m.SJN enter this car).

2.2.2. Permissive and prohibitive constructions

The canonical permissive verbs **barì** 'permit, allow, let' (lit. 'leave'), **ƙyālè** 'permit, allow, let' ('ignore'), and **yàřda** 'let' ('agree') take a different-subject finite clause as complement, usually with a Perfective or Subjunctive TAM. Parallel to causative constructions, Subject-to-Object Raising is possible but is only overt with pronouns, and with **barì** the non-object A-form converts to its pre-object form **bař**. Essentially the same TAM combinations occur as with causatives, and use of a Perfective TAM in the lower clause implies that the event is realized, whereas the Subjunctive leaves the realization indeterminate. Examples (with and without Raising):

yā bař [ɗàlìbai sù shigō ajì]
3m.PF permit students 3pl.SJN enter class
'he permitted the students to come into class'
nā bař tà [tā tàfi ùnguwā] = nā barì [tā tàfi ùnguwā] (Pf.)
'I allowed her to go visiting'
bà zân barì [yārònā yà sàyi mōtà] ba (Sjn.)
'I won't allow my son to buy a car'
(with matrix negation and closing negator **ba** in final position)

sun ƙyālè mu [mun kōmà] (Pf.) 'they permitted us to return'
kà ƙyālè su [sù ci gàba dà kàřàtū] (Sjn.) 'let them continue studying'
kadà kà yàřda [Audù yà yi makà wầyō] (Sjn.) 'don't let Audu fool you'
bài yàřda [tà tàfi à ƙasà] ba (Sjn.)
'he wouldn't allow her to go on foot'

Permissive **yàřda**—also a factive verb (§3.1.2)—allows a wider range of complement TAMs, and can also take a same-subject self-inducive complement, including nonfinite with a non-overt subject. Examples:

nā yàřda [zân biyā shì] (Fut. TAM) 'I agree to pay him'
bầ nâ yàřda [fîtā nī kaɗai] ba (verbal noun)
'I won't agree to go out by myself'

The basic prohibitive verb is **hanầ** 'prohibit, prevent, forbid', and it usually occurs with a direct object followed either by a nonfinite phrase or dynamic noun, or a full finite Subjunctive TAM clause (with Raising). Examples:

an hanà mutầnên [shìgā cōcìn] (verbal noun phrase)
= an hanà mutầnên [sù shìga cōcìn] (Sjn.)
'the people were prevented from entering the church'
yā hanầ su [cîn àbinci cikin ajì] (verbal noun phrase)
= yā hanầ su [sù ci àbinci cikin ajì] (Sjn.)
'he prohibited them from eating in class'
an hanà mātā [zubař dà cikì] (infinitive phrase)
= an hanà mātā [sù zubař dà cikì] (Sjn.)
'women have been forbidden to have abortions'
an hanầ shi [màganầ] (dynamic noun) 'he's been prevented from talking'
an hanà [shân tābầ nân] 'smoking is forbidden here'
(verbal noun phrase, generic with the first object omitted)

Some speakers allow the first object to be indirect, e.g. **yā hanà** [**matà**]$_{\text{i.o.}}$ **tàfiyà** = **yā hanà** [**ta**]$_{\text{d.o.}}$ **tàfiyà** 'he prevented her from travelling'.

3. Non-Implicative Verbs

Non-implicative verbs do not necessarily imply the successful realization of the verbal event expressed in the complement. In terms of their syntax and semantics, they are more heterogeneous than implicative verbs, and take a variety of complement structures.

3.1. Verbs of emotion, intention, attempt and command

Verbs of emotion, intention, attempt and command can be either self-inducement (same-subject interpretation), e.g. **iyà** 'can, be able', **nèmā** 'try, seek to', manipulative (different-subject), e.g. **ùmuřtà** 'command, order', **yàřda** 'agree', or either, e.g. **sō** 'want', (phrasal) **ji tsòrō** 'fear', **yi fātā** 'hope'. With the exception of manipulative COMMAND verbs which take only Subjunctive TAM complements (§3.1.3), verbs in these categories can take either a nominalized complement (= same-subject interpretation only), or a full clause with a modal Subjunctive TAM (= same- or different-subject complement), the subcategorization varying from verb to verb. Most of these complement-taking verbs are transitive, though some are intransitive or sociative.

3.1.1. Self-inducive verbs (with nonfinite and/or Subjunctive TAM complements)
Verbs in this subcategory include **ìsa** 'be up to, be enough' (lit. 'reach, suffice'), **iyà** 'can, be able', **kusa** 'be about to/close to/on the point of' ('get close to'), **nèmā** 'try, seek to' ('seek, look for'), **rasà** 'be unable to' ('lack'), and a number of these often performative verbs are semantically stative and so usually co-occur

with a Perfective TAM (with a present-time interpretation). There are also a number of common phrasal verbs, headed by **yi** 'do', which pattern with the above, e.g. **yi ƙòƙarī** 'try' ('make effort'), **yi niyyà** 'resolve, intend', **yi shāwarà** 'decide', **yi shirỳ** 'prepare, plan', and with a nonfinite complement the noun appears in the genitive form with the **-n/-r̃** linker. With most self-inducement verbs, the complements can either be nominalized or consist of a complete clause, usually with a Subjunctive TAM, in which case the subject-agreement pronoun is identical with the matrix verb pronoun. Examples:

zā tà iyà [hawan kèkē] 'she'll be able to ride a bike'
FUT 3f be able ride.VN.of bike
= zā tà iyà [tà hau kèkē]
FUT 3f be able 3f.SJN ride bike
(with pre-zero gr1 A-form **iyà** before the Sjn. clause)
tā ìsa [aurē] 'she's old enough to marry'
3f.PF be enough marry.VN
= tā ìsa [tà yi aurē]
3f.PF be enough 3f.SJN do marriage
yā yi ƙòƙarin [gamà̀wā dà wuri] 'he tried to finish early'
3m.PF do trying.of finish.VN early
(with **-n** linker before the nominalized complement)
= yā yi ƙòƙarī [yà gamà̀ dà wuri]
3m.PF do trying 3m.SJN finish early
nā kusa [ìn gamà aikìn] = nā kusa [gamà aikìn]
'I'm close to finishing the work'
zâi nèmi [yà ga sarkī] = zâi nèmi [ganin sarkī] 'he'll try to see the emir'
(with pre-d.o. noun C-form of grade 2 **nèmi** before both complement-types)
yanà̀ jîn kunyàr̃ [yà tàmbàyē nì] = yanà̀ jîn kunyàr̃ [tàmbayà̀tā]
'he was embarrassed to ask me'

The sociative verbs **dằmu dà** 'be bothered to do sth.', **ràbu dà** 'not do sth. for some time' (lit. 'separate with'), and **sābằ dà** 'be used to' can also take clausal or nonfinite complements. Examples:

bàn dằmu dà [**nà sằdu dà ita**] **ba** = **bàn dằmu dà** [**sằduwā dà ita**] **ba**
'I'm not bothered about meeting her'
sun ràbu dà [**sù jē Kanỏ**] = **sun ràbu dà** [**zuwằ Kanỏ**]
'they haven't been to Kano for some time'
jàma'ằ sun sābằ dà [**sù sàyi mân fētùř à kằsuwař ɓỏye**]
= **jàma'ằ sun sābằ dà** [**sàyen mân fētùř à kằsuwař ɓỏye**]
'people have become used to buying petrol on the black market'

Before nonfinite complements, and optionally with clausal TAM complements, **yi**-headed phrasal verbs add the genitive linker, **-n** if the phrase-final noun is masculine, **-ř** if it is feminine, and the verbal noun **yîn** is usually omitted in the Imperfective. Some phrasal verbs can take a clausal complement with a Future TAM as an alternative to the Subjunctive. Examples:

(Fut.) **yanằ shirǐ** [**zâi tāshì gỏbe**] = (Sjn.) **yanằ shirǐ** [**yà tāshì gỏbe**]
= (nominalized) **yanằ shirìn** [**tāshǐ gỏbe**]
'he is planning to leave tomorrow'
(Fut.) **nā yi niyyằ** [**zân tàfi yâu**] = (Sjn.) **nā yi niyyằ** [**nà tàfi yâu**]
= (nominalized) **nā yi niyyằř** [**tàfiyằ yâu**]
'I intended to go today'

Some matrix phrasal verbs are subcategorized for a nonfinite complement in preference to a Subjunctive TAM, e.g. **yā yi fằfùtukař** [**nēman sābon matsayī**] 'he did his utmost to get a new position'.

Negative ability (mainly gr1) verbs such as **gazà** 'be unable to, fall short of' and **kāsà** 'be unable to, fail to do sth.' take same-subject nonfinite complements with non-overt subjects, e.g. **yā gazà [gamà aikìn]** 'he was unable to finish the work' (with a finite aspectual verb in the infinitival phrase). Note too **Bàlā yā kāsà [zàune] yā kāsà [tsàye]** 'Bala didn't know what to do' (Bala 3m.PF be unable sit.STAT 3m.PF be unable stand.STAT), where the complements in both conjoins consist of adverbial statives.

3.1.2. Self-inducive or manipulative verbs (with nonfinite and/or Subjunctive or Future TAM complements)

In this mixed category, the choice of complement structure—nonfinite and/or TAM clausal—varies according to the verb of emotion, intention, etc., and a number of verbs subcategorize for a Future TAM in the complement as an alternative to the Subjunctive. Self-inducive same-subject verbs allow either a nonfinite or clausal complement, and manipulative different-subject verbs require a clausal complement. Common matrix verbs include **fi sô** 'prefer' (lit. 'exceed wanting'), **ƙi** 'refuse', **sō** 'want, wish', and **yàřda** 'agree', and stative performative **fi sô** and **yàřda** usually occur with a Perfective TAM. Examples:

Self-inducive (same-subject):

(Sjn. TAM complement) **bà tà yàřda [tà fìta dà dare ita kaɗai] ba**

= (less common nominalized with non-overt subject)

bà tà yàřda [fìtā dà dare ita kaɗai] ba

'she doesn't agree to go out at night by herself'

(with 3rd person subject pronouns a different-subject reading is possible, i.e. she$_i$ doesn't want she$_j$ go out...)

(Sjn.) **nā yàřda [nà biyā shì]** = (Fut.) **nā yàřda [zân biyā shì]**

'I've agreed to pay him'

(Sjn.) **inà sô(n)** [**nà kōmà gidā**] = (Fut.) **inà sô(n)** [**zân kōmà gidā**]
(where the linker **-n** is optional before a clause object)
= (nominalized) **inà sôn** [**kōmàwā gidā**]
'I want to return home'
(Sjn.) **nā fi sô(n)** [**nà zaunà nân**] = (nominalized) **nā fi sôn** [**zaunàwā nân**]
'I prefer to stay here'
(Sjn.) **yā ƙi** [**yà gayà minì**] = (infinitival) **yā ƙi** [**gayà minì**]
'he refused to tell me'

Manipulative (different-subject, Sjn. TAM complement only):

bā yà sô [**tà yi aurē**] 'he doesn't want her to marry'
nā yàřda [**kì jē Amìřkà**] 'I agree that you go to the U.S.A.'
nā ƙi [**màtātā tà jē jāmi'à**] 'I refused for my wife to go to university'

Also included here are the phrasal verbs **yi fātā** 'hope' and **ji** (= **yi**) **tsòrō** 'fear'. These matrix verbs pattern semantically with emotive verbs, but allow a wider choice of TAMs in their complement. Examples (the nominalized pro-verb **yîn** is usually omitted with a matrix Imperfective TAM):

(Sjn. TAM complement) **inà fāta(n)** [**nà gan shì**]
= (Fut.) **inà fāta(n)** [**zân gan shì**] = (nominalized) **inà fātan** [**ganinsà**]
'I hope to see him'
(Impf.) **inà fātā** [**kanà nan lāfiyà lau**] 'I hope you're well'
(Pf.) **inà fātā** [**sun isō lāfiyà**] 'I hope they've arrived safely'
(Neg. Fut.) **yanà fātā** [**bà zā kà dàmu ba**] 'he hopes you won't mind'
(Sjn.) **tanà tsòro(n)** [**tà fìta dà dare ita kaɗai**]
= (nominalized) **tanà tsòron** [**fìtā dà dare ita kaɗai**]
'she's afraid to go out alone at night'
(Pf.) **inà tsòron** [**wani haɗàřī yā fàru**]
'I'm afraid an accident has happened'

If the complement clause of the matrix verb **ji tsòrō** 'fear' is negated, the negative-prohibitive marker **kadà** (+ Subjunctive) is optionally used, e.g. **nā ji tsòrō [(kadà) ìn fāɗì jařřàbâwā]** 'I was afraid (lest) I would fail the exam', and the complement has the same interpretation.

Other common phrasal verbs in this category include **yi allà-allà** 'be eager', **yi ɗòkī** 'be eager, keen' (also **ɗòkantà**), **sâ râi** 'expect, hope, anticipate'. Examples:

(Sjn.) **munà allà-allà [mù hàɗu dà bàƙîn]** 'we are eager to meet the guests'
(Sjn.) **yanà allà-allà [yārinyàřsà tà dāwō]**
'he was dying for his girlfriend to return'
(nominalized) **inà allà-allàř [tàfiyà gidā]** 'I'm anxious to go home'
(Sjn.) **inà ɗòkin [rānâř tà zō]** 'I'm eager for the day to arrive'
(Fut.) **yanà ɗòkin [zâi sàyi mōtàř]** 'he's keen to buy the car'
(Sjn.) **bài ɗòkantà ba [à bā shì aikìn]**
'he wasn't eager to be given the work'
(nominalized) **inà sâ rân [sāmùn wàsīƙà dàgà gidā]**
'I'm expecting to get a letter from home'
(Sjn.) **munà sâ râi [mù gan kà]** = (Fut.) **munà sâ râi [zā mù gan kà]**
'we hope to see you'

Note too the phrasal emotive verbs **yi baƙin cikì** 'be sad', **yi farin cikì** 'be happy', **ji dāɗī** 'enjoy, be happy', which allow a range of complement structures, e.g. **zân yi farin cikì [dà ganinkà]** 'I'll be happy to see you' (= prepositional verbal noun phrase), **bàn ji dāɗī [(dà) tā ji ràunī] ba** 'I wasn't happy she'd been injured' (= Perfective TAM following the optional complementizer **dà**).

3.1.3. Manipulative COMMAND verbs (Subjunctive TAM complements only)

Complement-taking COMMAND verbs, some of which take indirect objects, include: **gàřgaɗà** 'warn, admonish', **matsà wà** 'press, put pressure on', **tīlàstā**

wà 'force', **tsanàntā wà = tsāwàtā wà** 'urge, pressure, force', **ùmuřtà** 'order', all of which subcategorize for a Subjunctive TAM complement. Examples:

yā tīlàstā minì [ìn kammàlà aikìn]
3m.PF force IOM.1sg 1sg.SJN finish work.DD(m)
'he forced me to finish the work'
nā ùmùřcē shì [yà yi shirū] 'I ordered him to be silent'
1sg.PF order 3m 3m.SJN do silence
zân gàřgàďē shì [dà yà barì] 'I will warn him to stop'
(with the overt complementizer **dà** (see also below))
an matsà wà ďālìbîn [yà gamà aikìn]
'the student was pressured to finish the work'
zân tsanàntā wà yârân [sù dainà yîn hakà]
'I'll force the children to stop doing this'

3.2. Mental verbs (of cognition and perception)

Mental verbs, both factive and non-factive, include: **ďaukà** 'assume' (lit. 'take'), **ji** 'think, believe' (also 'hear'), **kìntātà** 'guess', **mântā (dà) = mâncē (dà)** 'forget', **sanì** 'know', **tunà (dà)** 'remember', and **yàřda** 'agree'. Some common mental verbs are phrasal (**yi** 'do' + abstract noun), e.g. **yi shakkà = yi kòkwantō** 'doubt, suspect', **yi tsàmmānì = yi zàtō** 'think'. Complements of matrix mental verbs are often finite TAM clauses with same or different subjects, and both the matrix and complement can occur with a variety of affirmative and negative TAMs, though stative mental verbs often occur with a Perfective TAM. The lower clause usually corresponds to a 'that'-clause in English and can, depending on the higher mental verb, be overtly marked by a complementizer (comp)—either assertive **cêwā** '(saying) that' (the weak verbal noun of the communicative verb **cê** 'say'), or the less committal reportative particle **wai** 'that, allegedly'. Examples:

[**nā san**]$_{mat}$ [(**cêwā**)$_{comp}$ [**yârā zā sù zō**]]$_{comp\ clause}$
1sg.PF know (comp) children FUT 3pl come
'I know (that) the children will come'
[**nā yi zàtō**]$_{mat}$ [(**wai**)$_{comp}$ [**zā kà sàyi mōtà**]]$_{comp\ clause}$
1sg.PF do thinking (comp) FUT 2m buy car
'I thought (that) you were going to buy a car'
[**mun ɗaukà**]$_{mat}$ [(**cêwā**)$_{comp}$ [**kā yàřda**]]$_{comp\ clause}$
1pl.PF assume (comp) 2m.PF agree
'we assume (that) you agree'
kadà kì mântā [**kì gayà masà**] (= Sjn. TAM complement)
'don't forget to tell him'
kā tunà [**zâi zō yâu**]? (Fut.)
'do you remember he's coming today?'
inà jî [**bà zā tà zō ba**] (Neg. Fut.) 'I believe she won't come'
nā yàřda [**kin yi ƙôƙarī sôsai**] (Pf.) 'I agree you've tried hard'
inà shakkàř [**kadà sū mā sù yi hakà**] (= prohibitive **kadà** + Sjn.)
'I'm afraid (in doubt) lest they too do this'
nā kìntâci [**zuwànsà gòbe**] (= verbal noun)
'I guess he'll come tomorrow'

The cognitive verb **sanì** 'know' allows Raising of the sentential complement subject (noun or pronoun) to matrix object, e.g. **kā** <u>**sanì**</u> [**Kànde/ita yārinyà cē mài kunyà**] 'you know (that) Kande/she is a modest girl' (with the non-object A-form **sanì**) → (with Raising-to-Object) **kā** <u>**san Kànde**</u>/<u>**tà**</u> [**yārinyà cē mài kunyà**] 'you know Kande/her to be a modest girl' (with the pre-object B/C-form **san**).

Common mental verbs of perception/discovery include: **dūbà** (also **dùbā**) 'look at', **gānè** 'discover', **ganī** 'see', **gānō** 'discover, understand, find' (all cognate), **hàngā** (also **hangō**) 'see, espy', **iskè** (also **îskē**) 'find', **ji** 'hear', **sāmù**

'find', **tarař (dà)** 'find, come upon'. As with mental verbs of cognition, perception verbs can, and often do, take tensed complement clauses, and allow Raising-to-Object. Examples:

[yā ga] [fuřsunōnī sun tsērè] 'he saw the prisoners had escaped'
3m.PF see prisoners 3pl.PF escape (with pre-object C-form **ga**)
[nā ji] [(wai) [mutânē dà yawâ sunâ zuwâ]]
1sg.PF hear (that) people many 3pl.IMPF come.VN
'I heard (that) many people are coming'
[sai sukà îskē] [mutânē sunâ barcī] 'then they found the people sleeping'
then 3pl.FOC-PF find people 3pl.IMPF sleeping
sai ya <u>tarař</u> [tā bař masà àbinci]
then 3m.FOC-PF find 3f.PF leave IOM.3m food
'then he found she had left the food for him'
sai ta <u>sāmǔ</u> [yanâ jiràntà] (= non-object A-form **sāmǔ**)
'then she found he was waiting for her'
→ (with Raising) **sai ta <u>sǎmē shì</u> [yanâ jiràntà]**
'then she found him waiting for her' (= pre-pronoun object B-form **sǎmē**)

Note also **sai ya hangō wani mùtûm** [Ø **ɗàuke dà kāyansà**] 'then he saw a man carrying his possessions', where the complement consists of a small clause stative phrase with the Imperfective TAM **yanâ** ellipted.

*3.3. Complement-taking verbs with overt complementizers (**dà** and/or **cêwā**)*

Some root verbs, including phrasal verbs, can use the relativizer **dà** 'that' as an overt complementizer, often corresponding to either 'to'-infinitives or 'that'-clauses in English. The **dà** can occur as an alternative to, or together with, the complementizer **cêwā** '(saying) that'. Examples:

[nā yi màmākì] [[**dà**]$_{comp}$ **[bài zō ba]]**
'I'm surprised that he hasn't come'
an matsà masà [dà yà kàrβi aikìn]
'he was pressured to take the job'
sarkī zâi yi kirà gà mutânensà [dà sù bā dà gudùmmawā]
'the emir will call on his people to make a contribution'
mun yařdà matà [dà tà shìga jāmi'à]
'we agreed that she should enter university'
zân gàřgàďē shì [dà yà barì] 'I will warn him to stop'
nā gōdè mikì [dà kikà zō] 'I thank you for coming'
(with Focus-Perfective TAM following the **dà** comp.)
an amìncē wà Mūsā [dà (cêwā) = cêwā yà zama dářaktà]
'it was agreed that Musa should become director'
an ùmùřcē shì [dà (cêwā) = cêwā yà zō] 'he's been ordered to come'
(where **dà** and **cêwā** can combine to double fill the comp. slot)

Some verbs allow a non-tensed verbonominal phrase with a non-overt subject as an alternative to a sentential TAM complement, e.g. (Foc-Pf.) **nā yi muřnà dà [kikà zō]** = (nominalized) **nā yi muřnà dà [zuwànkì]** 'I'm happy that you've come'. Note too the infinitival phrase in **an zàrgi gidan cîn àbinci na Denny's dà [nūnà wāriyař launìn fātà]** 'Denny's restaurant has been accused of [racial discrimination]' (lit...show separation.of colour.of skin).

4. Matrix Phrase = (Modal) Complement-Taking Expression

This mainly biclausal complementation type consists of a matrix complement-taking expression (CTE) followed by a subject complement, usually expressed as a propositional Subjunctive TAM clause. The CTE is essentially modal,

expressing obligation, volition, responsibility, potentiality, etc., and typically corresponds to adjectival English clauses such as 'it is (not) good, better, appropriate, necessary, possible, etc. that...' (often more naturally rendered with modal auxiliaries like 'should, ought to, must, etc.' but glossed more literally for present purposes). As with some factual etc. matrix verbs (§3), the complement clause can be introduced by an overt complementizer, i.e. **cêwā** '(saying) that', **dà** 'that', or **wai** 'that, allegedly'. There are six structurally distinct types of modal CTE, five of which are formed with an empty propositional 3m preverbal pronoun 'it' filling the clause subject position (Yalwa 1995).

4.1. CTE = intransitive verb

Intransitive-based matrix CTEs are usually formed with a tensed gr3 (or gr4/7) verb with a semantically empty expletive 3m pronoun. Because verbal complementizing expressions are essentially stative, the TAM, if affirmative, is usually Perfective (see §4.7 for corresponding negatives). Examples:

[yā kyàutu]$_{CTE}$ **[kà dāwō gồbe]** 'it's better you return tomorrow'
3m.PF be good 2m.SJN return tomorrow
[yā kàmātà]$_{CTE}$ **[mutânen nàn sù gyārà halinsù]**
3m.PF be appropriate men these 3pl.SJN repair behaviour.of.3pl
'it is appropriate/fitting these men improve their behaviour'

The controlling subject of the lower Subjunctive TAM sentential complement can appear in the root CTE clause as the object of a prepositional phrase headed by **gà** 'for' (= **gàrē** before a personal pronoun). This is an optional feature of all complementizing expression types. Examples:

[yā wàjabtà gà Mùsùlmī] dà yà yi sallà kullum
'it is incumbent on a Muslim to pray every day'

[**yā hàřamtà gàrē mù**] **dà mù shā giyà** 'it is unlawful for us to drink alcohol'

Other common intransitive CTEs include: **yā càncantà**... 'it is deserving/fitting...', **yā hàlattà**... 'it is lawful...', and **yā dācè (dà)**... 'it is suitable/fitting...', e.g. **yā dācè dà sukà zō** 'it is fitting that they came' (with a Focus-Perfective TAM in the tensed complement clause). For some speakers, the potential event-indicating gr7 verb **yìwu** 'be possible' (< **yi** 'do') freely selects several near-synonymous TAMs as a null-subject CTE, and its complement TAMs are similarly unrestricted. **Yìwu** is idiosyncratic in allowing a nonreferential 3rd person *feminine* filler pronoun in the complementizing expression (with Perfective and Potential TAMs). Examples:

[**yā**]$_{3m.PF}$ = [**tā**]$_{3f.PF}$ **yìwu sun rìgā sun zō**
'it's possible they have already come'
(Some speakers prefer a copy Perfective TAM in the complement following a CTE Perfective.)

[**yâ**]$_{3m.POT}$ = [**tâ**]$_{3f.POT}$ **yìwu sù zō**	'it is possible they might come'
[**zâi**]$_{FUT.3m}$ **yìwu sun gamà**	'it's possible they've finished'
[**yanà**]$_{3m.IMPF}$ **yìwuwā zā sù zō**	'it's possible they will come'

*4.2. CTE = phrasal verb (**yi/fi** + qualitative noun)*

This CTE category consists of the general verb **yi** 'do' or comparative verb **fi** 'exceed' followed by an abstract qualitative noun, and **fi** can also take a verbal noun. The CTE typically appears as Perfective or Future (with a 3m filler pronoun), and the complement verb is a propositional Subjunctive. Some of these CTEs are equivalent to Type 3 HAVE CTEs (§4.3), and in terms of surface structure are structurally comparable to English clauses with an expletive subject pronoun 'it' (see also §5 for discussion of the rule of Extraposition). Examples:

[zâi yi kyâu gà ɗàlìbân]$_{CTE}$ **[sù ɗàuki jaɾ̃ɾàbâwā]**
FUT.3m do good for students.DD(pl) 3pl.SJN take exam
'it will be good for the students to take the exam'
[yā fi saukī]$_{CTE}$ **[à sàmu aikì à kàsuwā]**
3m.PF exceed easiness 4pl.SJN get work in market
'it's easier to get work in the market'

Note too: **yā yi daidai**... 'it is right...', **yā yi wùyā**... 'it is difficult...', **yā fi dācèwā**... 'it is more appropriate...', and **yā fi kyâu**... 'it is better...'.

4.3. CTE = HAVE ('be with') + qualitative noun

This biclausal type is a possessive construction made up of a 3m Imperfective propositional pronoun **yanà** + prep. **dà** 'with' + qualitative noun. (See §5 for corresponding extraposed variants.) Examples:

[yanà dà wùyā]$_{CTE}$ **[à sàmu bīzà]**? 'is it difficult to get a visa?'
3m.IMPF with difficulty 4pl.SJN get visa
[yanà dà muhimmancì]$_{CTE}$ **[(dà) nà kòmà gidā]**
3m.IMPF with importance (comp) 1sg.SJN return home
'it is important (that) I return home'

Note too: **yanà dà àmfànī** 'it is useful...', **yanà dà ban-shà'awà**... 'it is interesting...', **yanà dà kyâu**... 'it is good...', **yanà dà saukī**... 'it is easy...', and **yanà dà wàhalà**... 'it is difficult...'.

4.4. CTE = transitive verb phrase

This type consists of a transitive verb (any TAM) with an overt direct (sometimes indirect) object. Examples:

[yanà̀ bā nì haushī]$_{CTE}$ **[yārò̀nā yà dingà yîn cāca]**
3m.IMPF give 1sg anger boy.of.1sg 3m.SJN continue do.VN.of gambling
'it angers me that my son keeps on gambling'

The Subjunctive TAM complement clause subject can be identical with the object of the higher verb:

[zâi gà̀gārē nì]$_{CTE}$ **[nà yi lìssāfîn nân]**
FUT.3m be impossible for 1sg 1sg.SJN do calculation this
'it will be impossible for me to do this calculation'

Note also: **yā baƙàntā wà** X **râi**... 'it saddened X...' (lit. 3m.PF blacken IOM X mind...), **zâi faràntā wà** X **râi**... 'it will gladden X...' (FUT.3m whiten IOM X mind...), **yanà̀ bā (wà)** X **mà̀mākì̀**... 'it surprises X...' (3m.IMPF give (IOM) X surprise...), and **yā tāyař wà dà** X **hankàlī**... 'it upset X...' (3m.PF raise IOM X sense...). The complement TAM can be other than the Subjunctive, e.g. (Neg. Pf.) **nā yi mà̀mākì̀ [dà <u>bà kà</u> ci jařřàbâwā <u>ba</u>]** 'it surprised me that you didn't pass the exam'.

Some Type 1 CTE intransitive gr3 verbs can appear as transitive gr2 verbs governing a direct object:

(gr2) **yā <u>càncànci</u> Audù (dà) yà ci kyàutā**
= (gr3) **yā <u>càncantà</u> (dà) Audù yà ci kyàutā**
'it is deserving that Audu win a prize'
(gr2) **yā <u>kàmà̀cē</u> tà (dà) tà jē makařantā**
= (gr3) **yā <u>kàmātà</u> tà jē makařantā**
'it is appropriate that she go to school'

4.5. CTE = identificational

This identificational (equational) type consists of a clause-initial predicate nominal functioning as a modal subordinator, plus a masculine copula **nē/nè**, and followed typically by a sentential Subjunctive TAM complement. Examples:

[tīlàs nē gà Mūsā]$_{CTE}$ **[yà zō yà gamà aikìn]**
necessity COP(m) for Musa 3m.SJN come 3m.SJN finish work.DD(m)
'it is necessary for Musa to come and finish the work'
[hàřāmùn/hàřâm nē]$_{CTE}$ **[mù ci nāmàn àladè]**
unlawful act COP(m) 1pl.SJN eat meat.of pig
'it is unlawful for us to eat pork'
[shìřmē nè]$_{CTE}$ **[mù ci bāshìn nân]**
nonsense COP(m) 1pl.SJN eat debt this
'it's nonsense for us to take on this debt'

Other common Type 5 complementizing expressions are: **dōlè nē**... 'it is necessary...', **hàlâk/hàlâl nē**... 'it is lawful...', **lâifī nè**... 'it is a sin/crime...', **mawùyǎcī nè**... 'it is difficult...', **tabbàs nē**... 'it is certain...', **wājìbī nè**... 'it is incumbent...', and **wâutā nè**... 'it is folly...'. The predicate NP can be a [noun-of noun] genitival structure, often headed by **àbin** 'thing of' or **rashìn** 'lack of', e.g. **àbin àlfahàřī nè**... 'it is a thing of pride...' (lit. thing.of pride it is...), **àbin kunyǎ nē**... 'it is shameful...' (thing.of shame it is...), **àbin mǎmākì nē**... 'it is surprising...' (thing.of surprise it is...), **rashìn kunyǎ nē**... 'it is shameless...' (lack.of shame it is...), **rashìn tùnǎnī nè**... 'it is thoughtless...' (lack.of thinking it is...). Note too **mài yìwuwā nè**... 'it is possible...' (= **mài** 'doer/possessor' + verbal noun).

4.6. CTE = HAPPEN verb

The two principal HAPPEN verbs which function as CTEs with expletive filler pronouns are **kasàncē** 'happen' and **zama** (= **zàmanà** and **zamantō**) (all also = 'be(come), turn out'). Examples:

[yā kasàncē]$_{CTE}$ **[bâ ni dà kuɗī yànzu]**
3m.PF happen NEG 1sg with money now
'it happens I don't have any money at the moment'
mài-gādìn dà [ya kasàncē]$_{CTE}$ **[yanà sātà]**
night-watchman.DD(m) REL 3m.FOC-PF happen 3m.IMPF steal.VN
'the night-watchman who happened to be stealing'
[yā zama/zamantō]$_{CTE}$ **[munà gidā lōkàcîn dà sukà dāwō]**
3m.PF happen 1pl.IMPF home when 3pl.FOC-PF return
'it happened we were at home when they got back'

4.7. CTE negation and yes-no questions

If the modal CTE contains an empty 3m Imperfective TAM **yanà** (= Type 3), then the corresponding negative possessive construction uses the single negator **bâ** plus a 3m object pronoun, e.g. **[bâ shi dà àmfànī]**$_{CTE}$ **mù bañ aikìn nân yànzu** 'it's of no use for us to stop this work now'—cf. affirmative **[yanà dà àmfànī]**$_{CTE}$ **mù fārà aikìn nân yànzu** 'it's useful for us to start this work now'. Negative CTE constructions requiring two **bà(a)...ba** markers allow two positional options for the second **ba**. It is placed either directly after the subordinating root CTE but before the complement (and usually any copula), or it occurs at the end of the entire sentence after the complement. Examples:

bài kàmātà ba [Mammàn yà bař aikìnsà]
= bài kàmātà [Mammàn yà bař aikìnsà] ba
'it is not proper that Mamman give up his job'
bầ àbin kunyầ ba nề [mùtûm yà yi màganầ dà sùrùkansà]
= bầ àbin kunyầ nē [mùtûm yà yi màganầ dà sùrùkansà] ba
'it is not shameful for a man to speak to his in-laws'
bầ tabbàs ba nề [sù zō] 'it's not certain they'll come'
= bầ tabbàs nē [sù zō] ba

Yes-no questions can be introduced by an S-initial interrogative particle **kō**, e.g. **kō yâ yìwu kà dāwō gòbe**? 'would it possible for you to return tomorrow?', **kō yā fi kyâu nà tàfi yànzu**? 'is it better that I go now?' (see §6.2). It is also possible to place the **kō** question particle at the beginning of the object complement, i.e. in the comp. slot, e.g. **yā càncantà kō yà sầmu ƙārìn girmā**? 'is it deserving that he get promotion?', **yanầ dà wùyā kō ɗālìbī yà sầmu bàbban dìgìřî à nân**? 'is it difficult for a student to get a PhD here?'.

4.8. Extraction from within the complement clause

Complement constituents of both matrix factual etc. verbs and CTEs can be extracted and preposed to the S-initial focus slot as *wh*-expressions and foci, with an adjacent focus TAM if Perfective or Imperfective, or can be topicalized in preclausal position. Examples:

Wh-questions
wầnē nề ka cề yā ràsu? 'who did you say had died?'
who(m) 2m.FOC-PF say 3m.PF die
wàcè yārinyầ kakề sô kà àurā?
which(f) girl 2m.FOC-IMPF want.VN 2m.SJN marry
'which girl do you want to marry?'

wànnē ya fi kyâu nà ɗaukầ?
which one(m) 3m.FOC-PF exceed good 1sg.SJN take
'which one is it better I take?'
dà mề ya kàmātà tà zō?
with what 3m.FOC-PF be appropriate 3f.SJN come
'with what is it appropriate for her to come?'

Focus
Mūsā nề zā sù amìncē wà dà yà zama dầřaktầ
Musa COP(m) FUT 3pl agree IOM COMP 3m.SJN become director
'it's *Musa* they will agree should become director'
nī nề sukà ùmuřtầ ìn yi aikìn
1sg COP(m) 3pl.FOC-PF order 1sg.SJN do work.DD(m)
'it's *me* they've ordered to do the work'
ita cề ya dācề dà tà yi aurē
3f COP(f) 3m.FOC-PF be fitting COMP 3f.SJN do marriage
'it's *her* it is fitting that she get married'
gà Audù nē yakè dà wùyā mù bā dà shāwařầ
to Audu COP(m) 3m.FOC-IMPF with difficulty 1pl.SJN give advice
'it's to *Audu* it is difficult for us to give advice'
Note too: **[cêwař Bàlā yà řubǔtà littāfìn nân nē] ya kyàutu (yà yi)**
COMP Bala 3m.SJN write book this COP(m) 3m.FOC-PF be good (3m.SJN do)
'that Bala should write this book is good (he do)'
where the entire complement clause is focus-fronted with an overt comp. (plus **-ř** linker), and with the option of following the complementizing expression with a dummy complement consisting of an expletive Subjunctive pronoun + filler verb **yi** 'do'.

Topicalization

Mustàphā kàm, ai yā kyàutu yà sầmu ƙārìn girmā

Mustapha as for well 3m.PF be good 3m.SJN get increase.of prestige

'as for Mustapha, well it is appropriate he gets promotion'

wannàn ɗālìbī kùwa, nā ɗaukầ yā ci jařřàbâwā

this student as for 1sg.PF take 3m.PF pass exam

'as for this student, I assume he's passed the exam'

wannàn aikì dai, dōlè nē kì kammàlā shi

this work as for necessity COP(m) 2f.SJN finish 3m

'as for this work, it's necessary you finish it'

Note too: **wai yà zama sarkī, ai (wannàn/hakàn) yâ yìwu**

COMP 3m.SJN become emir well (this/thus.DD(m)) 3m.POT be possible

'that he should become emir, well this is possible'

(This final example illustrates topicalization of the full complement clause with the possibility of using a demonstrative pro-form **wannàn** 'this' or **hakàn** 'thus, this' as a coreferential overt subject in the matrix clause.)

4.9. Extraction from within the matrix clause

Root CTEs also allow focussing and topicalization of their constituents, e.g. the **gà**-headed prepositional phrases in:

gà Mùsùlmī nề ya wàjabtà yà yi sallầ kullum

to Muslim COP(m) 3m.FOC-PF be incumbent 3m.SJN do prayer always

'it's a *Muslim* it is incumbent on to pray every day'

gà àbōkīnā, yanầ dà muhimmancì yà tāshì yâu

for friend.of.1sg 3m.IMPF with importance 3m.SJN leave today

'for my friend, it's important he leave today'

Stylistic fronting of some higher verbs (without a copula) is possible, in which case they then appear in nominalized form as objects, with the pro-verb **yi** 'do', in the base position, e.g. **dācèwā ya yi kà yi aurē** 'you *ought to* get married' (lit. be appropriate.VN 3m.FOC-PF do...), **kàmātà ya yi kù yi ƙòƙarī wajen kàřàtū** 'you *should* make a real effort with your studies' (be fitting.VN 3m.FOC-PF do...). The entire matrix clause can also be focussed by means of a pseudo-cleft **àbîn dà**... 'what' (relative) construction (lit. the thing that...), usually linked to the lower complement TAM clause by the copular phrase **shī nè**... 'it is...'. Examples:

àbîn dà ya fi kyâu shī nè mù jēfà ƙùři'à 'what is best is for us is to vote'
àbîn dà Bìlki ya kyàutu tà yi shī nè tà ràbu dà shī
'what is good for Bilki is that she should leave him'
(where the subject ('Bilki') of the complement clause has been leftshifted to a position after the nominal relative phrase **àbîn dà**, and where the dummy pronoun before the CTE verb **kyàutu** is the nonreferential 3m **ya**.)

5. Extraposition and "Tough Movement"

In extraposed constructions of the type 'it is difficult/tough/easy to learn Hausa' a postponed (extraposed) subject verbonominal or infinitival phrase is replaced by an expletive 3m 'it' pronoun in the subject position, typically with an Imperfective HAVE predicate. The resulting biclausal structure is: Imperfective subject pronoun (affirmative or negative) + **dà** 'with' + DIFFICULTY noun followed by a Subjunctive TAM verbal complement, often with an unspecified 4pl subject pronoun. (See also Bature 1991, and Yalwa 1995.) Examples:

kòyon Hausa yanà dà wùyā 'learning Hausa is difficult'
learn.VN.of Hausa 3m.IMPF with difficulty

Cf. extraposed version:

yanâ dà wùyā à kòyi Hausa 'it is difficult to learn Hausa'
3m.IMPF with difficulty 4pl.SJN learn Hausa

kammàlà aikìn nân yanâ dà saukī 'finishing this work is easy'
finish work this 3m.IMPF with ease

Cf. extraposed:

yanâ dà saukī à kammàlà aikìn nân
3m.IMPF with ease 4pl.SJN finish work this
'it is easy to finish this work'

As a synonymous syntactic alternative, the NP object of the extraposed clause can be fronted (raised) to replace the anticipatory subject 'it'—so-called "Tough Movement". The resulting configuration is: preposed (*tough*-moved) thematic subject + HAVE phrase + DIFFICULTY noun with (m/f) linker + verbal noun. Examples:

Hausa tanâ dà wùyař kòyō 'Hausa is difficult to learn'
Hausa 3f.IMPF with difficulty.of learn.VN

aikìn nân yanâ dà saukin kammàlâwā 'this work is easy to finish'
work this 3m.IMPF with ease.of finish.VN

In the above examples, the surface thematic NP subjects **Hausa** 'Hausa' and **aikìn nân** 'this work' correspond to the underlying direct objects of transitive complements. Further examples, including affirmative Imperfective TAMs and negative HAVE, are:

yanâ dà wùyā à fàhìnci Audù 'it is difficult to understand Audu'
Cf. **Audù yanâ dà wùyař fàhintâ** 'Audu is difficult to understand'
bâ shi dà saukī à kòyi Hausa 'it is not easy to learn Hausa'
Cf. **Hausa bâ ta dà saukin kòyō** 'Hausa is not easy to learn'

yanâ dà saukī à sàyi kāyan nàn à ƙasàshen wàje
'it is easy to buy these goods in foreign countries'
Cf. **kāyan nàn sunâ dà saukin sàyē à ƙasàshen wàje**
'these goods are easy to buy in foreign countries'
Note too: **sàyen kāyan nàn à ƙasàshen wàje yanâ dà saukī**
'buying these goods in foreign countries is easy'
(where the preposed thematic subject is realized as a nominalized VP.)

The empty 3m pronoun can be a Future TAM, e.g. **zâi yi wùyā à tūƙà mōtà** 'it will be difficult to drive a car' (= pro. + **yi** 'do' + DIFFICULTY noun, see also CTE Types 2 and 3 above).

Structurally comparable on the surface to these HAVE constructions, though not the outcome of any Extraposition rule, are sentences of the form 'be quick/slow to...' (lit. have quickness/slowness.of...), where, in contrast to TOUGH constructions, the subjects of the two clauses are identical and the verb in the lower clause is intransitive. Examples:

dōkìn nân yanâ dà saurin fìrgità
'this horse is quick to startle'
(lit...has quickness.of being startled)
gyàmbôn yanâ dà nàwař warkèwā = gyàmbôn yā yi nàwař warkèwā
'the ulcer is slow to heal'

6. Direct and Indirect (Reported) Speech

Statements, questions and commands can all be converted into the corresponding indirect speech constructions which consist of a matrix reporting clause (with a "reporting" verb), followed by an embedded reported clause (which can be affirmative or negative, verbal or non-verbal).

6.1. Indirect statements

Indirect statements use the same syntax, including TAMs, as direct quotations. Reporting (saying) verbs commonly used to introduce indirect statements as well as direct quotes, especially the speech-act verb **cê** 'say', include: **àmbatà** 'mention (to)', **amsà** 'answer, reply', **bayyànā** 'explain to', **fàd'ā** 'say, state, tell', **fuřtà** 'assert', **gayà** 'tell', **haƙīƙàncē** 'be sure', **ji** 'hear', **musàntā** 'deny', **shâidā** 'witness, confirm', **tabbàtā** 'be certain', **tsayà** 'insist', (phrasal) **bā dà làbāřì** 'report', **ji làbāřì** 'hear news', **yi àlkawàřī** 'promise', **yi ìkìřāřì** 'claim', and **yi musù** 'deny'. Many of the above verbs can occur with an indirect object argument—with some, e.g. **bayyànā**, **gayà**, an i.o. is obligatory—and all can be followed by the complementizers **cêwā** or **wai** acting as indirect quotation markers. Examples (reported clauses [bracketed]):

yā cê: "zân zō gòbe" 'he said: "I'll come tomorrow"'
3m.PF say FUT.1sg come tomorrow (= direct statement with quotation marks)
yā cê [(**wai**) **zâi zō gòbe**]
3m.PF say (COMP) FUT.3m come tomorrow
'he said (that) he would come tomorrow'
(= subordinate reported statement with optional complementizer **wai**)
zā sù gayà makà [**bâ àbîn dà ya fàru**]
FUT 3pl tell IOM.2m NEG EXIST thing.DD(m) REL 3m.FOC-PF happen
'they will tell you nothing has happened'
bàn cê [(**wai**) **Mūsā yanà shân giyà**] **ba**
NEG.1sg.PF say (COMP) Musa 3m.IMPF drink.VN.of alcohol NEG
'I didn't say (that) Musa drinks alcohol'
(with closing matrix TAM negator **ba** in final position)
nā ji [(**wai**) **màtařkà tā haihù**] 'I heard (that) your wife has had a baby'
tā amsà [**tanà sônā**] 'she answered she loved me'

nā tabbàtā [yanà nan] 'I'm sure he's there'
sun yi ìkìřāřìn [cêwā yā ci zàɓên]
'they claimed that he had won the election' (with linker on **ìkìřāřìn**)
yā fàɗi [cêwā bà hakà ba nè]
'he said that this was not so'
(where **fàɗi** = pre-noun object C-form of **fàɗā**)

The S-final **ba** acts as the closing negator if the TAM in the embedded clause is also negative, e.g. **bàn cê bài cikà àlkawàřī ba** 'I didn't say he didn't keep the promise'.

6.2. *Indirect questions (**kō** + wh-question or yes-no question)*

The same indirect speech rules apply to indirect questions, though in this case the reported question is expressed with the complementizer **kō** followed by a *wh*-word clause or *yes-no* question, and where **kō** = 'whether'. Some verbs, e.g. **tàmbayà** 'ask', **ganī** 'see', **ji** 'hear', allow conditional **in** 'if' to fill the complementizer position as an alternative to interrogative **kō** before *yes-no* indirect questions. If the embedded indirect question clause corresponds to a direct *wh*-question then it takes a Focus Perfective or Imperfective TAM, and the root verb is from the same set used to introduce direct questions (especially **tàmbayà** 'ask'). Examples:

nā tàmbàyē tà: "**kin kintsà**?" 'I asked her: "are you ready?"'
1sg.PF ask 3f 2f.PF be ready (= direct *yes-no* question)
nā tàmbàyē tà [kō/in tā kintsà] 'I asked her whether/if she was ready'
1sg.PF ask 3f COMP 3f.PF be ready (= indirect *yes-no* question with **kō/in**)
nā tàmbàyē shì: "**wà zâi yi aikìn**?" 'I asked him: "who will do the work?"'
1sg.PF ask 3m who FUT.3m do work.DD(m) (= direct *wh*-question)

nā tàmbàyē shì [kō wǎ zâi yi aikìn] (= indirect **kō**-introduced *wh*-question)
1sg.PF ask 3m COMP who FUT.3m do work.DD(m)
'I asked him who would do the work'

Further examples of *wh*-indirect questions with **kō** plus *wh*-constituents with various syntactic roles are:

kà tàmbàyē shì [kō mề ya sàyā à kǎsuwā] (= direct object *wh*-element)
'ask him what he bought at market'
zân tàmbàyē sù [kō wǎnē nề sukà gayǎ wà lǎbārì]
'I'll ask them who it was they told the news to' (= indirect object)
sun ƙi sù gayǎ minì [kō su wǎnēnề sukề wà aikì] (= indirect object)
'they refused to tell me who (pl) they were working for'
kā ga [kō dà wàcè irìn mōtǎ sukà tsērề]? (= instrumental)
'did you see with what type of car they escaped?'
inǎ tùnǎnin [kō yàushē jirgîn zâi tāshì] (= temporal)
'I wonder when the plane will leave'
kin san [kō ìnā sukà jē]? (= locative)
'do you know where they went?'
kā san [kō don mề sukà yi hakà]? (= causal)
'do you know why they did this?'
bàn san [kō ta yǎyǎ wannàn ya fǎru] ba (= manner)
'I don't know how this happened'

In the corresponding negative, the second negator **ba** is inserted after either the root or complement clause, e.g. **bàn tabbàtā ba [kō nawà zā sù sàyā]** = **bàn tabbàtā [kō nawà zā sù sàyā] ba** 'I'm not sure how much they will buy (it) for'.

Some speakers allow an embedded independent *wh*-question without any overt **kō** complementizer in indirect *wh*-questions:

zân tàmbàyi mālàm [(**kō**) **su-wā̀ sukà fāɗì cikin jar̃r̃àbâwā**]
'I'll ask the teacher who (pl) failed in the exam'
bà tà tunā̀ minì [(**kō**) **ta yā̀yā̀ akà yi**] **ba**
'she didn't remind me how it had turned out'
kā ga [(**kō**) **dà wàcè irìn mōtā̀ sukà tsērè̀**]?
'did you see with what type of car they escaped?'
(Notice that a core preposition, e.g. **ta** 'via, through', **dà** 'with', can be inserted between the complementizer **kō** and following *wh*-element.)

As an alternative to a subordinate **kō** + *wh*-word propositional clause, it is possible to form the equivalent of an indirect *wh*-question by following the superordinate verb with a relative clause formed with a relative pronoun or a generic antecedent nominal, e.g. **wandà** m. '(the one) who', **àbîn dà** 'what' (lit. the thing that), **lōkàcîn dà** 'when' (the time that), **indà** 'where' (cf. **ìnā** 'where?'), **yaddà** 'how' (cf. **yā̀yā̀** 'how?'), **àbîn dà ya sâ** 'why' (the thing that caused) = **dàlīlìn dà** 'why, the reason that'. Examples:

bàn san [<u>wandà</u> (= <u>kō wā̀</u>) **ya r̃ubū̀tà takàr̃dâr̃**] **ba**
NEG.1sg.PF know RELPRO(m) (= COMP who) 3m.FOC-PF write letter.DD(f) NEG
'I don't know who wrote the letter'
zân tàmbàyē shì [<u>àbîn dà</u> (= <u>kō mè̀</u>) **zâi yi dà macī̀jîn**]
'I'll ask him what he's going to do with the snake'
bàn san [<u>indà</u> (= <u>kō ìnā</u>) **sukà jē**] **ba**
'I don't know where they went'
zân gayā̀ makà [<u>yaddà</u> (= <u>kō ta yā̀yā̀</u>) **zā kà yī shì**]
'I'll tell you how to do it'
bàn tabbàtā ba [<u>lōkàcîn dà</u> (= <u>kō yàushē</u>) **sukà zō**]
'I'm not sure when they came'

inǎ tùnǎnin [dàlīlìn dà ya sâ (= **kō don mè**) **bà sù zō ba]**
'I'm wondering why they didn't come'

Further examples of *yes-no* indirect questions are:

sunǎ tàmbayàřsà [kō yā ga àbōkinsù]
'they're asking him if he's seen their friend'
kà tàmbàyē sù mù ji [in àkwai wândà ya sanǐ]
'ask them so we can hear if anyone knows'
nā tambàyā [kō zâi yìwu mù shìga]
'I asked if it was possible for us to go in'
yanǎ tùnǎnin [kō yà gudù] (with linker on the noun **tùnǎnin**)
'he was thinking about whether he should run away'
kà ga(nī) [in yanǎ nan] 'see if he's there'
(with non-object verbal A-form **ganī** or pre-noun object C-form **ga**)
kā san(ǐ) [kō sun zō]? 'do you know whether they've come?'
(again with A-form **sanǐ** or C-form **san**)

The correlatives **kō**...**kō** are used to form alternative interrogative 'whether...or' subordinate clauses, e.g. **tā tàmbàyē shì [kō nāsà nē kō nātà]** 'she asked him whether it was his or hers', **bàn sanǐ ba [kō sun tàfi kō sun fāsà tàfiyǎ]** 'I don't know whether they have gone or whether they've cancelled the trip' (see also §**14**:2.2).

6.3. Indirect commands, etc.

When reported in indirect speech, commands typically involve simple juxtaposition of a matrix COMMAND verb clause followed by a full clause with a Subjunctive TAM, parallel to verbs of asking, requesting, preventing, permitting,

etc. Common manipulative COMMAND verbs include: **cê** 'say, tell', **faɗà** 'tell' (+ i.o. recipient), **gàrgaɗà** 'warn', **gayà** 'tell' (+ i.o.), and **ùmurtà** 'order, command, instruct' (see also §3.1.3). Examples:

tā faɗà wà kūkùn: "**kà kāwō àbinci**" (= direct command)
3f.PF tell IOM cook.DD(m) 2m.SJN bring food
'she told the cook: "bring the food"'
tā faɗà wà kūkùn [yà kāwō àbinci] (= indirect command)
3f.PF tell IOM cook.DD(m) 3m.SJN bring food
'she told the cook to bring the food'
nā gàrgàɗi yârā [dà sù dainà hakà] 'I warned the children to stop this'
(with **dà** complementizer)
nā cê [sù barì] 'I said they should stop'
zā mù gayà masà [kadà yà ci gàba dà kàrātū]
'we will tell him not to continue studying'
(= negative command with prohibitive **kadà**)

7. Cognate Complements (Verb...(De)verbal Noun)

A verb in Hausa may be repeated as a cognate complement to the preceding verb, in which case it appears as a morphologically related verbal or deverbal noun. Cognate complements (CCs) repeat the lexical meaning of the preceding verb, which usually occurs in an affirmative free TAM clause but can be a verbal noun in a nonfinite context. Looking at the cognate element itself, there are three formal subtypes with differing semantics (see also Newman (2000: chap. 13; 2001) who refers to the related (de)verbal noun form as a "cognate accusative"): (1) adverbial CC, e.g. (with modifier) **tā <u>màrē</u> shì <u>mārì</u> mài cīwò** 'she slapped him painfully' (lit. 3f.PF slap 3m slapping with pain); (2) direct object CC, e.g. (with

modifier) **sun ginà ginì mài tsawō** 'they built a tall building' (3pl.PF build building with height); and (3) object genitive CC (genitive proform + cognate verbal noun), e.g. **zā sù sàyi na sàyē** 'they will buy the ones to be bought' (FUT 3pl buy of(pl) buying). (See also Schuh 1998: 183-86 on cognate complements in Miya.)

7.1. Cognate complement = adverbial

Cognate complements can serve to adverbially modify (reinforce) the action of the verb, functioning like manner ideophones (**§15**:7) and providing additional information regarding the circumstances of the event indicated by the related verb. The CC (de)verbal noun is usually modified by some element, e.g. an adjective (including **MAI**-phrases), upscaling adverb (e.g. **gàske** 'truly, really'), or a degree preposition of some kind (e.g. **hař**, **iyā** 'up to, as far as'). The adjunctival cognate form can function as a complement with intransitive verbs, including phrasal verbs formed with **yi** 'do', as well as with transitive verbs, in which case it occurs to the right of the (pro)nominal direct object. Examples:

Intransitive main verb
Audù yakàn bùgu mūgùn bùguwā
Audu 3m.HAB get drunk bad.of get drunk.VN
'Audu gets badly drunk'
mālàmīnā yā ƙåsaità ƙåsaitàř gàske
teacher.of.1sg 3m.PF be important importance.of truly
'my teacher is very important'
yā girma hař girmā 'he's really grown up'
3m.PF grow up up to grow up.VN
yā yi ƙòƙarī iyā (yîn) ƙòƙarī 'he tried his utmost'
3m.PF do effort as far as (do.VN.of) effort (with VN **yîn** normally omitted)

râinā yā ɓācì matuƙař ɓācì 'I was as sad as I could be'
mind.of.1sg 3m.PF spoil limit.of spoil.VN
zân sământu mìsàlân dà sukà dācè dācèwař gàske
FUT.1sg get examples.DD(pl) REL 3pl.FOC-PF suit suit.VN.of really
'I'll get some examples that are really suitable'

Transitive main verb
an kashè shi mūgùn kisà 'he was killed brutally'
4pl.PF kill 3m evil.of kill.VN
nā ƙyālè shi iyā ƙyālèwā 'I ignored him completely'
1sg.PF ignore 3m as far as ignore.VN
yanà nēman kuɗī matuƙař nēmā
3m.IMPF look for.VN.of money limit.of look for.VN
'he is constantly looking for money'
sun sòki gwamnatì sūkàn gàske
3pl.PF criticize government criticize.VN.of truly
'they have criticized the government strongly'
mōtà tā tākà ta matuƙař tākàwā
car 3f.PF knock over 3f limit.of knock over.VN
'the car knocked her over completely'

7.2. Cognate complement = direct object

The CC of a transitive verb can be a deverbal noun functioning as a simple direct object to the related main verb:

zâi shūkà shùke-shùke dà dāmā 'he will plant many crops'
FUT.3m plant crops many
tā zānà zànē mài kyâu 'she painted a beautiful painting'
3f.PF paint painting with beauty

sun sàyi sàye-sàye dà yawà 'they bought lots of purchases'
3pl.PF buy purchases many

This construction also allows an adjunctive CC to be added, e.g. **tā zānà zànē [zānàwā mài kyâu]** 'she painted a painting beautifully'.

7.3. Cognate complement = objective (genitive) phrase

The CC of a transitive verb can be a genitival phrase consisting of an independent genitive morpheme **na/ta/na** '(that/those) of, (the one(s)) of' (m/f/pl referent), followed by the related verbal noun. The genitive proform is coreferential with a non-overt possessive head, either understood or prementioned. Examples:

tā zàɓi na zàɓē 'she chose those ready to be chosen'
3f.PF choose of(pl) choose.VN
yā shā na shâ 'he drank what was to be drunk'
3m.PF drink of(m) drink.VN
mun àri ta àrā 'we borrowed the one that was borrowable'
1pl.PF borrow of(f) borrow.VN
sunà yîn na yî 'they're doing what can be done'
3pl.IMPF do.VN.of of(m) do.VN

Chapter 14
Clausal Coordination and Subordination

1. Introduction

This chapter looks at how sentences are expanded so as to contain more than one clause. Multiple sentences can be either compound, consisting of two or more independent COORDINATE clauses, or complex, containing two or more clauses at least one of which is SUBORDINATE to the main clause. With the partial exception of coordinate 'and'-clauses (§2.1), coordinate and subordinate clauses are formally linked by explicit conjunctions. (See §**9**:8 for NP coordination within a single clause.)

2. Clause Coordination

For detailed treatments of how Hausa expresses the equivalent of paratactic English structures containing the central coordinators 'and', 'or', and 'but', see Schwartz (1989, 1991), Schwartz, Newman & Sani (1988), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 19).

2.1. 'And' = Ø or ***kuma***

In contrast to **dà**-linked NP coordination which is syndetic (§**9**:8.1), **dà** is *not* used as a clause coordinator. Instead, coordination of independent clauses into compound sentences is typically accomplished via simple juxtaposition, i.e. without any explicit 'and' linker (= asyndetic coordination). Examples (affirmative and negative clauses):

[[nā ci] [nā ƙòshi]]	'I've eaten (and) am full'
1sg.PF eat 1sg.PF be full	

[[Mūsā yanà tàfiyà] [yanà wāƙà]]
Musa 3m.IMPF travel.VN 3m.IMPF singing
'Musa was going along (and) singing' (= simultaneous events)
[[tā shigō] [bà tà cê uffàn ba]]
3f.PF come in NEG 3f.PF say anything NEG
'she came in (and) didn't say anything'
[[yā gamà aikìnsà] [zâi fìta...]]
3m.PF finish work.of.3m FUT.3m go out
'he had finished his work (and) was about to go out...'
[[bà mù jē] [mun kàlli fîm ba]]
NEG 1pl.PF go 1pl.PF see film NEG
'we didn't go (and) see the film'
(In this final example the single set of discontinuous negative markers scopes and surrounds the entire, tightly linked conjoined VPs, see also below.)

The Neutral TAM-less paradigm is common in non-initial coordinate clauses:

[[nakàn tāshì] [ìn bař gidā]] dà ƙarfè takwàs
1sg.HAB get up 1sg.NEUT leave house at o'clock eight
'I get up (and) leave the house at eight o'clock'
kullum [[yanà gyārà ɗākìn] [yà tsabtàcē shi] [yà shārè]]
always 3m.IMPF tidy room.DD(m) 3m.NEUT clean 3m 3m.NEUT sweep
'every day he tidies the room, cleans it (and) sweeps (it)'

The additive particle **kuma** 'also, and' can, however, function as a coordinator to overtly link two or more clauses, in which case it is placed either before or (preferably) after the initial element, e.g. TAM subject-pronoun, prepositional phrase, of the final conjoin. Examples:

inà sô [[ìn bař aikìn nân], [ìn kōmà gidā] <u>kuma</u> [ìn hūtà]]
= inà sô [[ìn bař aikìn nân], [ìn kōmà gidā] [ìn <u>kuma</u> hūtà]]
'I want to stop this work, go home and take it easy'

[[yā sǎmu sùkōlàshîf] kuma [yā tàfi Amìřkà]]
= [[yā sǎmu sùkōlàshîf] [yā kuma tàfi Amìřkà]]
'he's got a scholarship and gone to the U.S.A.'
[[à kân tēbùř àkwai wata bindigǎ], kuma [à ƙàřƙashinsà àkwai wata gāwā]]
= [[à kân tēbùř àkwai wata bindigǎ], [à ƙàřƙashinsà kuma àkwai wata gāwā]]
'on the table there was a gun, and underneath it there was a corpse'

Connective **kuma** is also common when both conjoins are independently expressed by negative TAMs and so are less tightly coordinated. Examples:

[[bà mù jē ba], kuma [bà mù kàlli fîm ba]]
'we didn't go and we didn't see the film'
[[bà mù hàɗu ba], kuma [bà mù gaisǎ ba]]
'we didn't meet up and we didn't greet = we neither met up nor did we greet'

Kuma can also function as a conjunct, e.g. **...an yi wannàn haɗàřī jiyà. Kuma bâ wandà ya sanì** '...this accident took place yesterday. And no one knew'.

Narrative sequence actions tracked by the specific Focus Perfective TAM may be Ø-linked:

...**[[sukà fāɗǎ cikin rāmì] [sukà mutù]]**
'...they fell into a hole (and) died'
...**[[mukà yi saurī], [mukà jē] [mukà būɗè ƙōfàř]]**
'...we made haste, we went (and) opened the door'

However, the time-ordering conjunction **sai** 'then' (i.e. 'after that') can be, and often is, used in a multi-clausal string of conjoins. It often overtly links the rightmost clause, in which case it reinforces the sequentiality, e.g. ...**[[mukà jē], [mukà sǎmē shì], sai [mukà bā shì kuɗîn]]** 'we went, we found him, then we gave him the money'. (See §3.4.1.1 for **sai** as a subordinating '(not) until, unless'

conjunction.) The adverbial **sànnan = sânnan** (</= NP **sā'àn nan** 'that time') 'then, afterwards' can also function as a conjunction to overtly link narrative sequence clauses:

[[sun bař shì hař sai dà ya gamà ƙārařsà] sànnan [sukà cafkè shi]]
'they waited until he'd finished his protesting then they arrested him'
[[inà sô ìn gan shì idồ-dà-idồ] sânnan [ìn gayà masà]]
'I want to see him eye-to-eye then tell him'

The conjunction **kānà** 'then' can also be used, e.g. **[[kù ci àbinci tùkùna] kānà [mù tàfi]]** 'eat your food first then we can go' (= future time reference clauses).

Simultaneity, or temporal overlapping, of events or states can be signalled simply by direct juxtaposition of two clauses in a circumstantial relationship with no overt conjunction, either or both of which typically contain an Imperfective verbal TAM. In a sequence of two same-subject durative Imperfective TAM clauses, the subject-agreement pronoun can be dropped in either the non-initial clause or in both clauses (English normally uses a subjectless '-ing' present participle in the non-initial clause). Examples:

[Mūsā (ya)nà tàfiyà] [(ya)nà rērà wāƙà]
Musa (3m)IMPF go.VN (3m)IMPF sing song
'Musa was going along singing a song'
[inà aikì], [yanà barcī]
1sg.IMPF working 3m.IMPF sleeping
'(while/as) I was working, he was sleeping'
sai [sukà îskē] [mutànē sunà barcī]
then 3pl.FOC-PF find people 3pl.IMPF sleeping
'then they found the people sleeping'
(= verb of discovery with a complement TAM clause)

In narrative contexts, the Imperfective TAM circumstantial clause can be followed paratactically by a clause with a Focus Perfective TAM to express an

informational climax, and with no overt conjunction, i.e. where the temporal relationship is again simply implied by the semantic/pragmatic relationship between the juxtaposed clauses. (English would either use a subordinate 'when'-clause to express the instantaneous action, or an initial durative 'while/as'-clause.) Examples:

[munà masallācī] [àbîn ya fâru]
1pl.IMPF mosque thing.DD(m) 3m.FOC-PF happen
'we were at the mosque (when) the thing happened'
[yanà aikì à gidā] ['yan-sàndā sukà kūtsà]
3m.IMPF working at home police 3pl.FOC-PF burst in
'(while/as) he was working at home the police burst in'

The consequent clause can be, and often is, initiated with the conjunction **sai** (again equivalent to English 'when'), e.g.

[inà zàune] [inà kallon talàbijìn], sai [akà ɗâukē manà wutā]
1sg.IMPF sit.STAT 1sg.IMPF watch.VN.of television then 4pl.FOC-PF take IOM.1pl power
'I was sitting watching television, when the power went out on us'

The circumstantial clause can contain a projective Future TAM, used to denote an imminent action which has not been realized at the point when the event in the following **sai**-clause begins, e.g. (future-in-the-past) **[ɓàrāwòn ya ɗàuki kuɗī]** [[**zâi**]$_{\text{FUT.3m}}$ **fìta] sai akà gan shì** 'the thief took the money [and was about to leave] when he was seen'.

The quasi-aspectual temporal verbs **daɗè** 'spend a long time', **jimà** 'spend some time' and **rìgā** 'have already done sth.' (**§13**:2.1.1) also commonly occur in left conjoins as part of paratactic coordinate structures without any overt linker. Examples:

[tā daɗè] [bà tà zō ba] 'she hasn't come for a long time'
3f.PF spend long time NEG 3f.PF come NEG

[nā jimà] [inà jiràŋkà]
1sg.PF spend some time 1sg.IMPF wait.VN.of.2m
'I've been waiting for you for some time'
[sun rìgā] [sun gamà]?
3pl.PF do already 3pl.PF finish
'have they already finished?'
[yā kwāna] [yanà kàřàtū] 'he spent the night studying'
3m.PF spend night 3m.IMPF studying
(= time-span verb + circumstantial clause)

The general verb **yi** 'do', with the meaning 'spend', can also be followed by a circumstantial Imperfective TAM clause to express a time span:

[nā yi kwānā ukù] [inà nēmankà]
1sg.PF do day three 1sg.IMPF look for.VN.of.2m
'I've spent three days looking for you = I've been looking for you for three days'

Note too the following idiomatic phrasal manner verbs formed with **yi** 'do' plus an adverb or ideophone in a coordinate (left conjoin) structure:

[kà yi maza] [kà kāwō àbinci]	'be quick (and) bring the food'
[ya yi tsit] [bài cê uffàn ba]	'he was dead silent (and) didn't say anything'
[ya yi fařat] [ya cè]...	'he broke in (and) said...'
[ta yi wuf] [ta tāshì]	'she got up suddenly (and) left'

Subordinate and complement clauses, finite and nonfinite, involving like categories, can also be coordinated:

[bāyan sun tàfi kàsuwā] [sun sàyi kāyā] sai sukà dāwō gidā
'after they had gone to market (and) bought some things then they returned home'
(= coordinate adverbial 'after' clauses)

sun sằmē shì [yanằ kwànce kân gadō] [yanằ kuma sàurằren rēdiyǒ]
'they found him lying on a bed and listening to the radio'
(= coordinate complement adverbial stative + verbonominal clauses)
yanằ sô [yà jē jāmi'ằ] [yà yi kàřằtū]
'he wants to go to university to study'
(= coordinate complement clauses)
kā san [mùtumìn nan dà ya ràsu], [wàndà yakè zàune dab dà mū]?
'you know that man who died, the one who lived close to us?'
(= coordinate relative clauses)

2.2. 'Or' = ***kō***

Alternative **kō** 'or, either' is typically used with an exclusive force in VP coordination. As in syndetic NP **kō**-coordination (§**9**:8.2), **kō** can also be placed before the first clause conjoin to reinforce the second occurrence as part of a correlative conditional-concessive **kō...kō** 'either/whether...or/whether' pair. The second occurrence can be strengthened with one of the modal particles **kuma**, **mā** or **kùwa** (usually equivalent to 'else' in this context). Examples:

[kō kā zaunằ] [kō bà kà zaunằ ba] duk ɗaya nề gàrē nì
whether 2m.PF remain or NEG 2m.PF remain NEG all one COP(m) to 1sg
'whether you remain or whether you don't remain is all the same to me'
mài yìwuwā nề [sù zō] [kō kadà sù zō]
MAI possibility COP(m) 3pl.SJN come or NEG 3pl.SJN come
'it's possible they may come or not come'
[kō kà ajìyē shi] [kō kuma kà yař]
'either put it aside or else throw (it) away'
[kanà zuwằ] [kō kùwa bā kằ zuwằ]?
'are you coming or aren't you coming?'

Note too the more formal conjunction **ìmmā** used (by some speakers) in the correlative clausal only configuration **ìmmā...ìmmā/kō** 'either/whether...or' with

a following Subjunctive TAM, e.g. **[ìmmā kà biyā kuɗin shìgā] [ìmmā/kō kà tāshì]** 'either you pay the entry fee or you leave'.

Hausa does not have any negative coordinators equivalent to segregatory 'neither...nor' (in the same way that there are no negative 'no one, nothing, etc.' pronouns). Phrasal coordination typically expresses 'neither NP nor NP' by using the correlatives **kō...kō** 'either...or' within the scope of a negative, e.g. **[bàn ga [kō mālàmîn kō ɗ'àlìbân ba]]** 'I didn't see either the teacher or the students = I saw neither the teacher nor the students' (§**9**:8.2). In order to express the semantic equivalent of 'neither...nor' clausal coordination, Hausa uses negated TAM clauses conjoined by the overt conjunction **kuma** 'and' which can occur either before or after the initial negative marker and subject pronoun. Examples:

[Abbà bā yầ sôn Hàdīzà] kuma [bā yầ sô yà àurē tà]
Abba NEG 3m.IMPF love.VN.of Hadiza and NEG 3m.IMPF want.VN 3m.SJN marry 3f
'Abba does not love Hadiza and he does not want to marry her'
= 'Abba neither loves Hadiza nor wants to marry her'

[bài ga kōmē ba] [bài kuma ji kōmē ba]
NEG.3m.PF see anything NEG NEG.3m.PF and hear anything NEG
'he didn't see anything and he didn't hear anything'
= 'he neither saw nor heard anything'

[littāfîn nân bâ shi dà àmfầnī] [kuma bâ shi dà ban-shà'awầ]
book this NEG 3m with use and NEG 3m with interest
'this book is not useful and is not interesting'
= 'this book is neither useful nor interesting'

*2.3. 'But' = **àmmā** or **sai (dai)***

Contrastive clausal coordination, like contrastive phrasal coordination, typically uses the conjunction **àmmā** 'but, however'. Examples:

[nā ji] [àmmā bàn yàřda ba] 'I understand but I don't agree'
1sg.PF understand but NEG.1sg.PF agree NEG
[yā yi ƙòƙarī] [àmmā yā kāsà] 'he tried however he failed'
3m.PF do effort but 3m.PF fail
[sun tàmbàyē shì] [àmmā yā ƙi bā dà amsà]
3pl.PF question 3m but 3m.PF refuse give answer
'they questioned him but he refused to answer'
[zân gayà makà] [àmmā kadà kà gayà wà kōwā]
FUT.1sg tell IOM.2m but NEG 2m.SJN tell IOM anyone
'I'll tell you but don't tell anyone'

Adversative **àmmā** regularly combines with and reinforces the connective sentence conjunct **duk dà hakà** '(but) nevertheless, for all that, in spite of that' (lit. all with this), e.g. **yā yi yā yi, àmmā duk dà hakà bài iyà cîn nasařà ba** 'he tried and tried, but nevertheless he couldn't succeed', where **hakà** functions as an anaphoric pro-form.

Contrastive 'but' can also be expressed by using the restrictive adverb **sai** 'only' plus the corrective modal particle **dai**, following a negative TAM clause conjoin. Examples:

[bài tàfi ba] [sai dai yā zaunà]
'he didn't leave but stayed'
[bà zā à bā kà naiřà ɗàrī bìyař ba] [sai dai zā à biyā kà naiřà ɗàrī ukù]
'you won't be given 500 *naira* but will be paid 300 *naira*'

Contrastive coordination can also be asyndetic, i.e. the coordinator may be omitted:

[nā zō cikin lōkàcī] [(àmmā) bàn gan kà ba]
'I came on time (but) I didn't see you'
[sun hàɗu] [(àmmā) bà sù gaisà ba] 'they met (but) they didn't greet'

2.4. Ellipsis and substitution within clausal coordination

In order to reduce syntactic complexity, various elements can be ellipted following clausal coordination (see §**9**:8 for ellipsis in NP coordination). With clausal coordination, same subjects are ellipted in non-initial clauses:

[màtātā] tanà nan [Ø] **tanà kintsàwā**
wife.of.1sg 3f.IMPF there [Ø] 3f.IMPF get ready.VN
'my wife is around getting ready'
sai [mutânên] sukà tāshì, [Ø] **sukà wātsè**, [Ø] **sukà tàfi gidā**
then people.DD(pl) 3pl.FOC-PF get up [Ø] 3pl.FOC-PF disperse [Ø] 3pl.FOC-PF go home
'then the people got up, dispersed, and went home'
(where the person/number/gender features of the null subjects are overtly realized on the subject-agreement pronouns **tanà** and **sukà**.)

If the TAM-marker in the initial clause is Imperfective, Future, Allative, Potential, Habitual, or Rhetorical, it is normally deleted as redundant in subsequent conjoined clauses, leaving the bare Neutral Ø-TAM marker, which simply consists of a default L tone subject-agreement pronoun (see §**6**:12 for more detailed discussion). Examples:

[**yanà**]$_{3m.IMPF}$ **tāshì dà àsùbâ**, [**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **yi wankā**,
[**yà** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **tàfi sallà**
'he gets up at dawn, washes (and) goes to pray'
[**zân**]$_{FUT.1sg}$ **kōmà gidā** [**in** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **kwântā** [**in** Ø-TAM]$_{NEUT}$ **hūtà**
'I'm going to go home, lie down, (and) rest'

With repeated *objects* in conjoined clauses, two reduced strategies are possible for expressing referential direct objects of transitive verbs, as well as genitive objects of verbal nouns—either ellipsis (zero-anaphora) or an overt resumptive pronoun. In larger integrated stretches of discourse, the choice is

determined by a range of interlinking factors which include distance to previous mention, potential competition from other referents, and the [±human] features of the referent (see Jaggar 1983, 1985: chap. 3). Limiting ourselves here to antecedent-governed anaphora in coordinate clauses, generally speaking there is a preference for an overt copy pronoun with human antecedents. Examples:

Dèlu tā san [yārònā] kuma tanà sôn[sà]
'Delu knows my boy and likes him'
zân nèmi [mālàminmù] ìn tàmbàyē [shì]
'I'll find our teacher and ask him'
kōwā yanà nēman [Audù] yanà tùntuɓàř[sà]
'everyone is looking for Audu and sounding him out'

Object-ellipsis with a null object pronoun, on the other hand, is favoured with inanimate antecedents:

ta sàyi [ƙwai], ta kai [Ø] **gidā, ta dafà** [Ø], **ta ci** [Ø]
'she bought eggs, took (them) home, cooked (them), (and) ate (them)'
[mōtàř], ai nā gyārà [Ø] **nā wankè** [Ø]
'the car, well I've fixed (it) (and) washed (it)'

These correlations are not absolute, however, and in tightly linked, consecutive same-object clauses, Ø-anaphora is common for all referents, including human objects, e.g. **sukà tarař dà [shī] kwànce...sukà kìnkimà** [Ø], **sukà kai** [Ø] **gidā, sukà binnè** [Ø] 'they found him lying dead...they lifted (him) up, took (him) home, (and) buried (him)'. Animal referents tend to pattern with inanimates in taking Ø-object anaphora, e.g. **ya gayà matà tà sōyè [kàjîn]...ta tāshì, bāyan yā fīgè** [Ø] **yā gyārà matà** [Ø]... 'he told her to fry the chickens...she got up, (and) after he had plucked (them) (and) cleaned (them) for her...' (= conjoined subordinate clauses). Indirect objects are overwhelmingly human and are anaphorized with a pronoun:

nā sǎmu [àbōkīnā] nā gayǎ ma[sà] lǎbārìn
'I've found my friend and told him the news'
zân ga [ɗǎlìbân] àmmā bà zân nūnǎ mu[sù] hōtunǎ ba
'I'll see the students but won't show them the photos'

It is also possible to defer a lexical noun until the final clause conjoin, e.g. **nā dūbǎ** [Ø] **nā gyārà [takàr̃dar̃kà]** 'I've looked at and corrected your paper', though this could possibly be analyzed as a unitary, combined activity complex VP as opposed to cataphoric ellipsis of the object in the left conjoin.

*2.5. The pro-form **hakà** 'so, thus, this, etc.'*

The highly versatile deictic pro-form **hakà** 'so, thus, this, the same, likewise, etc.' regularly substitutes for a repeated occurrence of the entire antecedent complement or clause in coordinate structures. It usually combines with one of the additive modal particles **mā** or **kuma** 'also, too', especially if the NPs in the conjoins are subjects. Examples:

Lawàn nǎ sôn yāwô cikin gàrī, [hakà] mā bǎbansà
'Lawan likes to stroll in the town, so too his father'
(where **hakà** substitutes for the predication 'likes to stroll in the town')
Audù bàbba nề, [hakà] kuma Mūsā
'Audu is big, and so is Musa'
(= pro-complement substitution)
bā nǎ shân tābǎ, [hakà] mā yārinyātā
'I don't smoke, and neither does my girlfriend' (lit...so too my girlfriend)
yārônā yā cê zâi bar̃ makar̃antā àmmā bàn yàr̃da dà [hakà] ba
'my son says he'll leave school but I don't agree with that'
(= substitute for complement clause)
mutǎnē dà yawǎ sukà rasà rāyukànsù, [hakàn] kuma yā fàru sabôdà...
'many people lost their lives, and this happened because...'

(where the pro-form **hakà-n** 'this' functions as the sentential subject with the masc. definite determiner **-ˋn**.)

Pro-clausal **hakà** behaves like a direct object noun for purposes of the preceding verb, e.g. **wà ya fàɗi [hakà]**? 'who said so?' (= grade 2 pre-d.o. C-form **fàɗi**).

*2.6. The combination pro-verb **yi** 'do' + **hakà** 'so, thus' (= 'do so')*

In coordinate structures, the pro-verb **yi** 'do' regularly combines transitively with the deictic pro-form **hakà** 'so, thus, etc.' to anaphorically substitute for the entire predication, in contexts where the predicate content is retrievable from the preceding discourse (see also Newman 2000: chap. 58). Examples, typically agentive, of substitutive **yi hakà** 'do so, do thus' with both finite and nonfinite VPs are:

Mūsā yā ƙwanƙwàsà ƙōfà kuma Nuhù mā yā [yi hakà]
'Musa knocked on the door and Nuhu did so [= knocked on the door] too'
yā yi aikì dà yawà—nī mā nā [yi hakà]
'he did a lot of work—and I did so [= did a lot of work] too'
ɗàlìbai sunà kàřàtū dà yawà yànzu kuma sunà [yîn hakà] kàfin jařřàbâwā
'the students are studying a lot at the moment and they do so [= study a lot] before the exam'
zân sàyi tikitìn àmmā bà zân [yi hakà] ba sai gòbe
'I'll buy the ticket but I won't do so [= buy the ticket] until tomorrow'

3. Subordinate Adverbial Clauses and Subordinators

Subordinate adverbial clauses and nominalized VPs contained within complex multiple sentences are initiated by subordinating conjunctions (subordinators), some of which, e.g. **bāyan, dòmin, hař, sai, tun**, also have prepositional

usages (see §**15**:3). Subordinate clauses, e.g. temporal, conditional, concessive, purposive, differ according to their structure—finite, nonfinite or nonverbal—and the subordinators can be classified as either simple or complex in terms of their internal make-up. There is also a subset of correlative subordinators. For various accounts, see: Bagari (1976, 1986, 1987), Jaggar (1992a: 6-7, 73-75, 108-9, 127-32), Kraft (1963: vol. 2), Parsons (1981: 510-30), Wolff (1993: 513-17), and especially Newman (2000: chaps 17, 18, 61, 69).

3.1. Finite, nonfinite and nonverbal subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses may contain a verbal form which is either finite (most commonly) or nonfinite, or the clause can be nonverbal, e.g. equational/identificational, existential. Examples:

Finite verb clause

bài zō ba [sabòdà yā yi rashìn lāfiyà]
NEG.3m.PF come NEG because 3m.PF do lack.of health
'he didn't come because he was ill'
zân gamà aikìn [kǎfin kà zō]
FUT.1sg finish work.DD(m) before 2m.SJN come
'I'll finish the work before you come'

Nonfinite verb clause (verbonominal, infinitival VPs = prepositional phrases)

[kǎfin shìgaɾsà gidā] sai akà kāmà shi
before enter.VN.of.3m house then 4pl.FOC-PF seize 3m
'before entering the house he was seized'
sun hanà su yîn àmfànī dà mayankaɾ gàrī [don yankà àlàdū]
3pl.PF prevent 3pl make.VN.of use with abattoir.of town in order to slaughter pigs
'they prevented them from making use of the town abattoir in order to slaughter pigs'

(where the non-overt subject of the final nonfinite subordinate clause is construed as identical with the non-overt subject of the preceding clause.)

Nonverbal clause

[kō dà yakè hakà nē], bàn ji dādī ba
even though that COP(m) NEG.1sg.PF feel happiness NEG
'even though that is so, I'm not happy'
[in dà dāmā], kà sayō mîn shìnkāfā
if EXIST chance 2m.SJN buy IOM.1sg rice
'if there's a chance, buy some rice for me'

3.2. Subordinators

The more common simple subordinators, e.g. temporal, conditional, causal, etc., together with their primary meanings (see relevant §§ below for details, including TAMs used), include:

dà (a) 'when' (cf. complex **lōkàcîn dà** etc. below), e.g. **[dà gàrī ya wāyè] sai sukà tāshì** 'when dawn broke they set off'; (b) 'rather than', e.g. **nā fi sô nà tāshì yànzu [dà nà zaunâ nân]** 'I prefer to leave now rather than remain here'.

dâ...dâ 'if...then' (counterfactual), e.g. **[dâ jirgin samàn yā yi lattì], [dâ mun fùsātà]** 'if the plane had been late, then we would have been angry'.

dòmin = don (a) 'because', e.g. **yā fāsà tàfiyâ [don bâ shi dà kuɗī]** 'he postponed travelling because he didn't have any money'; (b) 'so that, in order to', e.g. **nā zō [dòmin ìn biyā kà]** 'I've come in order to pay you'.

hař (a) 'up (until)', e.g. (future time event) **kà dākàtā [hař sù zō]** 'wait until they come'; (b) 'so (much)...that', e.g. **sukà ji ràunī dà yawâ [hař sukà mutù]** 'they were so badly injured that they died'.

ìdan = in 'if/when', e.g. **[ìdan kā ga Audù] kà cê inâ gaishē shì** 'if/when you see Audu, give him my greetings'.

kâfin = kâfìn or **kâmin = kâmìn** 'before', e.g. **zā kà iyà gamà aikìn [kâfin kà tāshì]**? 'will you be able to finish the work before you leave?'.

kō 'even if', e.g. **[kō yā canzà muryàřsà] kanâ iyà gānè shi** 'even if he changes his voice you can recognize him'.

muddìn 'provided that, as long as', e.g. **[muddìn inâ dà râi], bà zân yàřda ba** 'as long as I'm alive, I won't agree'.

sai '(not) until, unless' (see also complex **sai dà** below), e.g. **bà zân tāshì ba [sai kā gayâ mîn]** 'I won't leave until/unless you tell me to'.

tun (a) 'while', e.g. **an yī matà aurē [tun tanâ ƙàramā]** 'she was married while she was young'; (b) 'before', e.g. (with Negative Perfective TAM) **kù tāshì [tun mālàm bài gan kù ba]** 'leave before the teacher sees you'.

Complex subordinators, formed either with **dà** (including adnominal relative formations), or a noun plus the (m./f.) **-n/-ř** linker, include:

bāyan, bāyân dà 'after', e.g. (future time reference) **zân dūbà takàřdařkà [bāyan kā gyārâ ta]** 'I'll look at your paper after you've corrected it', (past time) **[bāyan nā = bāyân dà na fārà aikì sôsai], sai akà tūrâ ni Kanô** 'after I started the job proper, I was transferred to Kano'.

dà zārař 'as soon as', e.g. (future time reference) **[dà zārař kin jē tashâ], kì sàyi tikitì** 'as soon as you get to the station, buy a ticket'.

kàmař/kàman or **tàmkař** 'like, as if', e.g. **sukà ci gàba dà hařkōkinsù [kàmař bābù àbîn dà ya fâru]** 'they carried on with their affairs as if nothing had happened', **yanâ tâƙamā [tàmkař an zâɓē shì ciyâmân]** 'he's swaggering about like he's been elected chairman'.

kō dà 'as soon as', e.g. **[kō dà sukà dāwō] sai sukà tarař tā rìgā tā mutù** 'as soon as they returned they found she had already died'.

kō dà (yakè) 'even though, although', e.g. **[kō dà (yakè) kin zō] bâ ni dà lōkàcī yànzu** 'even though you've come I don't have any time now'.

lōkàcîn dà or **sā'àd/sā'àn dà = sâd/sân dà** 'when', e.g. **[lōkàcîn dà sukà isō] sai sukà sanař dà mū** 'when they arrived they informed us', **[sân dà akà**

būɗè gidan wayà] sū nè sukà fārà shìgā 'when the post-office was opened *they* were the first to go in'.

màimakon 'instead of', e.g. **[màimakon kà mayař dà mōtàř], kâ sayař mîn**? 'instead of returning the car, will you sell (it) to me?'.

sabòdà 'because, on account of', e.g. **an zàɓē shì [sabòdà yā kashè kuɗī dà yawà]** 'he was elected because he spent lots of money'.

sai dà '(not) until', e.g. **yârân sun yi wàsā [sai dà sukà gàji]** 'the children played until they got tired'.

tun dà 'since' (temporal), e.g. **[tun dà sukà tàfi] bà sù dāwō ba** 'since they left they haven't returned'.

tun dà (yakè) 'since' (causal), e.g. **[tun dà (yakè) bâ ni dà lōkàcī yànzu], kì dāwō an jimà** 'since I don't have time now, come back later'.

3.3. Conditional and concessive conditional clauses

There are five basic categories of subordinate conditional and concessive clauses: open conditionals (§3.3.1), counterfactual conditionals (§3.3.2), concessive conditionals (§3.3.3), generic conditional-concessives (§3.3.4), and concessives (§3.3.5). See also Newman (2000: chap. 17).

*3.3.1. Open conditionals (**ìdan/in** 'if/when')*

Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition expressed in the (usually antecedent) subordinate clause has been met or not. The protasis conditional clause typically contains a finite verb TAM, but can be nonverbal, and is introduced by the subordinator **ìdan** or its clipped form **in**. Although handled here as a conditional 'if' subordinator, **ìdan/in** is often used to initiate a chain of sequential events where its meaning is closer to 'when', e.g. **ìdan gàrī yā wāyè zā mù tàfi** 'when dawn comes we'll go'. Hausa does not formally mark the distinction, however, and so I use both glosses as appropriate in the examples. Verbal open conditional clauses occur with a range of TAMs, except the modal Subjunctive and Potential which are incompatible with open

conditional statements. The Perfective or Focus Perfective is used in the antecedent **ìdan**-clause to describe an event already completed or state obtaining, i.e. condition fulfilled, in relation to the consequent matrix clause event, even if the absolute time-reference is in the future and not the moment of speaking (e.g. with future conditionals). The choice between Perfective and Focus Perfective varies from speaker to speaker—both have in fact been claimed to be more specific/definite and so closer to temporal 'when'—and there is sometimes variability with the same speaker. Only the (general) Imperfective TAM is used in **ìdan**-clauses, except in syntactic focus contexts. Verbless clauses initiated by **ìdan** are also common. Apodosis matrix clause verbs are often in the Future (occasionally Potential) TAM, or in the unmarked Neutral form following **sai** 'then', especially in a habitual sequence. Examples (affirmative and negative conditionals):

[in kin/kikà kintsǎ], zā mù tàfi
if/when 2f.PF/FOC-PF be ready FUT 1pl go
'if/when you're ready, we'll go' (lit. if/when you have got ready...)
[ìdan bà zā kà tàimàkē mù ba], ìnā zā mù ci nasařà?
if/when NEG FUT 2m help 1pl NEG how FUT 1pl win success
'if you won't help us, how will we succeed?'
[ìdan nā/na sǎmu sùkōlàshîf] [nā/na shìga jāmi'ǎ], nâ ɗàuki Hausa
if/when 1sg.PF/FOC-PF get scholarship 1sg.PF/FOC-PF enter university
1sg.POT take Hausa
'if/when I get a scholarship and go to university, I'll probably take Hausa'
(with two conjoined conditional clauses)
[ìdan shī nề kề màganǎ], sai mù sàurārē shì
if 3m COP(m) FOC-IMPF speaking then 1pl.NEUT listen to 3m
'if it's *him* speaking, then we listen to him'
(with focus in the simultaneous **ìdan**-clause)
[ìdan mun mātsà gyàɗā], sai mân yà fitō
if/when 1pl.PF press groundnuts then oil.DD(m) 3m.NEUT come out
'if/when we press the groundnuts, then the oil comes out'

[in sunà zuwà], gāra mù hūtà
if 3pl.IMPF come.VN better 1pl.SJN relax
'if they're coming, we should relax'

Examples of nonverbal **ìdan**-clauses are:

[ìdan bābù kuɗī], shī kè nan	'if there's no money, that's that'
if/when NEG EXIST money that is that	
[in dà hālī] zân zō	'if there's a chance I'll come'
if EXIST chance FUT.1sg come	
[ìdan Audù nē], kâr kà faɗà masà	'if it's Audu, don't tell him'
if Audu COP(m) NEG 2m.SJN tell IOM.3m	

If the conditional clause TAM is Future, e.g. **ìdan [zā kà]**$_{\text{FUT}}$ **tàfi yànzu, bàri ìn bā kà sằƙō** 'if you're going to go now, let me give you a message', then the matrix clause situation is understood to apply *before* the **ìdan**-clause.

The normative **ìdan**-conditional + matrix consequent clause order can be reversed:

kanằ iyà shìgā [ìdan kā biyā nì kuɗîn]
'you can go in when you pay me the money'
kà kāwō minì aikìn gòbe [in zâi yìwu]
'bring me the work tomorrow if (it's) possible'
zā kà sằmē nì à ōfîs [in dà màtsalằ]
'you'll find me in the office if there's a problem'
zā mù tāshì [ìdan gàrī yā wāyè] 'we'll set off when dawn comes'

Less commonly, the subordinator **kàdan = kan** (dial.) can be used, e.g. **zā à biyā mù àlbâshī [kàdan mun/mukà dainà yājìn aikì]** 'we'll be paid our salaries if/when we finish the strike'.

Conditional **ìdan** can also be used to initiate recurrent generic 'when(ever)' clauses:

[ìdan yā jē gōnā], sai yà yi barcī
'when(ever) he went to the farm, he would sleep'
[ìdan nā jē Kanǒ], nakàn hàďu dà àbǒkai dà dāmā
'when(ever) I go to Kano, I meet lots of friends'
[ìdan gidan řēdiyòn BBC zâi gabātař dà shìrye-shìryensà gà ƙasàshen Afîřkà]...
'when(ever) the BBC is going to broadcast its programmes to African countries...'

Restrictive **sai** 'only, just', with an optional emphatic particle **fa**, can premodify **ìdan** to form the complex negative conditional subordinator **sai (fa) ìdan** 'unless', e.g. **kadà kì tàfi [sai fa ìdan yā zama dōlè]** 'don't go unless it's necessary'. Note too the phrasal conditional subordinator **kàmař à cê** 'supposing' (lit. like 4pl.SJN say), e.g. **[kàmař à cê nā tàfi màimakonkà], mề zā sù iyà yî**? 'supposing I went instead of you, what could they do?'.

*3.3.2. Counterfactual-hypothetical conditionals ((**in**) **dà̀**...**dà̀** 'if...then')*

In counterfactual-hypothetical conditionals, the speaker describes a hypothetical condition which s/he knows will not be, is not, or was not fulfilled, and the consequent clause signals what would have been the consequence had the protasis condition been satisfied. Counterfactual sentences are usually formed with the repeat correlatives **dà̀**...**dà̀** 'if...then' at the beginning of both the fixed order initial-position protasis and consequent apodosis clauses, with general (non-focus) TAMs in tensed clauses. The leftmost **dà̀** subordinator can be optionally combined with the same **in** marker used in open conditionals—though not the full form **ìdan**—with little or no meaning difference, i.e. **in dà̀**...**dà̀**. The rightmost **dà̀** can be omitted when the main clause verbal TAM is Future, Potential or Neutral. The time reference for the counterfactual can be past, present or future, and matching Perfective TAMs (for past-time conditions), Imperfective, Future or Potential TAMs (for future-time conditions) can be used in both clauses, though this is by no means an absolute requirement and different

TAMs can be used (see below). Unlike open conditionals (§3.3.1), the Focus Perfective is not used, presumably because of the semantic incompatibility between a counterfactual non-eventive conditional and a specific focus TAM. Examples (affirmative and negative):

[dà jirgin samàn yā yi lattì], dà mun fùsātà
if plane.DD(m) 3m.PF do late then 1pl.PF be angry
'if the plane had been late, then we would have been angry'
[in dà jirgin samàn bài yi lattì ba], dà mun isō cikin lōkàcī
if plane.DD(m) NEG.3m.PF do late NEG then 1pl.PF arrive in time
'if the plane hadn't been late, then we would have arrived in time'
[dà nā sanì], dà bàn fàɗi hakà ba
if 1sg.PF know then NEG.1sg.PF say that NEG
'if I had known, then I would not have said that'
[dà zā sù bā shì kuɗîn kyàutā], (dà) zâi yi farin cikì
if FUT 3pl give 3m money.DD(m) gift (then) FUT.3m do happiness
'if they were to give him the money as a gift, (then) he would be happy'
[dà sâ zō bìkī], (dà) sâ ji dāɗī
if 3pl.POT come party (then) 3pl.POT feel enjoyment
'if they were to come to the party, (then) they would enjoy themselves'
[in dà inà dà lōkàcī], dà yànzu munà kallon fîm
if 1sg.IMPF with time then now 1pl.IMPF watch.VN.of film
'if I had had the time, then we would now be watching the film'

It is possible, however, to mix TAMs in the conditional and consequent clauses (under poorly-understood conditions). Examples:

dà [kin]$_{PF}$ gayà minì kinà zuwà, dà [zân]$_{FUT}$ shiryà mikì àbinci
'if you told me you were coming, then I would prepare some food for you'
dà [mun]$_{PF}$ san hakà zâi fàru, dà bà [mâ]$_{POT}$ gayà makà ba
'if we had known this was going to happen, then we would not have told you'

in dằ [zā kì]$_{\text{FUT}}$ **zō bìkī, dằ [kin]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **= [kyâ]**$_{\text{POT}}$ **mōrè**
'if you were to come to the party, then you would enjoy yourself'
dằ [yanằ]$_{\text{IMPF}}$ **dà kuɗī, dằ [nā]**$_{\text{PF}}$ **yàřda**
'if he had the money, then I would have agreed'

As an alternative to a Future or Potential TAM in the consequent clause, it is possible, as with open conditionals, to use the basic Neutral form, following **sai** 'then'. Examples:

dằ zā sù nūnằ minì hanyằ, dằ [zân]$_{\text{FUT}}$ **= dằ sai [ìn]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **gānè gidân lāfiyằ**
'if they were to show me the way, then I would find the house OK'
dằ tā tùntùßē shì, dằ [yâ]$_{\text{POT}}$ **= dằ sai [yà]**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ **tàimàkē tà**
'if she had approached him, then he would have helped her'

It is also possible to use **in** as the first of the two correlatives, i.e. without **dằ**, especially if the counterfactual is negative, e.g. **[in ban dà wannàn kuskurè], dằ sằkàmakon wằsân bài kasàncē hakà ba** 'if it had not been for this mistake, then the result of the game would not have been as it was'.

The counterfactual clause can be nonverbal, e.g. equational:

[in dằ nī nè], bà zân yi hakà ba 'if it were me, I would not do that'
[dằ Audù nē shǔgàbā], dằ bài yàřda dà hakà ba
'if Audu had been the boss, he would not have agreed to this'
[dằ shī mài kuɗī nè], dằ yā àuri mātā huɗu
'if he were rich, he would have married four wives'

The subordinator **dằ** can be used in a single clause, combining with a following modal particle **mā** 'also' to express an exclamatory 'if only, would that' hypothetical wish, e.g. **dằ mā inằ dà bàbbař mōtằ** 'if only I had a big car'.

*3.3.3. Concessive conditionals (**kō (dằ)** 'even if')*

Concessive conditional clauses are introduced by **kō (dằ)** 'even though, although, even if', i.e. the scalar concessive marker **kō** 'even' optionally

combined with the counterfactual subordinator **dầ.** (**Kō** also indicates *yes/no* questions, §**12**:3.) When used by itself, the subordinator **kō** expresses a concessive '(even) though' reading, i.e. where the concessive clause presupposes that the situation applies or will apply, and the matrix clause contradicts the expectation raised in the concessive. (**Kō** therefore overlaps with the complex subordinator **kō dà yakè** '(al)though', §3.3.5.) The presence of **dầ** adds an element of non-committal 'even if' conditionality, allowing the possibility that the situation may or may not apply, and consistent with its function as a hypothetical marker. Concessive conditionals freely select general verbal TAMs (Subjunctive excepted). See also Newman (2000: chap. 17). Examples (affirmative and negative **kō (dầ)**-clauses):

[kō dầ kin matsầ mîn], bà zân bā kì kuɗîn ba
even if 2f.PF pressure IOM.1sg NEG FUT.1sg give 2f money.DD(m) NEG
'even if you pressured me, I wouldn't give you the money'
[kō dầ â yi ruwā gòbe], dōlè mù tàfi
even if 4pl.POT do rain tomorrow necessity 1pl.SJN go
'even if it were to rain tomorrow, we must go'
[kō dầ bài sanař dà sū ba], nī nā sanař dà sū
even if NEG.3m.PF inform 3pl NEG 1sg 1sg.PF inform 3pl
'although he didn't inform them, I informed them'
[kō kanầ jî shī wāwā nề], kâř kà ƙyālề shi
even 2m.IMPF feel.VN 3m fool COP(m) NEG 2m.SJN ignore 3m
'even though you feel he's a fool, don't ignore him'
[kō jinjìrîn zâi yi kūkā], sai à yi masà àllūřầ
even baby.DD(m) FUT.3m do crying then 4pl.SJN do IOM.3m injection
'even though the baby will cry, he should get an injection'
[kō dầ zā kì zō ōfìs], bā nầ nân
even if FUT 2f come to office NEG 1sg.IMPF here
'in case you come to the office, (and) I'm not here'
(= **kō dầ** + Future TAM expressing a future contingency/reason 'in case' clause)

It is also possible to reverse the usual **kō (dà)**-clause plus matrix clause order:

kanǎ iyà gānè shi [kō yā canzà muryàr̃sà]
'you can recognize him even if he changes his voice'
kà zō dà mōtàr̃kà, [kō dǎ akǎ yi] 'bring your car, just in case'
(= fixed future contingency/reason **kō dǎ [akǎ]**$_{\text{RHET}}$ **yi** 'just in case' expression with a 4pl Rhetorical TAM.)

Kō with a Potential TAM is used to express 'in the hope that', e.g. **sai mù fārǎ yànzu [kō mâ gamǎ dà wuri]** 'let's start now in the hope that we can finish early'.

The subordinate clause can be nonverbal, e.g. (equational) **[kō dǎ mālàminmù nē], nī bà zân dǎmu ba** 'even if it was our teacher, I wouldn't be concerned', and **kō (dǎ)** can also be used with NP complements, e.g. **bài ga [kō dǎ gùdā ba]** 'he didn't see even one'. The equivalent of concessive conditional 'even supposing' in English is expressed by phrasal **cè mā** (lit. say too), e.g. **cè mā an zǎɓē shì**... 'even supposing he's elected...'.

*3.3.4. Generic conditional-concessives (**kō**-wh word = 'wh...ever', etc.)*

Generic conditional-concessive subordinate clauses ('whoever, anyone who, whatever, no matter what', etc.) are introduced by the same **kō**-*wh* proforms which function as universally quantified ('everyone, everything, everywhere', etc.) independent NPs (see §9:5.2). They are morphologically complex elements formed by combining concessive conditional **kō** 'even if' with *wh*-elements, and I will use the cover-term "generic **kō**-*wh* proforms" to distinguish their generic-conditional function from their manipulation as distributive universal proforms. Cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1101) who use the cover-term "universal conditional-concessive clauses" to refer to equivalent '*wh*...ever' constructions in English.

Generic **kō**-*wh* expressions display the same syntactic behaviour as the *wh*-words they combine with, occurring clause-initially and requiring a Focus form of the Perfective or Imperfective TAM in the modifying clause, e.g. **kōwā/kōwǎ ya**$_{\text{[FOC-PF]}}$ **zō, kà gayǎ masà nā fìta** 'whoever/no matter who comes, tell him

I've gone out', where the main clause statement is true in any number of conditions covered by the subordinate **kō**-*wh* clause. Note that no such TAM replacement is required when these forms function as universally quantified nouns, e.g. **kōwā yā**[PF] **zō** 'everyone has come'. Generic conditional-concessives are used to designate a free choice of any representative token of the entire class exemplified by the **kō**-word, and are structurally identical with embedded **kō**-introduced indirect *wh*-marked questions, e.g. **bàn san [kō wȁ ya zō] ba** 'I don't know who came' (see **§13**:6.2). Generic phrasal **kō**-*wh* formations are usually written as single orthographic words—as **kō**-*wh* words are when occurring as distributive universals—notwithstanding the fact that the two elements can be often separated (see below). See Abraham (1959b: 71-73), Bagari (1987), Jaggar (1992a: 118-23), Newman (2000: chap. 73), Parsons (1981: 589ff.), and also Schuh (1998: 380-83) for similar constructions in the related language Miya.

The basic generic **kō**...*wh* words—pronouns, determiners and adverbs—are listed below, together with the corresponding *wh*-elements and, when occurring, universal meanings:

kōwā m. 'whoever, anyone who, no matter who' (also universal 'everyone'), cf. **wȁ** m. 'who?'

kō wȁ(nē nȅ) = kō wȃyê (nē) m., **kō wȁcē cȅ** f., **kō su wȁ(nē nȅ) = kō su wȃyê (nē)** pl. (generic only) 'whoever (it is), anyone (it is) who, no matter who (it is)', cf. **wȁ(nē nȅ) = wȃyê (nē)** m., **wȁcē cȅ** f., **su wȁ(nē nȅ) = su wȃyê (nē)** pl. 'who (is it)?'

kōmē m. 'whatever, anything that, no matter what' (also universal 'everything'), cf. **mȅ** m. 'what?'

kō mȅ(nē nȅ) = kō mȅyê (nē) m. (generic only) 'whatever (it is), anything (it is) that, no matter what (it is)', cf. **mȅ(nē nȅ) = mȅyê (nē)** m. 'what (is it)?'

kōwànnē m., **kōwàccē** f., **kōwàɗànnē** pl. 'whichever one(s), no matter which one(s)' (also universal 'every one, each (one)'), cf. **wànnē** m., **wàccē** f., **wàɗànnē** pl. 'which one(s)?'

kōwànè m., **kōwàcè** f., **kōwàd'ànnè** pl. 'whichever X(s), whatever X(s), no matter what X(s)' (also universal 'every/each X'), cf. **wànè** m., **wàcè** f., **wàd'ànnè** pl. 'which X(s)?'

kō'ìnā 'wherever, no matter where' (also universal 'everywhere'), cf. **ìnā** 'where?'

kōyàushē = kōyàushè 'whenever, no matter when' (also universal 'always'), cf. **yàushē = yàushè** 'when?'

kō mè(nē nè) ya sâ (generic only) 'for whatever reason, no matter why', cf. phrasal **mè ya sâ** 'why?'

kō nawà (generic only) 'however much/many, no matter how much/many', cf. **nawà** 'how much/many?'

kō yàyà 'in whatever way, however, no matter how' (also universal 'in every way'), cf. **yàyà** 'how?' (less commonly **kō ƙàƙà**, cf. **ƙàƙà** 'how?')

The masculine singular **kō**-*wh* pronouns have two variants depending on speaker: (1) the same HH tone **kōwā** (m.) 'whoever, anyone/no matter who' and **kōmē** (m.) 'whatever, anything that, no matter what' forms which also function as distributive *universal* 'everyone, everything' proforms, i.e. with a H tone on the *wh*-element of the compound; or (2) HL **kōwà** and **kōmè** (sometimes written as separate words), i.e. **kō** + L tone *wh*-words—cf. the explicit **kō**-*wh* generic pronouns **kō wà(nē nè)** and **kō wàyê (nē)**, **kō mè(nē nè)** and **kō mèyê (nē)**. Some speakers use both pronoun sets (the feminine and plural pronouns only occur as explicit forms), in which case the HL **kōwà** and **kōmè** variants are felt to be more restrictive/specific, i.e. 'whoever *it is*, no matter who *it is*, whatever *it is*,' etc., implying a more limited choice of tokens from within the possible range of alternatives. This more specific interpretation is consistent with the fact that the **kōwà/kōmè** variants are related to the explicit pronouns **kō wànē nè** and **kō mènē nè** which contain the focus-marking copula elements **nē/nè**—cf. the focus cleft 'whoever it is' etc. structures in the English equivalents.

The pronouns **kōwā/kōwà** and **kōmē/kōmè** etc. function freely as NPs in all syntactic roles, i.e. the **kō** + *wh*-word antecedent can be bound to any NP position in the clause. Examples:

kōwā ya yi hakà, mahàukàcī nè 'whoever did this is mad'
whoever 3m.FOC-PF do this mad COP(m)
kō wànē nè ya yi hakà, mahàukàcī nè 'whoever it is did this is mad'
whoever(m) COP(m) 3m.FOC-PF do this mad COP(m)
kōwà ka gayà wà zâi yi dàriyā
whoever 2m.PF tell IOM FUT.3m do laughter
'whoever (it is) you tell it to will laugh'
kōmē kakè dà shī, kà bā shì 'whatever you have, give him'
whatever 2m.FOC-IMPF with 3m 2m.SJN give 3m
kōmē ya fàru, daidai nè 'no matter what happens, it's OK'
whatever 3m.FOC-PF happen OK COP(m)
kō mènē nè kukà yi, daidai nè
whatever(m) COP(m) 2pl.FOC-PF do OK COP(m)
'no matter what it is you do, it's OK'
kōwàd'ànnē kikà nūnà mîn, daidai nè
whichever ones 2f.FOC-PF show IOM.1sg OK COP(m)
'no matter which ones you show me, it's OK'
kōwàcè irìn mōtà zâi sàyā, zā tà yi tsàdā yànzu
whatever(f) kind.of car FUT.3m buy FUT 3f do expensiveness now
'whatever type of car he's going to buy, it will be expensive now'

If the conditional-concessive contains a nonverbal equational predicate, only the explicit **kō wànē nè/kō wàyê (nē)** and **kō mènē nè/kō mèyê (nē)** pronouns are possible:

kō wànē nè kai, bà zā kà iyà shìgā ba
whoever(m) COP(m) 2m NEG FUT 2m be able go in.VN NEG
'whoever you are, you won't be able to go in'
kō su wàyê nē sū, bàn dàmu ba
whoever(pl) COP(pl) 3pl NEG.1sg.PF be concerned NEG
'whoever they are, I'm not concerned'

Examples of subordinate adverbial **kō**-*wh* proforms expressing location, time, manner, etc. are:

kō'ìnā zâ shi, zā à gānè shi
wherever ALLAT 3m FUT 4pl recognize 3m
'no matter where he goes, he will be recognized'
kōyàushè nakè barcī, nakàn yi mafařkī 'whenever I sleep, I dream'
whenever 1sg.FOC-IMPF sleep 1sg.HAB do dream
kō yǎyǎ sukà kammàlà aikìn, bàn dǎmu ba
however 3pl.FOC-PF finish work.DD(m) NEG.1sg.PF be bothered NEG
'no matter how they finished the work, I'm not bothered'

The causal and quantifier **kō**-*wh* phrases **kō mè(nē nè) ya sâ** 'for whatever reason, no matter why' and **kō nawà** 'however much/many' are restricted to occurrence in generic conditionals:

kō mè ya sâ bài zō ba, sai Allàh kaďai ya sanì
'for whatever reason (i.e. why) he didn't come, God only knows'
kō nawà nē fàřāshìn gidân, zân sàyā
'however much the price of the house, I'm going to buy (it)'

Subordinate **kō**-*wh* clauses usually occur to the left of the matrix, but the reverse order is possible:

kâr kì sayař, kō nawà sukà tayǎ 'don't sell, however much they offer'
bà zân bař aikìnā ba, kō yǎyǎ sukà yi
'I won't leave my job, no matter what they do'
zân kàrβi kōmē kikà bā nì 'I'll accept whatever you give me'
zân jē kō'ìnā ta jē 'I'll go wherever she goes'
(In the last two examples the **kō**-*wh* words appear in their canonical positions.)

With the exception of the HH tone pronouns **kōwā** and **kōmē** (also universals), phrasal generic **kō**-*wh* proforms are not compound words because

the initial **kō** element can be separated from the following *wh*-word, e.g. by a modal particle or preposition:

kō mā wàyê mukà ganī
'and whoever we saw' (lit. even if and who...)
kō mā mề yakề nufĩ
'and whatever he means' (even if and what...)
kō dà mề ka zō
'no matter what you come with' (even if with what...)
kō fa nawà ka bā nì
'indeed however much you give me' (even if indeed how much...)
kō ta yầyầ, kà zō dà ita
'by whatever means, bring her' (even if by means of how...)
kà zō kō dà wànè lōkàcī 'come at whatever time' (even if at which time)
kō kân wầ ya fāɗì 'no matter on whom it falls' (even if on whom...)
kō à ìnā kikà sàyē shì 'wherever you bought it' (even if at where...)
kō dà yàushē sukà isō 'whenever they arrive' (even if at when...)

The temporal **kō**-*wh* adverbs **kō dà yàushē** 'whenever' and **kō dà wànè lōkàcī** 'at whatever time' (with inserted prepositions), and the manner adverb **kō ta yầyầ** 'in whatever way', can also be used to express universal 'always, at all times' and 'in every way' respectively.

Generic-conditional **kō**-*wh* constructions can be roughly paraphrased by universal relative clauses headed by an NP consisting of the collective universal quantifier **duk** 'all', followed either by (1) a relative pronoun, e.g. **kōwầ = duk wandà/waddà/waɗàndà** (m./f./pl.) 'everyone/anyone who, whoever, no matter who' (lit. all who), or (2) a generic lexical noun, e.g. **kōmề = duk àbîn dà** 'everything/anything that, whatever, no matter what', **kōyàushē = duk lōkàcîn dà** 'every time that, whenever, no matter when', **kō'ìnā = duk indà** 'every where (place) that, wherever, no matter where', etc. Universal relative clauses introduced by **duk** usually have a collective non-distributional force (see §**9**:5.4). Examples:

kōwǎ = duk wandà ya yi hakà shàƙiyyì nē
'whoever = anyone who did this is a rogue'
kōmɛ̌ = duk àbîn dà kakɛ̀ sô zân bā kà
'whatever = anything that you want I'll give you'
kōyàushē = duk lōkàcîn dà kikà ga dāmā, zân zō
'whenever = any time that you think fit, I'll come'
kō'ìnā = duk indà ka gan shì, yanǎ tǎre dà yārinyàřsà
'wherever = anywhere that you see him, he's with his girlfriend'

In fixed generic proverbs, only the HH tone **kōwā** 'whoever' and **kōmē** 'whatever' pronouns appear to be possible (interestingly even for speakers who otherwise prefer the HL **kōwǎ** etc. variants). Nonpersonal **kōmē** can be followed by a complex genitival NP, equivalent to an equational predicate. Examples:

kōwā ya ci àmānǎ, àmānǎ tâ cī shì
'treachery begets treachery'
(lit. whoever betrays trust, trust will likely betray him)
kōwā ya ci lādan kuturū, dōlè yà yi masà askǐ
'whoever undertakes a task must see it through'
(lit. whoever takes the leper's payment must shave him)
kōmē nīsan darē, gàrī yâ wāyè 'every cloud has a silver lining'
(lit. whatever the length of the night, dawn will break)

3.3.5. Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are initiated by the complex subordinators **kō dà yakè** or **duk dà yakè** '(al)though, even though'—again headed by **kō**—followed by a tensed general TAM clause. Examples:

[kō dà yakè bâ ni dà kuɗī dà yawǎ], zân bā kà ràncē
although NEG 1sg with money much 1sg.FUT give 2m loan
'although I don't have much money, I'll give you a loan'

[kō dà yakè an fārà ruwā], sai mù fìta
even though 4pl.PF start rain then 1pl.SJN go out
'even though it's started raining, we should go out'
[duk dà yakè kanâ nân], bà zā mù fārâ ba tùkùna
although 2m.IMPF here NEG FUT 1pl start NEG yet
'although you're here, we won't start yet'

In order to reinforce the concession, the coordinator **àmmā** 'but' and/or concessive conjunct **duk dà hakà** 'nevertheless, still' can be inserted as correlatives at the beginning of the consequent matrix clause. Examples:

[kō dà yakè bâ ni dà lāfiyâ], àmmā (duk dà hakà) dōlè ìn tàfi aikì
'although I'm not well, I must still go to work'
[kō dà yakè anâ sanyī yànzu], duk dà hakà dōlè mù tàfi makaɗantā
'though it's cold at present, nevertheless we have to go to school'

The usual concessive...matrix clause order can be reversed:

yā ɗàuki mōtâtā, [kō dà yakè nā gayâ masà bā nâ sô]
'he took my car, even though I told him I didn't want (him to)'
zā tà sàyi mōtâ, [kō dà yakè bà tà iyà tūkì ba]
'she's going to buy a car, even though she can't drive'

The full concessional subordinator **duk dà yakè** can be reduced to **duk dà**, optionally followed by the complementizer **cêwā** '(saying) that', and with a general TAM. Examples:

[duk dà sunâ[IMPF] **hīɗa à lōkàcîn], sun ji ɓàrāwòn**
'although they were chatting at the time, they heard the thief'
[duk dà cêwā an[PF] **yi ruwā jiyà], sun tāshì**
'even though it rained yesterday, they set off'

3.4. Temporal clauses ('when', 'as soon as', 'while', 'until', 'after', 'before', etc.)

The most common subordinators used to initiate adverbial time clauses are: **bāyan, bāyân dà** 'after', **hař** '(up) until', **kằfîn** etc. 'before', **kō dà** 'as soon as', **(lōkàcîn) dà** and **sā'àn dà** etc. 'when', **sai (dà)** '(not) until', **tun** 'as, while', and **tun dà** 'since' (see also Newman 2000: chap. 69). These temporal subordinators are classified according to whether the event/situation described in the matrix clause is realized before (§3.4.1), simultaneous with (§3.4.2), or after (§3.4.3) the dependent clause event. Cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1078ff.) on time clauses in English.

3.4.1. Matrix clause time = BEFORE subordinate clause time ('until', 'before')

The key subordinators signalling this temporal relationship are **hař** '(up) until', **sai (dà)** '(not) until', and **kằfîn** (and its variants) 'before'. (On **hař** and **sai** see also Lukas 1955 and Meyers 1974.)

3.4.1.1. 'Until'. **Hař** expresses a forward-span '(up) until' meaning and indicates the time-point up to which the durative main clause event applies. **Hař** usually takes either a Subjunctive (?Neutral) TAM with future time reference, or a Perfective TAM with past time reference, following an S-initial matrix clause. Examples:

kà yi ta tàfiyằ, [hař kà kai gadàř]
2m.SJN keep on travel.VN until 2m.SJN reach bridge.DD(f)
'keep on going, until you reach the bridge'
kà ci gàba dà aikǐ [hař sù zō]
2m.SJN continue with work until 3pl.SJN come
'continue working until they come'
sun zō sun bi lāyìn awồ, [hař sun gōdè Allàh]
3pl.PF come 3pl.PF follow line.of weighing until 3pl.PF thank God
'they came and waited in a long line, until they thanked God'

mun dākàtā [hař ruwā yā ɗâukē] 'we waited until the rain stopped'
1pl.PF wait until rain 3m.PF stop

Hař can also be used to express resultative-comparative constructions, equivalent to clauses marked by the comparative excessive correlatives 'so (much/many)...that' in English. This function could relate to its past-time 'until' meaning, i.e. where the result is realized, and/or its use as a focus adverb meaning 'even' (see §**12**:2.8). The initial matrix clause often contains a quantifier or intensifying adverb, and **hař** introduces the final subordinate clause. Examples:

saì sukà ji ràunī dà yawà̀ [hař sukà mutù]
'then they got injured so much that they died'
yā yi arzìkī ƙwařai [hař yā sàyi Mařsandî]
'he's become so very rich that he's bought a Mercedes'

The subordinator **sai** 'until'—also a temporal 'then' coordinator (§2.1)—differs from **hař** in specifying more punctual, terminal events. It can combine with the temporal subordinator **dà** 'when' (§3.4.3.1) to form phrasal **sai dà**, normally used in past-time sequences with a Focus Perfective TAM, where **sai dà** is probably—like **dà** 'when' and **tun dà** 'since'—a reduced form of a prepositional phrase without the NP **lōkàcîn** 'the time'. **Sai (dà)** has two principal temporal functions. Firstly, it is used in affirmative contexts to mark the time-point *before* which the durative matrix clause event takes place. Secondly, it initiates a dependent verbal TAM clause following a negative matrix clause, in which case it specifies the time-point *after* which the matrix clause situation is activated and so is equivalent to '(not) until, unless, etc.'. (This role is described alongside functionally comparable subordinators such as **bāyan, bāyân dà** 'after' and **lōkàcîn dà** 'when' in §3.4.3.) Examples of **sai (dà)** 'until' denoting an end-point and indicating the time-point up to which the initial main clause situation applies are:

zân ci gàba dà kàřàtū [sai an rufè lābùřāřè]
'I'll carry on studying until the library has been closed'
dằkàtā [sai an kirā kà] 'wait until you're called'
...sai sukà bař shì [sai dà ya gamà ƙārařsà]
'...then they left him until he'd finished his protesting'
sun dākàtā [sai dà mukà kammàlà aikìn]
'they waited until we finished the work'
yârân sun yi wằsā [sai dà sukà gàji] 'the children played until they got tired'

Hař as a preposition can modify and reinforce **sai (dà)** to mean 'right up until':

tun dàgà wànnan lōkàcī [hař sai yā girma]
'from that time right up until he had grown up'
zân dākàtā [hař sai kin gamằ] 'I'll wait right up until you have finished'
kīfằyên sunằ tsàlle-tsàlle [hař sai ruwan rằfîn yā dāwō]
'the fish jump about up until the water in the stream has returned'
sukà yi ta yîn aikì [hař sai dà rānā ta fādì]
'they kept on working right up until the sun went down'

3.4.1.2. 'Before'. Subordinate 'before' clauses also indicate that the matrix clause event was realized before the subordinate clause event. They are introduced by **kằfin** (also **kằfin, kằmìn/kằmin** and clipped **kàn**), followed by a Subjunctive (? Neutral) verbal TAM whatever the time reference—cf. **hař** 'until' which only takes a Subjunctive TAM in future-time contexts. The matrix clause can occur S-initial or final. Examples:

[kằfin ìn zō nân ƙasâř], inằ zàune à Jāmùs
before 1sg.SJN come here country.DD(f) 1sg.IMPF live.STAT in Germany
'before I came to this country, I was living in Germany'
[kằfîn à kōrō shì] yanằ wằsā à Masàř
before 4pl.SJN send here 3m 3m.IMPF play in Egypt
'before he was sent back he was playing in Egypt'

[kàfin ìn yi nīsā], zâi fi kyâu ìdan...
before 1sg.SJN do distance FUT.3m exceed good if
'before I get too far, it would be best if...'
yā kàmātà kì rufè kânkì [kàfin kì fìta]
3m.PF be fitting 2f.SJN cover head.of.2f before 2f.SJN go out
'you should cover your head before you go out'

Kàfin as a preposition can also be followed by a nonfinite (verbonominal or infinitival) VP complement, e.g. **[kàfin ganin hakà] sai na fìta** 'before seeing this I left' (= finite verbal **[kàfin ìn ga hakà]**... 'before I saw this...').

Another way of expressing 'before', past or non-past time, is to use the temporal subordinator **tun** 'since' (§3.4.3.4) followed by a Negative Perfective TAM clause. This construction has a slightly more emphatic 'even/well before' value. Examples:

tun Tùřàwā bà sù zō ba, àkwai ařzìkī dà yawà à ƙasař Hausa
'even before the Europeans arrived (lit. since the Europeans had not arrived), there was plenty of wealth in Hausaland'
kù tāshì tun mālàm bài gan kù ba 'leave well before the teacher sees you'

Tun can also combine prepositionally with **kàfin (mā)** to signal temporal distance, e.g. **tun kàfin mā yà bař ƙasâř ya cè**... 'and long before he left the country he said...', **zā à yī shì nē tun kàfin ruwā yà sàuka** 'it will be done well before the rains come'.

3.4.2. Matrix clause time = SIMULTANEOUS with subordinate clause time ('when', 'while/as', 'as long as')

Overt subordinators can be used to indicate matrix-subordinate clause simultaneity (see also §2.1 for simultaneous actions expressed paratactically as juxtaposed coordinate clauses). If the TAM in the matrix clause is Imperfective, **lōkàcîn dà** etc. 'when' normally indicates simultaneity of the events, or at least a temporal overlap, e.g. (before or after the main clause):

[lōkàcîn dà mukà gan shì], yanà̀ zàune bà̀kin hanyà̀
when 1pl.FOC-PF see 3m 3m.IMPF sit.STAT side.of road
'when we saw him, he was sitting by the side of the road'
bā nà̀ nan [sâddà ta zō] 'I wasn't there when she arrived'
NEG 1sg.IMPF there when 3f.FOC-PF arrive
lauyàn yā fitō à kānun là̀bà̀řai nè [yà̀yîn dà ya karè wani lēbùřà]...
lawyer.DD(m) 3m.PF come out in headlines.of news COP(m) when 3m.FOC-PF defend SID(m) labourer
'the lawyer appeared in the headlines when he defended a labourer...'

Similarly, if the subordinate **lōkàcîn dà**-clause occurs with a durative Focus Imperfective TAM, it is equivalent to same-time 'while/as', denoting action in progress. Examples:

tā shigō [lōkàcîn dà nakè̀ kà̀řà̀tū] 'she came in when/while I was studying'
[yà̀yîn dà nakè̀ Nìjēřiyà̀], anà̀ Yāƙìn Bà̀sāsà̀
'when/while I was in Nigeria, the Civil War was going on'
yā fà̀ɗi hakà [lōkàcîn dà yakè̀ būɗè sābuwař makařantâř]
'he said this when/as he was opening the new school'

Lōkàcîn dà can take a general Imperfective TAM with nonverbal predicates, e.g. **lōkàcîn dà [inà̀]**$_{\text{IMPF}}$ = **[nakè̀]**$_{\text{FOC-IMPF-2}}$ **yārò**... 'when I was a boy...'.

The circumstantial clause can have a projective Future TAM to express an imminent but unfulfilled event in the past, where **lōkàcîn dà** etc. is equivalent to English 'as'. The consequent matrix clause is normally introduced by conjunctive **sai** 'then'. Examples:

[(lōkàcîn) dà zā mù tāshì], (sai) akà fārà ruwā
'as we were about to leave, (then) it started to rain'
[sâddà zân fìta], (sai) wani bà̀ƙō ya isō
'as I was about to leave, (then) a stranger arrived'
(The same temporal relationship can also be expressed paratactically, see §2.1.)

The concurrent Imperfective TAM clause can also function as the complement of a higher verb of discovery or perception, e.g. **sun sầmē shì [yanầ ɓōyè kuɗîn]** 'they found him hiding the money'.

The conjunction **tun** is regularly used as a same-time subordinator to mean 'while', with a durative and often nonverbal Imperfective TAM clause. Examples:

yā hàɗu dà màtařsà [tun yanầ kàřầtū à Landàn]
'he met his wife while he was studying in London'
an yi matà aurē [tun tanầ ƙàramā] 'she was married while she was young'
nā fārà ɗinkî nē [tun inầ ɗan ƙànƙanè]
'I started sewing while I was very small'

Yànzu dà 'now that' combines circumstantial with temporal meanings, and is usually followed by the dummy (3m) Focus Imperfective-2 element **yakè**, e.g. **[yànzu dà yakè kā sầmi bàbban dìgìřî nākà], kanầ muřnầ**? 'now that you've got your Ph.D., do you feel happy?'. Note too the durative (also conditional) subordinators **muddìn** and **matuƙař** 'as/so long as', e.g. **[muddìn inầ dà râi], bà zân yàřda ba** 'as long as I'm alive, I won't agree', **[matuƙař kā yi kàřầtū], zā kà ci jařřàbâwâř** 'as long as you study, you'll pass the exam', and **gàrin** 'while, in the process of', e.g. **[gàrin girkî], sai rìgařtà ta kāmà wutā** 'while cooking, (then) her dress caught fire'.

3.4.3. Matrix clause time = AFTER subordinate clause time ('after', 'when', 'as soon as', 'since', '(not) until', etc.)

The major sequential subordinators which indicate that the situation in the main clause is realized *after* the dependent clause situation are: **bāyan, bāyân dà** 'after', **dà (zārař), kō dà** 'as soon as', **(lōkàcîn) dà** etc. 'when', **sai (dà)** '(not) until, only after/when', and **tun dà** 'since'.

3.4.3.1. 'When' (lit. the time that). The 'when' subordinators **lōkàcîn dà = sā'àn/sā'àd dà = yầyîn dà** are NPs made up of a head temporal noun with a definite determiner suffix modified by a **dà**-introduced restrictive relative clause

with focus verbal TAMs, e.g. **lōkàcîn dà < lōkàcī** 'time' + **`-n** (m) determiner + **dà** relativizer (lit. time.the that). The noun-determiner NP is often ellipted, leaving simply **dà**, and **sā'àn dà/sā'àd dà** regularly contract to **sândà/sâddà**, which then simplify to HL **sandà/saddà** for some speakers. In contrast to the subordinator **ìdan**, which introduces 'if, when' non-past open conditionals (§3.3.1), **lōkàcîn dà** etc. is typically used to initiate a sequence of completed, past-time narrative 'when' events, and the correlative conjunction **sai** 'then' is often used in the consequent (also Focus Perfective TAM) clause. Examples:

[lōkàcîn dà akà būɗè gidan wayǎ], sū nè sukà fārà shìgā
when 4pl.FOC-PF open post office 3pl COP(pl) 3pl.FOC-PF begin go in.VN
'when the post office was opened, *they* were the first to go in'
[dà gàrī ya wāyè], sai sukà tāshì 'when dawn broke, then they left'
when dawn 3m.FOC-PF break then 3pl.FOC-PF leave
[sâddà akà ƙārè Yāƙìn Dūniyǎ na Biyu], sai Tùřǎwā sukà ga...
when 4pl.FOC-PF end War.of World of Two then Europeans 3pl.FOC-PF realize
'when the Second World War was ended, then the Europeans realized...'

Lōkàcîn dà etc. can also be used with a Future TAM to express temporal-conditional 'when(ever)', e.g. **[sandà zā tà fìta], dōlè tà rufè kântà** 'when(ever) she was going to go out, she had to cover her head'.

As NPs, 'when' subordinators can occur as objects of prepositions:

[à yǎyîn dà Mūsā ya gamà kāsuwancìnsà] sai ya kōmǎ gidā
'when Musa finished his trading he then returned home'
(lit. at the time that..., = PP headed by **à** 'at')
bàn sākè shân tābǎ ba [tun lōkàcîn dà na yi rashìn lāfiyǎ]
'I haven't smoked again since the time that I was ill' (= PP headed by **tun** 'since')

The degree adverb **kō** 'even' can modify **dà** 'when' to express a more concessive 'even when' meaning (future and past time):

[kō dà zā tà tàfi jāmi'ầ], dōlè tà rufè kântà
'even when she was going to go to university, she had to cover her head'
[kō dà na jē], bàn gan tà ba 'even when I went, I didn't see her'

3.4.3.2. '(Not) until'. When marking a sequence where the main clause event is realized *after* the dependent **sai**-clause event, the subordinator **sai** has a more exclusive-restrictive 'not until (the time), only after/when' or negative conditional 'unless' force (cf. its related exclusive 'only, except, etc.' adverbial meaning). When signalling this temporal relationship, **sai** typically initiates a subordinate verbal TAM clause following a negative root clause (overt or implied) with a durative sense, in which case it is the absence of an event which is expressed. If the time-reference is future, the **sai**-marked clause takes a Perfective TAM, e.g.

kâř kì tàfi [sai nā dāwō] 'don't go till I've come back'
NEG 2f.SJN go until 1sg.PF come back
bà zân tāshì dàgà nân ba [sai kin biyā nì]
NEG FUT.1sg leave from here NEG until 2f.PF pay 1sg
'I won't leave here unless/until you pay me'

Sai + Perfective is also used to express strong obligation, e.g. **sai sun biyā nì tùkùna** 'they *must* pay me first' (lit. (not) until 3pl.PF pay 1sg first). **Sai** 'until' can also combine as a preposition with the subordinator **bāyan** 'after' to mean 'until after', e.g. **bà zân tàfi ba [sai bāyan kin dāwō]** 'I won't go until after you've returned'.

If the time-reference is past, many speakers use phrasal **sai dà** with a Focus Perfective TAM to mean 'only when', i.e. 'it was not until X happened that Y happened'. Examples:

bà tà iyà tàfiyầ ba [sai dà akà bā tà fàsfô]
NEG 3f.PF be able travel.VN NEG only when 4pl.FOC-PF give 3f passport
'she wasn't able to travel until (only when) she'd been given a passport'

[sai dà mukà ci rabìn hanyå̀] sànnan mukà tunå̀ bà mù sàyi mân fētùr̃ ba
'only when we had got half way did we then remember we hadn't bought any petrol' (with the correlatives **sai dà...sànnan** 'only when...then')
[sai dà ya sâ hannū] na bā shì kuɗîn
'it was not until (only when) he signed that I gave him the money'
bà sù gamà aikìn ba [sai dà rānā ta fāɗì]
'they didn't finish the work until (only when) the sun went down'

Cf. the corresponding **haɾ̃** 'even when' construction: **bà sù gamà aikìn ba [haɾ̃ rānā tā fāɗì]** 'they didn't finish the work even when the sun had gone down'.

3.4.3.3. 'After'. 'After' is expressed by either **bāyan** (= **bāyā** 'back' + genitive linker **-n**) in a Perfective TAM clause or the relativized NP **bāyân dà** + Focus Perfective TAM clause (sometimes simplified to **bāyan dà**). Both subordinators can be used for past-time reference with apparently little or no meaning difference. If the matrix clause is S-final it is often initiated by **sai** 'then'. Examples:

[bāyan nā = bāyân dà na fārà aikì̀ sòsai], sai akà tūrå̀ ni Kanò
after 1sg.PF = after 1sg.FOC-PF start job proper then 4pl.FOC-PF send 1sg Kano
'after I started the job proper, I was then transferred to Kano'
[bāyan sun = bāyan dà sukà dāwō dàgà Amìɾ̃kà] sai sukà yi màganå̀ dà 'yan-jàɾ̃ìdū
after 3pl.PF = after 3pl.FOC-PF return from U.S.A. then 3pl.FOC-PF do talk with journalists
'after they returned from the U.S.A. they then talked with journalists'

Only **bāyan** can be used for future-time reference:

zân dūbà takàɾ̃daɾ̃kà [bāyan kā gyārå̀ ta]
'I'll look at your paper after you've corrected it'

[bāyan ɗ'àlìbai sun gamà jařřàbâwā], sai sù tāshì
'after the students have finished the exam, they may leave'

Bāyan can also occur as a preposition with a nominalized VP as complement, e.g. **[bāyan biyàn àlbâshinsù], sai adàdin ma'àikàtā ya ràgu** 'after paying their salaries, the number of workers then reduced'.

3.4.3.4. 'Since' (temporal). Temporal '(ever) since' is expressed by the complex subordinator **tun dà**, an optional reduction of a relativized temporal NP **tun lōkàcîn dà** 'since the time that', and normally with a following verbal TAM in the Focus Perfective (= past-time reference). Examples:

[tun dà Allàh ya yī nì], bàn taßà jîn làbāřì irìn wannàn ba
since God 3m.FOC-PF make 1sg NEG.1sg.PF ever do hear.VN.of story kind.of this NEG
'in all my life (lit. since God made me), I've never heard a story like this'
bàn sākè shân tābâ ba, [tun (lōkàcîn) dà na yi rashìn lāfiyâ]
NEG.1sg.PF do again smoke.VN.of tobacco NEG since (time.DD(m)) REL 1sg.FOC-PF do lack.of health
'I haven't smoked again, since (the time) I was ill'
[tun dà nakè Kanò], bàn taßà zuwâ kâsuwā ba
since 1sg.FOC-IMPF-2 Kano NEG.1sg.PF ever do go.VN market NEG
'ever since I've been in Kano, I've never been to the market'

The equivalent of time-span 'since' can also be expressed with a construction typically consisting of the time-adverb **yâu** 'today' followed by a quantified temporal NP and negative clause, i.e. without any overt subordinator. Examples:

yâu kwānā ukù bà mù gan shì ba 'it's three days since we've seen him'
today day three NEG 1pl.PF see 3m NEG
an yi watâ shidà bà mù sâdu ba 'it's six months since we met'
4pl.PF do month six NEG 1pl.PF meet NEG (= two verbal TAM clauses)

Tun as a preposition can take a nonfinite nominalized VP complement, e.g. **[tun zuwǎnā Jāmùs] bàn gan tà ba** 'since (my) coming to Germany I haven't seen her'.

3.4.3.5. 'As soon as, once, the moment, etc.'. Hausa uses a number of markers to express the notion 'as soon as, immediately, the moment, no sooner had, etc.', expressing varying and sometimes overlapping degrees of temporal proximity between the two events. The subordinators fall into two categories depending upon whether the events have past or future reference. The past-time markers include: (1) the subordinator **kō dà** 'as soon as', usually with a verbal TAM clause; (2) either a TAM clause or nonfinite VP + **kè nan** 'it/this is', or a nonfinite VP + **kè dà wùyā** 'barely, hardly'; and (3) prepositional **dà** 'with' or **dàgà** 'from' plus a nonfinite VP (also future reference). The future-time 'as soon as' subordinator is **dà zārař** with a verbal TAM clause. Consequent clauses with past-time reference are usually initiated by **sai** 'then, when' with a Focus Perfective TAM.

*3.4.3.5.1. Clauses introduced by **kō dà** 'as soon as'.* The complex subordinator **kō dà** 'as soon as' takes a past-time verbal clause with a Focus Perfective TAM. Examples:

[kō dà mukà gānè hakà], sai mukà dànganà
as soon as 1pl.FOC-PF realize this then 1pl.FOC-PF resign
'as soon as we realized this, we resigned ourselves to it'
[kō dà sukà dāwō], sai sukà tarař tā rìgā tā mutù
as soon as 3pl.FOC-PF return then 3pl.FOC-PF find 3f.PF already do 3f.PF die
'as soon as they returned, they found she had already died'

Kō dà can also take a nonfinite VP, e.g. **[kō dà fitôwařsà] sai ya tsayà yanà dùbe-dùbe** 'as soon as he came out he stopped and was looking around'.

3.4.3.5.2. Clauses with the correlatives ***kè nan****...****sai*** *'no sooner/just...when' or* ***kè dà wùyā****...****sai*** *'hardly...when'.* Two sets of correlative subordinators can be used to express a strong degree of temporal proximity (and surprise), equivalent to past-time 'no sooner/hardly...when'. The first correlative element functions as an emphatic modifier at the end of the initial clause and contains a Focus Imperfective TAM-marker **kè**—either **kè nan** 'it/this is' (lit. FOC-IMPF there), or **kè dà wùyā** 'hardly, barely' (lit. FOC-IMPF with difficulty). The consequent clause is then usually introduced by correlative **sai** 'when' ('then') plus a Focus Perfective TAM. Correlative **kè nan**, glossed as 'no sooner, just, as soon as', normally completes an initial free verbal TAM matrix clause. Examples:

[mutânē sunà dāwôwā kè nan] sai akà kirā sallà
men 3pl.IMPF return.VN it is then 4pl.FOC-PF call prayer
'the men were just returning when prayer was called'
[zā mù tāshì kè nan] sai mukà ji anà kiránmù
FUT 1pl leave it is then 1pl.FOC-PF hear 4pl.IMPF call.VN.of.1pl
'we were just about to leave when we heard someone calling us'
[inà cîn àbinci kè nan] sai gà Mūsā
1sg.IMPF eat.VN.of food it is then PRESENT Musa
'I was just eating when there was Musa'

Some (but not all) speakers allow a Perfective TAM in the initial clause:

[tā zō kè nan] sai akà fārà ruwā
'no sooner had she arrived when it started raining'
[mun dāwō gidā kè nan] sai mukà ga ɓàrāwòn
'no sooner had we arrived home when we saw the thief'

If correlative **kè dà wùyā...sai** 'hardly/barely...when' is used, the degree modifier **kè dà wùyā** phrase follows a nonfinite VP. If the verbal noun is based on an intransitive motion-verb, the underlying subject is expressed as a possessive pronoun clitic. Examples:

[dāwôwařsà kὲ dà wùyā], sai mukà hàďu dà shī
return.VN.of.3m FOC-IMPF with difficulty then 1pl.FOC-PF meet with 3m
'he had barely returned, when we met him'
[sàukařsù Amìřkà kὲ dà wùyā] sai sukà yi wata gānàwā dà Shûgàbā
arrive.VN.of.3pl U.S.A. FOC-IMPF with difficulty then 3pl.FOC-PF do SID(f) discussion with President
'just as soon as they arrived in the U.S.A. they had a private discussion with the President'
[kammàlà aikὶ kὲ dà wùyā], sai sukà tàfi mashāyā
finish work FOC-IMPF with difficulty then 3pl.FOC-PF go to bar
'they had hardly finished work, when they went to the bar'

The same nonfinite construction can also be used with **kὲ nan**, e.g.

[dāwôwātā kὲ nan dàgà Kanô] na sằmu wannàn lằbāřì
'it was on my return from Kano (that) I got this news'
(lit. return.VN.of.1sg it is...)
[zuwằnā kὲ nan] sai na ga ɓàrāwòn
'I was just arriving when I saw the thief' (lit. arrive.VN.of.1sg it is...)

*3.4.3.5.3. Prepositional nonfinite VP with **dà** 'with' or **dàgà** 'from' ('just as soon as', etc.).* A prepositional phrase headed by the preposition **dà** 'with' or **dàgà** 'from' plus a nonfinite VP can also be used to express an enhanced degree of temporal proximity, usually followed by a **sai-**clause if past-time reference. Examples:

[dà kammàlà kàřằtū], sai Audù ya bař lābùřāřὲ
with finish studying then Audu 3m.FOC-PF leave library
'on finishing studying, Audu then left the library'
[dà zuwànkà can], kà kirāwō nì
with go.VN.of.2m there 2m.SJN call 1sg
'just as soon as you get there, phone me'

[dàgà shìgařsà], sai ya sằmē tà
from enter.VN.of.3m then 3m.FOC-PF find 3f
'the moment he went in, then he found her'

3.4.3.5.4. Clauses introduced by ***dà (zārař)*** *'as soon as, the moment', etc.* The main proximity subordinator with future (and habitual) time reference is **dà zārař** + Perfective TAM 'as soon as, the moment, etc.', itself a prepositional phrase consisting of **dà** 'with' + **zārā** (lit.) 'absolute truth' + **-ř** linker. The NP **zārař** element is optional, and the complementizer **cêwā** '(saying) that' can be added. Examples:

[dà zārař cêwā kin jē tashằ], kì sàyi tikitì
as soon as COMP 2f.PF go station 2f.SJN buy ticket
'as soon as you get to the station, buy a ticket'
[dà cêwā yā shā wùyā], sai yà fashề dà kūkā
as soon as COMP 3m.PF suffer trouble then 3m.NEUT burst with crying
'the moment he has any trouble, he bursts out crying'
[dà kāyân sun isō], zân gayằ makà
as soon as goods.DD(pl) 3pl.PF arrive FUT.1sg tell IOM.2m
'as soon as the goods arrive, I'll tell you'
(Cf. the sequential past-time 'when' clause **[dà kāyân sukà isō] na gayằ masà**
'when the goods arrived I told him', with **dà** + Focus Perfective TAM.)

3.5. Reason ('because, since') and purpose ('in order to') clauses

The key subordinators initiating reason clauses are **dồmin** (= clipped **don**), **sabồdà = sàbīlì dà** 'because (of), on account of', and **tun dà yakè** (= **tun dà = dà yakè**) 'since, as' (§3.5.1). **Dồmin/don**, and less commonly **sabồdà**, also indicate purpose 'in order to' (§3.5.2) and, together with **sàbīlì dà** and **tun**, have prepositional 'because of, due to' usages, e.g. with nominalized VPs (see below). The situation/event in the subordinate reason clause temporally precedes the main

clause situation. Related circumstantial clauses are typically introduced by the more formal prepositional phrase **(don) ganin cêwā** 'seeing that, given that, in view of the fact that' (lit. (because of) seeing.of that). Subordinate reason and purpose clauses can be verbal or nonverbal (e.g. equational, existential). A tensed verbal clause will usually take a general TAM. See also Newman (2000: chap. 61).

3.5.1. Reason ('because, since') clauses

Clauses introduced by **dòmin** etc. 'because' usually occur in final position, e.g. (affirmative and negative):

bàn ji dāɗī ba [dòmin bà à biyā nì kuɗîn ba]
NEG.1sg.PF feel pleasure NEG because NEG 4pl.PF pay 1sg money.DD(m) NEG
'I'm not happy because I haven't been paid the money'
an zàɓē shì kawài [don yanà dà kuɗī]
4pl.PF elect 3m simply because 3m.IMPF with money
'he was elected simply because he had money'
yā sàyi iyàkwàndishàn [sàbīlì dà anà tsananin zāfī]
3m.PF buy air-conditioning because 4pl.IMPF severity.of heat
'he bought air-conditioning because it was excessively hot'
Nìjēřiyà tanà dà arzìkī [sabòdà àkwai mân fētùř dà yawà à ƙasâř]
Nigeria 3f.IMPF with wealth because EXIST petroleum much in country.DD(f)
'Nigeria is rich because there's lots of petroleum in the country'
sun amìncē dà shī [sabòdà shī mālàminsù nē]
3pl.PF trust with 3m because 3m teacher.of.3pl COP(m)
'they trusted him because he was their teacher'

S-initial position is possible, in which case the reason clause often occurs as the focus of a copula-marked cleft construction, and with a focus TAM in the consequent main clause. Examples:

[sàbīlì dà kā kyautàtā mîn nē] na bā kà aikìn
because 2m.PF be kind IOM.1sg COP(m) 1sg.FOC-PF give 2m job.DD(m)
'it's because you were kind to me (that) I gave you the job'
[sabòdà shī bàbban mùtûm nē] mukè girmàmā shi
because 3m important.of person COP(m) 1pl.FOC-IMPF respect 3m
'it's because he's an important person (that) we respect him'

To negate a reason clause, verbal or nonverbal, the discontinuous **bầ...ba** negators are used to bracket the clause, e.g. **an zầɓē shì [bầ sabòdà yā kashè kuɗī dà yawầ ba]** 'he was elected not because he spent lots of money'. Initial-position negative focus clefting activates a focus TAM in the consequent main clause, e.g. **[bầ don kai mài kuɗī nè ba] [akà]**$_{\text{FOC-PF}}$ **bā kà matsayîn** 'it's not because you're rich that you've been given the position'. The reason clause can consist of a nominalized VP, e.g. **wasu sun yi ƙìtāyầ [sabòdà sōkè zầɓên dà akà yi]** 'some have retired because of the cancellation of the election (that was done)' (with the nominalized VP modified by a relative clause).

The reason subordinator **tun dà yakè** 'since, as' (lit. since REL 3m.FOC-IMPF-2) takes a verbal general TAM clause. This is because the 3m Focus Imperfective-2 **yakè** TAM following the relative marker **dà** acts as a "pro-relative" filler. It is usually, though not always, in S-initial position. Examples:

[tun dà yakè kinầ nân], zân bā kì kuɗîn
as 2f.IMPF here FUT.1sg give 2f money.DD(m)
'as you're here, I'll give you the money'
[tun dà yakè nā gayầ makà], dōlè kà yi
since 1sg.PF tell IOM.2m necessary 2m.SJN do
'since I've told you, you must do (it)'
[tun dà yakè mōtàƙ nân mài àƙàhā cè], yā sàyā
since car this **MAI** cheapness COP(f) 3m.PF buy
'since this car was cheap, he bought (it)'

zân dāwō gòbe, [tun dà yakè bâ ka dà lōkàcī yànzu]
FUT.1sg return tomorrow since NEG 2m with time now
'I'll come back tomorrow, since you don't have any time now'

With **tun dà yakè**-clauses, the syntactic subject is sometimes positioned in the preclausal topic slot, e.g. **[ɗ'ānā], [tun dà yakè yā sầmu sùkōlàshîf], zâi ɗ'àuki bàbban dìgìřî** 'my son, since he has got a scholarship, will take a PhD'.

When the truncated form **tun dà** is used, i.e. with the **yakè** element ellipted, it remains formally distinct from the corresponding temporal subordinator **tun dà** 'since' (< **tun** + relativized time NP **tun lōkàcîn dà** 'since the time that') which, as a relative construction, requires a Focus TAM. Examples:

[tun dà an[PF] **naɗầ shi sarkī], yā yi tàfîye-tàfîye dà yawầ**
'since (because) he was appointed emir, he has travelled a lot'
Cf. **[tun dà akà**[FOC-PF] **naɗầ shi sarkī], yā yi tàfîye-tàfîye dà yawầ**
'since (the time that) he was appointed emir, he has travelled a lot'
[tun dà nā[PF] **gayầ makà kà bař sātầ], dōlè kà barì**
'since (seeing that) I've told you to stop stealing, you must stop'
Cf. **[tun dà na**[FOC-PF] **gayầ masà yà bař sātầ], yā barì**
'since (the time that) I told him to stop stealing, he's stopped'

It is also possible to delete the initial **tun** element, leaving (causal only) **dà yakè**, and the reason clause usually occurs in S-initial position:

[dà yakè zā kà tàfi kầsuwā], kà sayō nāmầ
'since you're going to the market, buy some meat'
[dà yakè kanầ nân], sai mù tàfi 'since you're here, let's go'

Phrasal **(don) ganin cêwā** 'seeing/given that, in view of the fact that' is especially common in more formal journalistic Hausa, e.g. **sun yi mầmākì, [(don) ganin cêwā Gwamnà yā yàřda zâi yi hīřa dà 'yan-jàřìdū]** 'they were surprised, in view of the fact that the Governor had agreed to talk to journalists'.

3.5.2. Purpose ('in order to, so that') clauses

Subordinate purpose clauses are introduced by **dòmin** or its contracted variant **don** (or less commonly **sabòdà**) '(in order) to, so (that), so as to', and a verbal clause, usually in S-final position, will have a Subjunctive TAM. Examples:

kù yi ƙòƙarī [dòmin jàřīdàř tà gǎji sūnantà]
2pl.SJN make effort so that newspaper.DD(f) 3f.SJN inherit name.of.3f
'make an effort in order that the newspaper may live up to its name'
an bā sù ɗākunàn [don sù zaunǎ ciki]
4pl.PF give 3pl rooms.DD(pl) so that 3pl.SJN live inside
'they were given the rooms so they could live in (them)'
mun kirāwō shì [sabòdà yà gyārǎ manà iyǎkwàndishàn]
1pl.PF call 3m so that 3m.SJN repair IOM.1pl air-conditioning
'we called him so he could repair the air-conditioning for us'

The purpose subordinator can be omitted, and deletion seems to be especially common when the initial higher clause contains a deictic motion-verb with no adjuncts. The (underlying) subjects of the lower clause and main clause may be identical or different. Examples:

yā kāwō takàřdâř [(don) yà nūnǎ makà]
'he's brought the paper (so) he might show you'
nā zō [(dòmin) ìn gayǎ makà àbîn dà ya fǎru]
'I've come (so that) I can tell you what happened'
yā kāwō takàřdâř [(don) ìn dūbǎ masà]
'he brought the paper (so) I might read (it) for him'
nā zō [(don) kì gayǎ mîn àbîn dà ya fǎru]
'I've come (so that) you may tell me what happened'

Another semantically equivalent reduction strategy—again following motion-verbs in particular—is to use an embedded subjectless nominalized VP to express same-subject purpose, with or without the subordinator. Examples:

nā zō [(don) ganinkì] 'I've come to see you' (lit...see.VN.of.2f)
yā fìta [(don) sàyen àbinci]
'he's gone out to buy some food' (...buy.VN.of food)
sun shìga tàrôn [(don) yîn màganà]
'they went into the meeting to speak' (...do.VN.of speaking)

The restrictive adverb **kawài** 'just' is commonly used to modify purposive **dồmin** etc. to mean 'just in order to, just so as to', e.g. **yā kàmātà kà tsayà gà mătarkà [kawài don kà kiyàyē rânkà]** 'you should stay faithful to your wife just so as to protect your life'.

Negative purpose 'so as not to, lest, in case' clauses are formed with negative-prohibitive **kadà** (= **kâr̃**), optionally preceded by **dồmin** etc., and followed by a Subjunctive TAM clause. Examples:

kà ajìyē shi [(don) kadà yà fāɗì] 'put it down lest/in case it falls'
kà tàfi dà tàswīr̃à [(don) kâr̃ kà ɓatà] 'take a map so as not to get lost'

3.6. Clauses of preference ('rather than') and comparison ('as if, like')

Clauses of preference consist of a clause introduced by the subordinator **dà** 'rather than', followed by correlative **gāra = gwàmmà** 'better' initiating the second preference clause, and with matching Subjunctive TAMs in both clauses. Examples:

[dà mù zaunà nân] [gāra mù tāshì]
rather than 1pl.SJN stay here better 1pl.SJN leave
'rather than stay here we'd better leave'
[dà kì jē] [gwàmmà nà jē]
rather than 2f.SJN go better 1sg.SJN go
'rather than you go I'd better go'

Both correlatives can also occur with nonfinite VPs, e.g. in generic proverbs:

gāra màkarà dà ƙîn zuwà 'better late than never'
(lit. better being late than refusing coming, with correlative **gāra...dà** order)
dà mūgùwař rawā gwàmmà ƙîn tāshì 'leave well enough alone'
(lit. rather than bad dancing better refusing getting up)

Preference can also be expressed using the complex verb **fi sô** 'prefer' with a complement clause, followed by a comparative clause marked by **dà**, e.g. (with Subjunctive TAMs) **nā fi sô [nà tāshì yànzu] [dà nà zaunà nân]** 'I prefer to leave now rather than remain here' (see also **§13**:3.1.2).

Clauses of comparison are introduced by **kàmař/kàman** (= **tàmkař**) 'like, as if'. Examples:

sun ci gàba dà hařkōkinsù [kàmař bābù àbîn dà ya fãru]
'they carried on with their affairs as if nothing had happened'
yanà tằƙamā [tàmkař an zằɓē shì ciyằmân]
'he's swaggering about like he's been elected chairman'

Chapter 15
Adverbial Functions: Adverb Phrases, Prepositional Phrases, Noun Phrases

1. Introduction

The heterogeneous category ADVERB, a clause structure element, encompasses several formally distinct subcategories which are functionally equivalent: adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, and noun phrases (see **§14** for adverbial clauses). Adverbs differ from other clausal constituents, e.g. subjects, verbs, objects, complements, in their optionality, positional mobility (though they typically follow obligatory clausal elements), and multiple co-occurrence. Adverbs express a wide range of meanings, e.g. time, place, manner, modality, degree, etc. Their basic function, as elements associated with VPs, is to provide additional information regarding the circumstances of a situation, event or activity. Syntactically, they perform a range of functions, occurring as elements in both clause and group structures. Also considered here are adverbial conjuncts and disjuncts (§5), "modal particles" (§6), and ideophones (§7). Relevant works include: Al-Hassan (1983), Galadanci (1969, 1971), Newman (1986a, 1990), Parsons (1963, 1981: 27ff., 531ff.), Wolff (1993: chap. 6), and especially Newman (2000: chaps 5, 57).

2. Adverb Phrases

Adverb phrases are headed by an adverb, e.g. (simple) **jiyà** 'yesterday', (phrasal) **dà saurī** 'quickly'. The adverb phrase itself may be optionally postmodified by another adverb, e.g. **jiyà dà yâmma** 'yesterday in the afternoon', where the time adverb/prepositional phrase **dà yâmma** 'in the afternoon' qualifies the scope of

the adverbial head, and **dà saurī ƙwařai** 'very quickly', where the intensifying adverb **ƙwařai** 'very' modifies the head.

2.1. Forms and meanings

On the basis of morphological shape, lexical adverbs fall into the following categories: (a) simple, e.g. (one-word) **kullum** 'always', **nân** 'here' (§2.1.1), and compound, e.g. **shēkaranjiyà** 'the day before yesterday' (§2.1.2); (b) phrasal, e.g. **bằkī dà hancì** 'nearby', **à hankàlī** 'carefully' (= prepositional phrase, §2.1.3); (c) derived (denominal), e.g. **ciki** 'inside', **ƙasà** 'on the ground' (§2.1.4); and (d) derived (deverbal) stative, e.g. **zàune** 'seated' (§2.1.5). Many adverbs, both simple and derived, also occur in fully reduplicated form (§2.1.6).

2.1.1. Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs differ phonologically from most common nouns and adjectives in that they usually end in a short vowel, diphthong or consonant. Exceptions include interrogative pro-adverbs, e.g. **ìnā**? 'where?', **yàushē**? 'when?', etc. There are also a few lexicalized one-word compound adverbs of time, e.g. **shēkaranjiyà** 'the day before yesterday', some derivative universal forms, e.g. **kō'ìnā** 'everywhere', and some frozen reduplicates, e.g. **dindìndin** 'permanently', which are handled here for convenience. Semantically, simple adverbs denote a range of meanings, including:

Location (position, direction, distance): **arềwa** 'north(wards)', **gabàs** 'east(wards)', **kudù** 'south(wards)', **yâmma** 'west(wards)', **dāma** 'right(hand)', **hagu** 'left(hand)', **cân** 'there', **can** 'over there', **nân** 'here', **nan** 'there (near hearer)', **kusa** 'nearby', **ìnā**? 'where?', **kō'ìnā** 'everywhere'

Time (moment, frequency): **bàd'i** 'last year', **bana** 'this year', **bằra** 'last year', **can** 'later', **dâ** 'previously', **dindìndin** 'permanently', **d'ằzu** 'a while ago, just now', **gālìbī** 'usually', **gồbe** 'tomorrow', **jībi** 'the day after tomorrow', **jiyà** 'yesterday', **kullum** 'always', **kwaràm** 'suddenly', **shēkaranjiyà** 'the day before

yesterday', **tùkùn(a)** '(not) yet' (with negative), **tùni** 'long ago', **wàshègàrī** 'the following day', **yànzu** 'now', **yâu** 'today', **yàushē = yàushè**? 'when?', **kōyàushē** 'always'

Manner: **ainùn** 'thoroughly', **dàbam** 'different(ly)', **hakà** 'thus, in this way, likewise', **kàzālikà** 'in the same way', **maza** 'quickly', **sànnu** 'slowly, carefully', **wùlâƙài** 'contemptuously', **yǎyǎ = ƙǎƙǎ**? 'how?'

Modality (possibility, emphasis, restriction, etc.): **(wata)ƙīlà = (wata)kīlà** 'perhaps', **hàƙīƙǎ = hàkīkǎ** 'definitely', **hàlâ (mā)** 'possibly', **ƙwařai** 'very much, indeed', **lǎbuddà** 'certainly', **lallē** 'certainly, surely', **wai** 'allegedly', **sam(sam)** 'not at all', **tīlàs** 'of necessity'; (focus adverbs) **à ƙallà** 'at least', **daidai** 'exactly', **kaɗai** 'only, alone', **kawài** 'just, only, merely, simply', **kō** 'even', **kurùm** 'only, merely', **mùsammàn** 'especially'

Degree (amplification, attenuation, approximation): **duk** 'all, entirely', **kàɗan** 'a little', **kàmař** 'approximately, about, like'

Sequences of two simple adverbs, including compounds, are common, e.g. **can bāya** 'way at the back', **dâ can** 'a long time ago', **gòbe wàř-hakà** 'tomorrow at this time', **nân Landàn** 'here in London'. (Adverbial notions such as 'again, already, more, (n)ever' are expressed by aspectual verbs (**§13**:2.1.1).)

2.1.1.1. Deictic adverbs NAN/CAN (space or time). Standard Hausa has a basic 4-term system of deictic adverbs which, like the cognate demonstratives 'this, that, etc.' (**§9**:2.3), index the position of the speaker and hearer in relation to the designated referent—a so-called "person-oriented" deictic system (Jaggar & Buba 1994). The adverbial pro-forms are (with basic locative meanings): F tone **nân** 'here (near me the speaker)', H **nan** 'there (near you the hearer)', F **cân** 'there (distal from me and you)', and H **can** 'over there (remote from me and you)'. As clause structure elements, they also regularly occur with, and further narrow down, other locative adverbs or prepositional phrases. Examples:

gầ shi nân (à hannūnā)	'here it is here (in my hand)'
gầ shi nan (kusa dà kai)	'there it is there (close to you)'
gầ shi cân (bāyankà)	'there it over there (behind you)'
gầ shi can (dà nīsā)	'there it is way over there (in the distance)'

H tone **nan** and **can** also have important anaphoric usages in discourse contexts, e.g. **Mūsā nầ Kanò̀, Audù mā nầ nan** 'Musa is in Kano, and Audu is there too', where prolocative **nan** 'there' substitutes for, and is grammatically and semantically equivalent to, the coreferential antecedent locative noun **Kanò̀** 'Kano', and **can à gàrin Landàn**... 'over there in the city of London...', where H **can** 'over there' is used cataphorically to reference the following NP **gàrin Landàn** 'the city of London'.

These circumstantial adverbs (F **cân** excepted) also have important temporal usages which directly derive, like the above discourse-anaphoric functions, from their basic spatial meanings, i.e. where the proximity/distance to the speaker polarity is transferred into the temporal domain. Thus: **nân** = (location) 'here (near me)' or (time) 'now', **nan** = (location) 'there (near you)' or (time) 'then', and **can** = (location) 'over there' or (time) 'later (on), eventually'. Examples:

dàgà nân zuwầ ƙàrshen wannàn watầ
'between now and the end of this month'

dàgà nan sai ya tūba	'from then on he reformed'
zuwầ can sai sukà isō	'then later on they arrived'

Pro-temporal H **can** also regularly combines with, and enhances the temporal distance of, the adverb **dâ** 'formerly' to form the phrasal adverb **dâ can** 'long ago', e.g. **dâ can yanầ dà ařzìkī** 'he was wealthy a long time ago'. H **nan** is regularly used with a non-specific existential meaning, e.g. **munầ nan munầ kàřàtū** 'we're here/there studying away', **Audù yanầ nan**? 'is Audu around?'.

There are also a number of common temporal adverbial phrases headed by **nân** 'now (here)' or **nan** 'then (there)', e.g. **nân gàba** 'in (the near) future' (lit.

now ahead), **nân bằ dà jimằwā ba** 'soon' = **nân bằ dà daɗềwā ba** 'in the near future' (now NEG with spending time NEG), **nân dà** + time-point = 'within (time-span)', and conjoined **nan dà nan = nan tằke** 'all at once, immediately, there and then'. Examples:

zân biyā kà kuɗîn nân gàba
'I'll pay you the money in the near future'
zā tà zō nân bằ dà jimằwā ba 'she'll arrive soon'
nan dà nan (= **nan tằke**) **sai ya mutù** 'he died there and then'
zā sù dāwō nân dà rabìn awằ
'they will return within half an hour' (lit. now with half.of hour)

The deictic adverbial **hakà** encodes either manner 'in this way' or direction 'that way', e.g. **kà yī shì hakà** 'do it this way', **yā yi hakà** 'he went (did) that way'.

2.1.2. Compound adverbs

Morphologically, it is possible to distinguish some compound adverbs (see Ahmad 1994: chap. 5 for details). It is not always possible, however, to make a clearcut distinction between what are compound formations (sometimes written with a hyphen), e.g. **wàř-hakà = wàřhakà** 'at this same time' (like + thus), and tightly-connected collocational adverbial phrases, e.g. **ƙarfī dà yājì** 'forcefully' (strength and spiciness). Examples (mainly time and manner adverbs):

ruwā-à-jàllō 'desperately' (water-in-gourd), **sanìn-shānū** 'casually' (knowing.of-cattle), **tsakař-darē** 'midnight' (middle.of-night), **tsakař-rānā** 'midday' (middle.of-day), **tsayìn-dakằ** 'stubbornly, determinedly' (standing.of-pounding), **wân-shēkarề** 'the following day' (?-following?), **ràbà-tsakà** 'halfway' (divide-in the middle)

2.1.3. Prepositional phrases and other phrasal adverbs

Phrasal adverbs of space, time, manner, modality, degree, etc. are made up of two or more elements. Many phrasal adverbs are prepositional phrases. Some of the more common combinations, including some fixed collocations, are:

1. Prepositional phrases, typically the core preposition **dà** 'with' + noun or adverb. When combined with an abstract noun, the resulting adverb typically denotes manner, e.g. **dà ƙarfī** 'forcefully' (lit. with strength). Examples: **dà gàngan** 'deliberately', **dà farkō = dà fārì(i)** 'at first', **dà gàske** 'truly', **dà hankàlī** 'carefully', **dà kyař = dà ƙyař** 'with difficulty', **dà kyâu** 'well', **dà saurī** 'quickly', **dà wuri** 'early, in good time' (also reduplicated **dà wurwuri** 'very early'), **dà wùyā** 'hardly', **dà yawà̀** 'much, a lot'. Note too phrasal **à hankàlī** 'carefully', **à ƙafà = à ƙasà** 'on foot', headed by the core preposition **à** 'in, at, on, etc.'.
2. Negative existential phrases formed with **bâ** (= **bābù**) 'there is not', e.g. **bâ jî bâ ganī** 'non-stop, continuously' (lit. there is not hearing there is not seeing), **bâ darē bâ rānā** 'continuously' (there is not night there is not day), **bâ makawā** 'unavoidably' (there is not avoiding), **bâ gaiřà bâ dàlīlì̀** 'for neither rhyme nor reason' (there is not minus there is not reason).
3. Time adverbs formed with **nân** 'here' or **nan** 'then', e.g. **nân gàba** 'in future', **nân bà̀ dà jimà̂wā ba** 'soon', **nan dà nan = nan tà̂ke** 'immediately' (see also §2.1.1.1).

There is also a class of mainly manner phrasal adverbs made up of either a noun + simple adverb (including statives), or a conjoined NP. Examples:

> **haßà̀ samà** 'arrogantly' (lit. chin upwards), **idò̀ rùfe** 'desperately' (eye closed), **kâi ƙasà** 'head down' (head downwards), **kâi tsàye** 'straightaway' (head standing), **râi ßà̂ce** 'sadly' (mind spoiled), **bà̀kī dà hancì̀** 'nearby' (mouth and nose), **ƙarfī dà yājì̀** 'forcefully' (strength and spice)

Note too the following structurally and semantically heterogeneous complex adverbs, many of them prepositional phrases: **à banzā = à wò̂fī** 'in vain', **à ƙallà** 'at least', **an jimà̀** 'in a while', **dâ mā** 'all along, from the start', **ɗàrī bisà ɗàrī** 'one hundred percent', **gàbā ɗaya** 'all together', **jìm kàɗan** 'after a short time', **ƙwařai dà gàske** 'for sure', **tun dà daɗè̀wā** 'for some time'. Simple

adverbs, like nouns, can be conjoined with **dà** 'and' to form complex adverbs, e.g. **gàba dà bāya** 'through and through' (lit. at the front and at the back).

2.1.4. Denominal adverbs (space and time)

Many location and time nouns, when used adverbially, operate morphologically distinct forms. Denominal adverbs of stationary location and time entail tonal and/or segmental (suffixal) changes, and usually occur with the core prepositions **à** 'at, in, on' (space) and **dà** 'in' (time). They fall into three overt morphophonemic categories: (1) final vowel-shortening (general), e.g. **dare** 'at night' (< **darē** 'night'), **hannu** 'on/in the hand' (< **hannū** 'hand'); (2) a lexically-determined tone change on mainly body-part nouns to HH, e.g. **ido** 'in the eye' (< **idȍ** 'eye'); and (3) attachment of a fixed tone-integrating suffix **-a**)^{HL} (restricted), e.g. **ƙasà** = clipped **ƙas** 'on the ground, below' (< **ƙasā** 'earth, ground'). Feminine suffixes are usually deleted in adverbial formation, e.g. **wutsi** 'on the tail' (cf. **wutsiyȁ** f. 'tail'), though the vowel-shortening process can apply to inflected feminine nouns, e.g. **jījìya** 'in the vein' (< **jījìyā** f. 'vein'), as well as to plurals, e.g. **yātsu** 'on the fingers' (< **yātsū** pl. 'fingers'). Some of the locative forms can serve as input to the formation of "genitive prepositions" (§3.3), e.g. prep. **wàje-n** 'outside (of)' < adv. **wàje** 'outside'. (See R. M. Newman 1984 for details, including the historical background.) Examples:

1. Short final vowel (space and time adverbs): **bāya** 'at the back, behind' (< **bāyā** 'back'), **ciki** 'inside' (< **cikī** 'inside, interior'), **dawà** 'in the bush (uncultivated area)' (< **dawȁ** 'the bush'), **gàba** 'in front' (< **gàbā** 'front part of body'), **gȍshi** 'on the forehead' (< **gȍshī** 'forehead'), **ƙafà** 'on foot' (< **ƙafȁ** 'foot'), **rāna** 'during the day, midday' (< **rānā** 'day, sun'), **ruwa** 'in the water' (< **ruwā** 'water'), **sāfe** 'early in the morning' (cf. **sāfiyā** 'early morning' < ***sāfe** f.), **wuta** 'in the fire' (< **wutā** 'fire'), **yâmma** 'in the afternoon' (< **yâmmā** 'afternoon'). See also the manner adverb **gàske** 'truly' (cf. **gàskiyā** 'truth' < ***gàske** f.).
2. HH tone imposed on underlying HL tone noun (in addition to final vowel-shortening): **cībi** 'on/in the navel' (cf. **cībìyā** 'navel' < ***cībì** f.), **hanci** 'on the

nose' (< **hancì** 'nose'), **kunne** 'in/on the ear' (< **kûnnē** 'ear'), **zūci** 'in the heart/mind' (cf. **zūcìyā** 'heart' < ***zūcì** f.). Also irregular **ka(a)** 'on the head' (< **kâi** 'head'), and LH **wàje** 'outside' (< **wajē** 'side, place, direction').

3. HL tone + final **-à** locative adverbs: **bisà** = clipped **bis** 'above' (< **bisā** 'height'), **jikà** 'on the body' (< **jìkī** 'body'), **tsakà** 'in the middle' (cf. **tsakiyà** 'middle' < ***tsaki** f.). Sometimes **-à** suffixation is accompanied by medial vowel changes, e.g. **nēsà** 'at a distance, far away' (< **nīsā** 'distance'), **bakà** 'in the mouth' (< **bàkī** 'mouth'), **ɗakà** 'in the hut' (< **ɗākì** 'hut').

Examples:

nā ajìyē su (à) ƙasà 'I deposited them on the ground'

kà sâ su (à) wuta 'put them in the fire'

sunà bāya/ciki/gàba/nēsà/wàje

'they are at the back/inside/in front/far away/outside'

bā nà fìtā dà rāna/dare/sāfe

'I don't go out during the day/at night/in the morning'

Rules (2) and (3) are historically archaic and no longer active processes which have generated a number of frozen, high-frequency adverbs, some of which are becoming obsolete. Rule (1)—the vowel-shortening rule—is synchronically productive and has yielded some doublets, e.g. (body-parts) **bàki = bakà** 'in the mouth' (< **bàkī**), **idò = ido** 'in the eye' (< **idò̄**), **hancì = hanci** 'in/on the nose' (< **hancì**).[1]

Denominal adverbs regularly occur as the second component in nominal (often linked) compounds, e.g. **hàngen-nēsà** 'foresight' (lit. seeing.of-in distance), **jirgin-ƙasà** 'train' (vehicle.of-on ground), **jirgin-ruwa** 'ship' (vehicle.of-in water), **mūgùn-dawà** 'wart-hog' (evil one.of-in the bush), **rōmon-bakà** 'sweet-talk' (soup.of-in mouth), **sà-ɗakà** 'concubine' (put-in room), **zàkaràn-wuyà** 'Adam's apple' (rooster.of-on neck).

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[1]Rule (1) comprises adverbs which in fact preserve the historically original final short vowel, final vowel lengthening having applied only to common nouns.

2.1.5. Deverbal adverbial statives (-e)^{LH})

Statives denote the terminal state or condition resulting from the completion of a verbal action and are functionally equivalent to manner adverbs, typically used as clause structure elements in response to 'how?' or 'what?' questions—cf. the deverbal stative **sunà ɗ̀auke dà màkàmai** 'they are carrying weapons' (= state) vs. the related verbal noun in **sunà ɗ̀aukàn màkàmai** 'they are picking up the weapons' (= process). Adverbial statives can refer contextually to present, past, or future states. (See also Newman 2000: chap. 67, and Parsons 1981: 35-36, 220-22.)

Statives are productively and straightforwardly derived from both transitive and intransitive verbs by replacing the final vowel with a tone-integrating suffix **-e**)^{LH}.[2] Examples (**t, s, d, z** palatalize to **c, sh, j, j** before the final **-e**):

dàfe 'cooked' (< **dafà** 'cook'), **gùje** 'running, on the run' (< **gudù** 'run'), **kwànce** 'lying down' (< **kwântā** 'lie down'), **màce** 'dead' (< **macè** < **mutù** 'die'), **tàfe** 'going' (< **tàfi** 'go', with doublet **tàfiye** < original 3-syllable verb ***tàfiyà**), **tsùgùne** 'squatting' (< **tsugùnā** 'squat')

Monoverbs insert an epenthetic /**y**/ between the base vowel and **-e** suffix, e.g. **bìye** (< **bi** 'follow'), **jàye** (< **jā** 'pull').

The underlying verbal base can be simple or derived. Some typically body-posture statives are built on already derivative "pluractional" verbs, e.g. (variously with rhotacization, gemination, vowel shortening in closed syllables):

mìmmìƙe 'all sprawled out' (< **mimmìƙē** < **mīƙè** 'stretch out'), **tsàitsàye** 'standing around' (< **tsaitsàyā** < **tsayà** 'stand'), **wàřwàtse** 'scattered about' (< **wařwàtsē** < **wātsè** 'scatter'), **yàřyàshe** 'scattered around' (< **yàřyāsà** < **yàsā** 'clean out'), **zàzzàune** 'all sitting around' (< **zazzàunā** < **zaunà** 'sit (down)')

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[2]Plural "repetitive-frequentative" nouns, e.g. **gìne-gìne** 'buildings' (< **ginà** 'to build'), **gùje-gùje** 'races' (< **gudù** 'run (away)') (§4:3.15), display the same **-e**)^{LH} morphology as statives, in fully-reduplicated form, and could be related historically.

A small subset of manner statives are derived from nominal bases, sometimes extended with the **-TA** verbalizer **-(n)t-** (→ **-(n)c-** before **-e**). Examples (manner statives occur with the preposition **à** 'in, at, etc.' to form prepositional phrases):

à àikàce 'in practice, in action' (cf. **aikàtā** 'perform, practise' < **aikì** 'work'), **à àsìr̃ce** 'in secret' (cf. **asìr̃tā** 'keep secret' < **àsīrī** 'secret'), **à Hàusànce** 'in plain Hausa, clearly' (cf. **Hausa** 'Hausa language'), **à zàuràncе** 'in coded language' (cf. **zaurè** 'entrance-room')

Like other nonverbal predicates, e.g. possessive HAVE constructions and place adverbs, statives regularly occur as (part of) adverbial predicates following the Imperfective TAM, and often correspond to '-ing' or '-ed' participial forms in English. Intransitive-based stative constructions predicate a state achieved by the syntactic subject. With transitive-based statives the surface subject is construed as the semantic object (as it is with semantically comparable adjectival past participles, §5:6.1). Examples:

yanā zàune bākin tītì (< **zaunā** 'sit')	'he was seated/sitting by the side of the road'
gòbe kàntinmù yanā rùfe	'tomorrow our shop is closed' (< **rufè** 'close')
bā yā ɗàure	'it's not tied up' (< **ɗaurè** 'tie up')
yāròn dà yakè(e) tsàye cân (< **tsayā** 'stand (up)')	'the boy who is standing over there'

Transitive-based, predicate-head statives can, like adverbs, govern overt prep. phrase object complements to which they are linked by the preposition **dà** 'with' (see §3.2 for statives + **dà** used as complex prepositions). In such constructions the surface subject typically functions as an actor, and both the subject and object are understood to have entered the state in question. Examples:

munā sàne dà hakà	'we're aware of this' (< **sanì** 'know')
tanā rìƙe dà jàkā	'she was holding a bag' (< **riƙè** 'hold, grab')

kāyansà sunǎ ƙùnshe dà miyǎgun ƙwāyōyī
'his baggage contained drugs' (< **ƙùnsā** 'contain')

See also **bìye dà** 'following' (< **bi** 'follow'), **ɗàuke dà** 'carrying' (< **ɗaukǎ** 'carry'), **ɗàure dà** 'tied on' (< **ɗaurǎ** 'tie on'), **gǒye dà** 'carrying' (< **gōyǎ** 'carry (baby on back)').

With some transitive-based statives, the affected argument (theme) of a passive-like predicate is the surface subject, e.g. **'yan-sìyāsǎ sunǎ tsàre** 'the politicians are imprisoned' (< **tsarè** 'imprison'), **mōtōcîn sunǎ cìke dà 'yan-sàndā** 'the cars were filled with police' (< **cikǎ** 'fill'). However, when the corresponding active stative construction takes a **dà**-marked prep. phrase, it is the predicate complement noun which is construed as the affected argument—cf. **sunǎ tsàre dà 'yan-sìyāsǎ** 'they have the politicians imprisoned' vs. **àkwai 'yan-sàndā cìke dà mōtōcîn** 'there were police crowding into (filling up) the cars'. Cf. too passive **ƙùnshe cikin** 'contained in/included in' vs. active **ƙùnshe dà** 'containing/including' (< **ƙùnsā** 'contain'). Intransitive-based statives govern semantically sociative **dà**-marked objects, e.g. **ɓàrǎyī sunǎ tàfe dà wuƙā** 'thieves travel with/carry a knife'.

Stative predicates can be focus-fronted, often with the preposition **à**, and some speakers feel that inclusion of **à** signals a more specific stative reading. Examples:

[(à) **rǔshe**] **mukà îskē shi**	'we found him *collapsed drunk*'
(< **rūshè** 'collapse', lit. collapsed we found him)	
[(à) **rìƙe dà jàkā**] **yakè**	'he's *holding the bag*'
(< **riƙè** 'hold, grab')	
[(à) **shìrye**] **nakè**	'I'm *ready*' (< **shiryǎ** 'prepare')

With transitive-based statives, the thematic NP object of the **dà** preposition can be focus-fronted (though not the **dà** + NP prep. phrase), in which case it leaves a resumptive independent pronoun in situ, e.g. [**jàkā**] (**cè**) **yakè rìƙe dà ita** 'it's

a *bag* he's holding (it)'. Topicalization from within stative predicates is also possible, e.g. **[littāfì] kàm, inà rìƙe dà shī** 'as for the book, I'm holding it'.

Adverbial statives, including stative phrases, regularly function as postmodifiers of NPs. Examples:

nā sằmē shì (à) màce	'I found him dead'
nā gan shì (à) ř̀ùbů̀ce	'I saw it in writing'
Hausa à Àikàce	'*Hausa in Action*' (a book title)
wata jàkā ƙ̀ùnshe dà miyằgun ƙwāyōyī	'a bag containing drugs'
wata mōtà cìke dà 'yan-sàndā	'a car filled with police'

mùtumìn can ɗ̀auke dà jařkà̀ àbōkīnā nè̀
'that man carrying the jerry-can is my friend'

àkwai gāwàwwakī dà dāmā à yàřyàshe à gēfèn hanyà̀
'there were many corpses strewn by the side of the road'

Some postmodifying stative constructions, especially with object heads, involve ellipsis and are equivalent to, and derivable from, more explicit versions with either an overt Imperfective TAM or relative clause following the head. Examples:

nā hàɗ'u dà wata tsōhuwā Ø ɗ̀auke dà tů̀lū
'I met an old woman carrying a water-pot'
< **nā hàɗ'u dà wata tsōhuwā [tanà]**$_{\text{IMPF}}$ **ɗ̀auke dà tů̀lū**
'I met an old woman she was carrying a water-pot' or:
< **nā hàɗ'u dà wata tsōhuwā [dà]**$_{\text{REL}}$ **[takè(e)]**$_{\text{FOC-IMPF}}$ **ɗ̀auke dà tů̀lū**
'I met an old woman who was carrying a water-pot'

With transitive-based statives, an equivalent syntactic alternative is to postmodify the head NP with a stative clause linked by the connective function word **mài/màsu** (sg./pl.) 'the one who has/does...' (**§9**:3.7). Examples:

nā hàɗ'u dà wata tsōhuwā mài ɗ̀auke dà tů̀lū
'I met an old woman carrying a water-pot'

wani mài rìƙe dà jàkař kuɗī 'someone holding a bag of money'

A number of deverbal statives occur as elements in complex adverbs, usually of manner, e.g. **à ɓòye** 'secretly' (< **ɓōyè** 'hide'), **à gùje** 'right away' (< **gudù** 'run (away)'), **à sǎce** 'furtively' (< **sǎtā** 'steal'), **à tàƙàice** 'in short' (< **taƙàitā** 'shorten'), **nan tǎke** 'immediately' (< **tākǎ** 'step on', lit. there stepped). As such, they function as often optional manner adjuncts, typically in end position like other predicate adverbs. Examples:

sun shigō ɗākì à àsìřce	'they came into the room in secret'
yā shigō sànye dà bàbbař rìgā	'he entered wearing a large gown'
mù tāshì tsàye	'let's get on with it' (lit. let's get up standing)
yā dǔbē nì à kàikàice	'he looked at me askance'
kadà kà ɗaukē nì à hàgùnce	'don't get me wrong' (left-handedly)
fàɗā minì à hàusànce	'tell me frankly' (in plain Hausa)
yā zō à gùje	'he came at the run'
sun tàfi tǎre	'they left together'

(where **tǎre** is the lexicalized stative form of **tārǎ** 'collect')

Some statives occur as the second component in complex manner adverbs, usually with body-part head nouns, e.g. **bǎkī bǔɗe** 'agog' (mouth opened), **idǒ rùfe** 'desperately' (eye closed), **kâi tsàye** 'straightaway' (head standing), **râi ɓǎce** 'sadly, in despair' (mind spoiled).

A few, typically body-posture, intransitive-based statives also have noun-like properties parallel to dynamic-activity nouns and (de)verbal nouns which, like statives, also commonly occur with the Imperfective (**§6**:6.2). Thus, some statives can follow the general verb **yi** 'do' (with TAMs other than the Imperfective), e.g. **sai ta yi tsàye/zàune** 'then she stood up/sat down'. They can occur in genitive constructions, e.g. as the second constituent in compound NPs such as **ɓàrāwòn-zàune** 'a fence' (lit. thief.of-seated), **fitsārin-kwànce** 'bed-wetting' (urine.of-lying down), **kǎsuwař-ɓǒye** 'black market' (market.of-

hidden). Note too **tanâ zàunentà** 'she was seated' (3f.IMPF seated.of.3f). Statives can also follow simple prepositions in locative complements, e.g. **yā tāshì dàgà kwànce** 'he got up from lying down'. The same forms can also occur as the complement of certain aspectual-modal verbs, e.g. **yā kāsà zàune dà tsàye** 'he was unable to sit down or stand up' (where the two statives are **dà**-conjoined).

2.1.6. Fully reduplicated adverbs

Many adverbs, both simple and derived, allow fully reduplicated forms, some of which allow phonological reduction. Semantically, simple reduplicates intensify the adverbial meaning, though some denominal reduplicates detensify the meaning.

2.1.6.1. Reduplication = intensification. There are some simple adverbs of time, place and manner which often appear in fully reduplicated form and typically intensify or further specify the adverbial meaning. Some undergo vowel syncope and gemination or rhotacization of coda C_2 in the reduplicated output. Examples:

can-can 'way far away' (cf. **can** 'over there'), **dà bam-dà bam** '(very) differently' (cf. **dàbam** 'differently'), **ɗ̀ăzu-ɗ̀ăzu** 'just this moment' (cf. **ɗ̀ăzu** 'this moment'), **gòbe-gòbe** 'exactly tomorrow' (cf. **gòbe** 'tomorrow'), **hakà-hakà** 'in just this way' (cf. **hakà** 'in this way'), **jiyà-jiyà** 'just yesterday' (cf. **jiyà** 'yesterday'), **kusa-kusa = kuřkusa** 'really close' (cf. **kusa** 'close, nearby'), **maza-maza = mařmaza** 'very quickly' (cf. **maza** 'quickly'), **nân-nân** 'right here' (cf. **nân** 'here'), **sànnu-sànnu** 'really slowly' (cf. **sànnu** 'slowly'), **sassāfe** 'very early in the morning' (cf. **sāfe** 'early in the morning'), **yâu-yâu** 'just today' (cf. **yâu** 'today'), **yànzu-yànzu** 'right now' (cf. **yànzu** 'now'). See also **dàddare** 'late at night' (cf. **dare** 'at night') with a L tone on the initial syllable.

A handful of adverbs occur as morphological single-word reduplicates only. Some of them express intensive meanings, and a few entail tone changes. Examples (with source morphemes if attested): **bàibâi** 'inside-out' (cf. **bāya**

'behind, at the back'), **daidai** 'exactly' (cf. modal particle **dai** 'actually'), **dindìndin** 'permanently', **ɗaiɗai** 'one-by-one' (cf. **ɗaya** 'one'), **fàufau** 'absolutely'. Note too the fully reduplicated interrogative pro-adverb of manner **yàyà = ƙàƙà**? 'how?'.

2.1.6.2. Reduplication = detensification. In the case of denominal adverbs (§2.1.4) complete reduplication acts to *detensify* the basic, usually spatial, meaning, e.g. **bāya-bāya** 'slightly behind' (cf. **bāya** 'behind' < **bāyā** 'back')—cf. too reduplicated "X-ish" adjectives and abstract nouns (**§5**:6.7). These detensified reduplicates can combine with the downscaling adverb **kàɗan** 'a little, slightly', e.g. **gàba-gàba kàɗan** 'just slightly in front' (cf. **gàba** 'in front' < **gàbā** 'front of body'). Further examples are: **dà dāma-dāma** 'so-so' (cf. **dà dāma** 'moderately'), **ƙasà-ƙasà** 'down a bit' (cf. **ƙasà** 'down, below'), **nēsà-nēsà** 'a bit far away' (cf. **nēsà** 'far away'), **samà-samà** 'slightly higher' (cf. **samà** 'above, higher').

2.1.7. NPs as adverbs

Adverbs as clausal elements can also be realized by NPs, the most common of which express time-point and time-duration meanings. They consist of two or more words, usually a noun with a determiner, e.g. a demonstrative, quantifier, indefinite, or genitive, or can be a reduplicated distributive noun (see §2.1.7.1). Examples:

> **gàbā ɗaya** 'all at once, unanimously', **kwānan nàn** 'recently', **mākò mài zuwà** 'next week', **mākòn jiyà** 'last week', **ràn nan** 'on that day', **ran Lahàdì** 'Sunday', **wajen nàn** 'in this direction', **wani lōkàcī/jiƙò** 'sometimes', **wata rānā** 'one day', **watàn nân** 'this month'

A common subtype consists of a universal **duk** or **kō-**...*wh* determiner + noun, e.g. **duk darē/lōkàcī/rānā** 'the whole night/time/day', **kōwàcè shèkarà** 'every year', and day/calendar time-words often occur adverbially with a following numeral, e.g. **mintì/awà/kwānā/sātī/watà/shèkarà biyu** '(for) two minutes/

hours/days/weeks/months/years'. Quantificational time-frequency notions such as 'once', 'twice' etc. are expressed by using the noun **sàu** 'time(s)' (< **sau/sāwū** 'foot') with a numeral or some other quantifier, e.g. **sàu ɗaya** 'once', **sàu biyu** 'twice', **sàu bìyař** 'five times', **sàu dà dāmā = sàu dà yawà** 'many times', **sàu nawà**? 'how many times/how often?'. Note too the following nouns used as manner adverbs (disjuncts), **gālìbī = yawancī** 'usually, mainly, generally'. Nouns can also be conjoined with **dà** 'and' to function as complex adverbs, usually of manner, e.g. **bàkī dà hancì** 'nearby' (mouth and nose), **ƙarfī dà yājì** 'forcefully' (strength and spiciness). Examples of NPs functioning as adverbs are:

nakàn jē makařantā kōwàcè sāfiyā
'I go to school every morning'
kwānan nàn an yi ruwā sòsai
'we've had a lot of rain recently' (lit. day.this)
sun hanà mu màganà ƙarfī dà yājì
'they prevented us from speaking by force'

2.1.7.1. Distributives. Nouns can be repeated to give a distributive adverbial sense, e.g. of time, space, manner, and quantity. Examples:

(time) **lōkàcī lōkàcī = sā'ì sā'ì** 'from time to time', **sātī sātī** 'each week', **shèkarà shèkarà** 'annually', **watà watà** 'monthly', **Lìtìnìn Lìtìnìn** 'Monday to Monday'; (space) **bīřnī bīřnī** 'city by city', **gidā gidā** 'from house to house', **lungù lungù** 'every nook and cranny', **ōfìs ōfìs** 'office by office', **ùnguwā ùnguwā** 'from neighbourhood to neighbourhood'; (manner) **fallē fallē** 'one by one', **kashì kashì** 'in parts, groups', **tulì tulì** 'in heaps'; (amount) **sulè sulè** 'one shilling each'

Some (usually) manner adverbs occur only in repeated distributive form, e.g. **dakì dakì** 'in(to) groups, in order', **dallā dallā** 'clearly, in an orderly manner', **fillā fillā** 'step by step'. Examples:

yakàn zō lōkàcī lōkàcī	'he comes from time to time'
anà ganinsà lungù lungù	'he's seen in every nook and cranny'
gà kānun làbàřai dallā dallā	'here are the headlines one by one'

Some nouns can be conjoined with **dà** 'and' to function as distributive adverbs, e.g. (sg. + pl. of same time noun) **kwānā dà kwànàkī** 'day after day' (lit. day and days), **shèkarà dà shèkàrū** 'year after year', **watà dà wàtànnī** 'for months on end', (exact copy of (verbal) noun) **bî dà bî** 'continually, in succession' (lit. following and following), **kàfaɗà dà kàfaɗà** 'shoulder to shoulder'. Note too the distributive numerals **ɗaiɗai** 'one-by-one' (< **ɗaya-ɗaya** < **ɗaya** 'one'), **bībiyu** 'two each' (< **biyu-biyu** < **biyu** 'two') and **huřhuɗu** 'four each' (< **huɗu-huɗu** < **huɗu** 'four'), with deletion of the stem-final vowel of the first component.

2.2. Syntactic functions

2.2.1. Locative adverbial phrases

Syntactically, many locative adverbial phrases can function as (part of) nonverbal locative predicates containing an Imperfective TAM, and as locative goals of motion-verbs. Examples (see also above):

littāfin yanà nan kusa dà kai	'the book is there close to you'
bàƙī sunà wàje	'the guests are outside'
tanà cikin ɗākì	'she's in the room'
yanà tsàye bàkin tītì	'he was standing by the side of the road'
kàwō shì nân!	'bring it here!'
yā tàfi kudù	'he's gone south'

Stationary locative and manner adverbs are also common in predicates of verbs of perception, discovery, etc., e.g. **nā gan shì dà wuƙā** 'I saw him with a knife', **nā îskē shi kân gadō** 'I found him on the bed', **nā sàmē tà râi gà Allàh** 'I

found her half-dead' (lit. life with God), **yā tarar̃ dà ita kwànce** 'he found her lying down'.

2.2.2. Postmodifying adverbs

In addition to functioning as elements of clause structures (as above), adverbial phrases, usually those denoting time or space, can also be used to postmodify a head noun in a genitival [noun-of adverb] NP—cf. the structurally analogous [noun-of-locative adverb] demonstratives, e.g. **yārò-n-nân** 'this boy' (lit. boy-of-here, see §9:2.3). Examples (including some compound NPs):

àbinci-n yâu 'today's menu' (food-of today), **Hausar̃ yâu dà kullum** 'everyday Hausa' (Hausa.of today and always), **jirgin-ƙasà** 'train' (vehicle.of-on the ground), **ruwan-samà** 'rain' (water.of-above), **'yan-kudù** 'southerners' (children.of-south), **ɗan-arèwa** 'northerner' (son.of-north), **ɗan-sàndan-ciki** 'detective' (policeman.of-inside), **ƙasàshen wàje** 'foreign countries' (countries.of outside), **bàbānā mùtumìn dâ nē** 'my father is an old-fashioned man' (man.of formerly)

The postmodifying adverbial phrase can contain a preposition and overt complement, e.g. **lambunàn bàkin rāfī** 'the gardens alongside the stream', **mutânen cikin gàrī** 'the people in the town', **rumfunâ na kusa dà bàkin kàsuwā** 'the stalls near the edge of market'.

Intensifier adverbs (§2.2.4) are regularly used to postmodify adjectives and quality nouns (which translate as adjectives in English). Examples:

yārinyàtā kyàkkyāwā cè sòsai	'my girlfriend is really beautiful'
tàfiyâ à mōtâ tanâ dà saukī ƙwarai	'travelling by car is very easy'
shī dai wannàn macìjī bàbba nè ƙwarai	
'now this snake was really big'	

They can also occur as part of an adverbial group, postmodifying a head manner adverb:

wannàn mōtà tanà tàfiyà dà saurī ƙwařai 'this car goes very quickly'
kā kařàntā shi dà kyâu sòsai 'you read it really well'

2.2.3. Position of adverbs

When functioning syntactically as elements in clause structures, adverbial phrases typically occur in end position after the central elements (verb, object, complement) of the VP. Examples:

nā sầmē shì à gidā 'I found him at home'
nā zō à ƙafà 'I came on foot'
yā cê à râsà... 'he said to himself...' (lit. in his mind)
zân dāwō dà ƙarfề biyu 'I'll return at two o'clock'
sun tāshì gàbā ɗaya 'they left all at once'
yanà zuwà makařantā kullum 'he comes to school all the time'
bài zō ba tùkùna 'he hasn't come yet'
nakàn gan shì wani lōkàcī 'I see him sometimes'
Audù zâi tāshì (dà) tsakař-darē 'Audu is going to get up at midnight'
yā iyà Hausa ƙwařai 'he knows Hausa really well'
kà kařàntā shi dà kyâu! 'read it well!'
yāròn yā shìga gidā kâi-tsàye 'the boy entered the house straightaway'
sun hanà mu màganà ƙarfī dà yājì
'they prevented us from speaking by force'

Some relatively mobile adverbs, especially time adverbs, can alternatively occur in S-initial position in neutral sentences. (There could be subtle pragmatic/discourse differences between the initial- and final-position options.) Examples:

bana an yi ruwā 'this year there's been some rain'
= an yi ruwā bana 'there's been some rain this year'
jiyà sun dāwō gidā 'yesterday they returned home'
= sun dāwō gidā jiyà 'they returned home yesterday'

nân bà dà daɗèwā ba zā kà sàmu dìgìřî
'in the near future you'll get a degree'
= zā kà sàmu dìgìřî nân bà dà daɗèwā ba
'you'll get a degree in the near future'

hař yànzu kinà jiràn sà?	'are you still waiting for him?'
= kinà jiràn sà hař yànzu?	'are you waiting for him still?'
Cf. **dâ inà zàune à Kanò**	'formerly I was living in Kano'

(usually S-initial)

Adverbial conjuncts and disjuncts (§5) usually occur S-initially:

ƙīlà zâi zō	'maybe he'll come'
lallē bâ ta dà kunyà	'certainly she's shameless'

gālìbī/yawancī/gālibàn nakàn zō ōfis dà ƙarfè tařà
'usually I come to the office at nine o'clock'
= nakàn zō ōfis gālìbī/yawancī/gālibàn dà ƙarfè tařà
'I come to the office usually at nine o'clock'

Focussed adverbs, like other clause elements, appear in the clause-initial focus slot and require focus TAMs in verbal sentences. (If a copula is used for additional emphasis it takes the masculine form **nē/nè**.) Examples:

(**dà**) **ƙarfè biyu** (**nè**) **sukà zō**	'(it was) *at two o'clock* they came'
à makařantā (**nè**) **mukè cîn àbincin rāna**	'(it's) *at school* we eat lunch'
dà wùyā (**nè**) **mukà sāmē shì**	

'(it was) *with difficulty* we found him'

Some temporal adverbs can also occur medially, e.g. between the relativizer **dà** and a following TAM, as in: **mutānên dà kullum/dâ sukè zuwà nân** 'the people who are always/were formerly coming here'.

When multiple adverbs occur, manner adverbs usually precede place and time adverbs. Examples:

Mūsā yā yi ƙòƙarī [**sòsai**] [**cikin wâsân**] [**jiyà**]
'Musa did [really well] [in the game] [yesterday]'
gâ shi can [**bâkin hanyâ**] [**dab dà kàntī**]
'there he is [by the side of the road] [close to the shop]'
zân karàntā shi [**dà kyâu**] [**gòbe/à gidā**]
'I'll read it [thoroughly] [tomorrow/at home]'
yā tàfi makarantā [**dà ɗansà**] [**jiyà**]
'he went to school [with his son] [yesterday]'

With time and place adverbs there is some positional flexibility:

nā hàɗu dà shī [**jiyà dà rāna**] [**cikin kâsuwā**]
'I met him [yesterday daytime] [in the market]'
= **nā hàɗu dà shī** [**cikin kâsuwā**] [**jiyà dà rāna**]
'I met him [in the market] [yesterday daytime]'

2.2.4. Adverbial intensifiers

Adverbial adjunctival intensifiers express gradable (low ↔ high) degrees of a given item, and function to either scale up (upscalers) or down (downscalers) the meaning of the predicate or some element therein, e.g. the VP. Adverbial intensifiers are morphologically heterogeneous (simple, phrasal, etc.), e.g. (upscalers) **ƙwarai** 'very (much)', **sarai** 'completely', (downscalers) **saurā kàɗan** 'nearly, almost', **kō kàɗan** '(not) at all'. The category of intensifiers here subsumes, for the sake of convenience, those upscaling modal adverbs normally classified as "emphasizers", e.g. **ainùn** 'very (much), really', **sòsai** 'really' (used with non-gradables). Occasionally, adverbial intensifiers are realized grammatically by nouns, e.g. **matuƙā** 'extremely', or prepositional phrases, e.g. **à ƙallà** 'at least', **dà gàske** 'extremely', **dà ƙyar** 'hardly, barely'.

2.2.4.1. Upscalers. Common upscalers, some of which overlap in meaning, include:

ainùn 'very (much), really', **(gà) bằkī ɗaya** 'altogether, unanimously', **dà yawằ** 'much, a lot', **dà gàske** 'extremely, greatly', **duk** 'completely, entirely', **fàufau** '(in) no way, absolutely not', **gàbā ɗaya** 'altogether, unanimously', **haiƙàn** 'extremely', **ƙwařai** 'very much, indeed', **matuƙā** 'extremely', **sařai** 'completely, entirely, totally', **sòsai** 'really, indeed' (also conjoined intensive **sòsai dà sòsai** 'absolutely'), **tabbàs** 'surely'

In the phrasal adverbs **ƙwařai dà gàske** 'definitely, very much so, absolutely' and **dà yawàn gàske** 'very much indeed', the two intensifiers combine with postmodifying **(dà) gàske** to amplify the upscaling force. Adverbial upscalers often occur in end position. Examples:

sun gòyi bāyansà (gà) bằkī ɗaya	'they supported him unanimously'
yā gānè sařai	'he understood completely'
inằ sôntà ƙwařai dà gàske	'I love her very much'

The genitive NP **yawàn** 'a lot, often, much' (lit. abundance.of) functions as an adverbial predicate intensifier in medial position between an Imperfective TAM and following verbal noun or infinitive phrase, e.g. **inằ yawàn ganintà à jāmi'ằ** 'I see her a lot at university' (= **inằ ganintà dà yawằ à jāmi'ằ**), **yanằ yawàn tàfiyằ Jāmùs** 'he often travels to Germany'. Note too **munằ àmfằnī ƙwařai dà shī** 'we use it very much', where **ƙwařai** 'very much' is inserted between the dynamic-activity noun and its sociative complement, and **yā bayyànā minì sòsai àbîn dà yakè nufî** 'he explained to me in detail what he meant', where **sòsai** 'in detail (really)' is positioned before the relative clause.

2.2.4.2. Downscalers. Common downscalers, many of them phrasal, include:

bằ sàfàì...ba 'hardly ever', **dà dāma-dāma** 'somewhat, moderately, quite', **dà ƙyař/kyař** 'hardly, barely, with difficulty', **dà wùyā** (+ Subjunctive TAM complement) 'hardly, barely', **kàɗan** 'a little, rather, slightly', **kàmař** 'like, sort

of' (also a sentence adverb), **kɛ̀ dà wùyā...sai** 'hardly, scarcely, barely...when', **kō kàɗan** 'at all, a bit' (with negative), **kō kusa** 'at all, in the least' (with negative), **sam(sam)** 'at all' (with negative), **saurā kàɗan** (+ Subjunctive TAM) 'almost, nearly' (lit. remainder little)

Downscalers tend to be positionally fixed, but occur in a various positions, e.g.

dɛ̀kàtā kàɗan	'wait a bit'
kàmaɾ̃ zā à yi ruwā	'it's like it's going to rain'
saurā kàɗan (nɛ̀) yà mutù	'he almost died'
dà kyaɾ̃ zā kà ɗaukō shì	'only with difficulty will you be able to bring it'

The diminutive morpheme **ɗan** 'a little' (lit. son.of) acts as an adverbial predicate downscaler, as an alternative to **kàɗan** and in opposition to **yawàn** 'a lot'. It occurs in medial position between the TAM and verb or verbal noun, e.g. **kà ɗan tùntùɓē shì** 'you should sound him out a bit', **inà ɗan hūtɛ̀wā** 'I'm resting a little'. Similarly, the genitive adverbial **kusan** (lit. near.of) can combine with the general verb **yi** 'do' and a following nonfinite VP to express the adverbial degree notion 'almost, nearly', e.g. **nā yi kusan ƙārɛ̀wā** 'I've nearly finished'.

2.2.4.3. Focus adverbs. Restrictive focus adverbs include:

(post-head) **daidai** 'exactly, right' (also pre-head and intensified conjoined **daidai wà daidɛ̀**), **tàkàmaimai** 'exactly, really' (also a noun 'essence, reality'), (exclusive-exhaustive) **kaɗai** 'only, alone', **kawài** 'just, only, merely, simply', **kurùm** 'only, merely'; (pre-head) **à ƙallà** 'at least', (reinforcing/additive) **haɾ̃** 'even, including', **kō** 'even' (often with a negative), and **sai** 'only, just, except' (with a negative implication)

Focus adverbs can be used to scope constituents or predicates, and often occur in cleft constructions (with an optional copula). Examples:

mềnē nề kakề nufì tàkàmaimai?	'what is it you mean exactly?'
àbîn yā tàfi daidai	'the thing went just right'
shī kaɗai (nề) ya sanì	'(it's) only *he* knows'
hakà kawài (nē) zā kà yi	'*that's* just what you have to do'
kềkè kurùm mukề sayâr̃wā	'(it's) just *bikes* we sell'
à ƙallà fāsinjōjī gōmà sukà mutù	'at least *ten passengers* died'
har̃ (mā) gidân yā ƙōnề	'even the house burned down'
bà tà kō gan nì ba	'she didn't even see me'
kō Audù yanà nan	'even Audu was there'
sai Gar̃bà mukà ganī	'(it's) only *Garba* we saw'

The adverb **mùsammàn** 'particularly, especially' is typically followed by a prepositional phrase of reason or a purposive (Subjunctive TAM) clause. Examples:

tā zō bìkī mùsammàn dồminkà
'she's come to the party particularly for you'
nā zō mùsammàn don ìn gaishē kà
'I've come especially to greet you'

Mùsammàn often combines with the additive modal particle **mā** 'even, and', e.g. **mùsammàn mā à ƙasàshē mầsu tāsôwā** 'especially in developing countries'. The same notion can also be expressed analytically, using the complex negative phrase **tun bầ mā...bâ** (lit. since NEG even...NEG) to bracket an NP or clause. Examples:

yanầ sônsù, [tun bầ mā Kànde bâ]
'he likes them, especially Kande'
kì rufà kânkì [tun bầ mā in zā kì shìga cōcì bâ]
'you should cover up your head particularly if you go into a church'

Note too adverbial **nā zō tàkànas (ta Kanồ) don ìn yi makà màganầ** 'I came especially to speak with you'.

2.2.5. Adverbs functioning as NPs

Some simple adverbs, epecially of time and space, can function as NP heads or adverbial nouns, often controlling feminine gender. Examples (clause subjects):

gòbe ta Allàh cē	'tomorrow belongs to God'
(lit. tomorrow of(f) God COP(f))	
shēkaranjiyà tā fi	'the day before yesterday was better'
nân yā fi	'here is better'
gabàs tā yi hakà	'east is that way'
sànnu bā tà hanà zuwà	'slow but sure'
(lit. (going) slowly doesn't prevent coming)	

Time-point adverbs are typically situated on a cline between adverb and noun, and as such can take definite determiners (usually enclitics), e.g. **bàra wàccan** 'the year before last', **ɗàzun-nàn** 'just now' (lit. now.of-here), **gòben-nàn** 'the tomorrow coming', **jiyà-n** 'the yesterday (we were talking about)', **yànzun-nàn** 'right now, this moment', **yâu ɗîn** 'just today'. The **duk** variant of the universal 'all, every' quantifier can also function adverbially, e.g. **duk nā gàji** 'I'm completely (all) tired'. Moving even further along the adverb ↔ noun gradient, some cross-categorial items occur and function equally as both (manner) adverbs and nouns, e.g. (nominal) **gālìbinsù sun isō** 'the majority of them have arrived' vs. (simple adverb) **gālìbī** 'in the main, usually'.

3. Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases (PPs)

Adverbial elements indicating space, time, manner, instrument, etc., can be, and often are, realized by prepositional phrases. Prepositional phrases (PPs) are dominated by prepositions (preps) whose complements can be nouns, e.g. **dàgà masallācī** 'from the mosque', **dà saurī** 'quickly' (lit. with speed), **dà kyâu** 'well', **cikin kàsuwā** 'in the market', adverbs, e.g. **à ƙasà** 'on the ground', **à**

nân 'in here', **à zàune** 'sitting', **dà dare** 'at night', **haɗ yànzu** 'still' (until now), PPs, e.g. **tun kàfîn lōkàcin sallà** 'since before prayer-time', **dàgà kân dōkì** 'from on top of the horse', or nominal clauses, e.g. **dà zuwànsà** 'on his arrival'. Some prepositions, e.g. causal and temporal connectors like **haɗ** 'until', **kàfîn** 'before', **sabòdà** 'because (of)', **sai** 'until', **tun** 'since', as well as the "genitive preposition" **dòmin/don** 'because (of)', also function as subordinating conjunctions (**§14**:3) as well as adverbial conjuncts (§5). (See also Parsons 1961, and especially Newman 2000: chap. 57.)

Classifying according to internal structure, simple prepositions are basic one-word elements. They include the major subset of mainly L tone, short final vowel "core" prepositions **à** 'in, at, on, etc.', **dà** 'with, at', **dàgà** 'from', **gà** '(with regard) to, by, in (the possession of), on, etc.', **ta** 'via, through, by means of', and **yà** (= **ì**) 'like, equivalent to', in addition to preps such as **kàfîn** 'before', **tun** 'since', etc. Complex prepositions, e.g. **dab dà** 'close to', **duk dà** 'in spite of', consist of more than one word, and the core prep. **dà** regularly appears as the second-position element. Both simple and complex prepositions require an overt complement. There is also a morphologically complex subclass of "genitive prepositions" which contain the genitive linker (usually **-n**), e.g. **wàjen** 'outside (of)' (= adverb **wàje** 'outside' + linker **-n** 'of'). Genitive prepositions can also function as complements to simple prepositions, subject to semantic compatibility, e.g. **dàgà bāyan** 'from behind/the back of'.

3.1. Simple prepositions

Most simple prepositions are monomorphemic (exceptions noted below). Some of the more common one-word prepositions and their principal (space, time, manner, instrument) uses, including metaphorical extensions, are:

à 'in, at, on, etc.': (stationary location) e.g. **à Kanò** 'in Kano', **à gidā** 'at home'; (time [position]) e.g. **à dâ** 'previously', **à jiyà** 'yesterday'; (goal/target) e.g. **à bakà** 'in the mouth'; (manner) e.g. **à banzā** 'in

vain', **à hankàlī** 'carefully', **à ganīnā** 'in my opinion', **à ƙafà** 'by foot', **à Hàusànce** 'in (plain) Hausa', **à zàune** 'sitting'.

bisà 'on (top of), above, with regard to': (stationary location) e.g. **bisà tēbùř** 'on the table'; (respect) e.g. **bisà màganàř nân** 'with regard/respect to this matter' (= denominal adverb acting as a prep.).

dà 'with, at, etc.': (means and instrument) e.g. **dà ruwā** 'with water', **dà wuƙā** 'with a knife'; (manner) e.g. **dà ƙafà** 'on foot', **dà kyâu** 'well' (lit. with goodness), **dà niyyà** 'intentionally', **dà saurī** 'quickly' (with speed), **dà Hausa** 'in Hausa'; (time [position]) e.g. **dà dare** 'at night', **dà farkō** 'at first', **dà wuri** 'early', **dà ƙarfè takwàs** 'at eight o'clock'; (possession) e.g. **yanà dà kuɗī** 'he is rich' (with money); (comitative) e.g. **nā zō dà ita** 'I came with her'.

dàgà 'from': (location [source]) e.g. **dàgà Kanò** 'from Kano', **dàgà gēfè** 'from/on the side', **dàgà hannūnā** 'from my hand', **takàřdā dàgà bằbānā** 'a letter from my father'; (time [inception/duration]) e.g. **dàgà bāya** 'thereafter', **dàgà yâu** 'from today'; (exception) e.g. **dàgà nī sai shī** 'apart from me just him'.

gà '(with regard) to, by, in (the possession of), on, etc.' (→ allomorph **gàrē** before a weak object pronoun): (respect) e.g. **gà àbōkīnā** 'with respect to my friend'; (location [destination]) e.g. **yā sâ hůlā gà kânsà** 'he put a cap on his head'; (recipient, beneficiary) e.g. **nā kai shì gàrē sù** 'I took it to them'; (source) e.g. **yā sằmu aikī gà Mūsā** 'he got a job from/through Musa'; (possession) e.g. **yanà gàrē tà** 'it's in her possession/with her'; (time-position [months]) e.g. **ran gōmà gà watàn** 'the tenth day of the month'; (agentive [rare]) e.g. **hanyàř bā tằ bìyuwā gà mânyan mōtōcī** 'the road cannot be used by trucks'.

hař '(up) to, including, until': (location) e.g. **an yi kwàltâ dàgà Kanò hař Zāriyà** 'a tarred road has been built from Kano (all the way) to Zaria'; (time) e.g. **hař yànzu** 'still' (up until now), **hař àbàdâ** 'forever'; (inclusive) e.g. **hař ran Lahàdì** 'including Sundays'.

illā 'except': (exception) e.g. **illā Audù** 'except Audu'.

kâfin 'before' (= **kâfin**, also **kâmìn/kâmin** and clipped **kàn**): (time) e.g. **kâfin gòbe** 'before tomorrow', **kâfin nan** 'before then'.

sabòdà 'because of, due to' (= fused compound with **dà** 'with', also **sàbīlì dà, à sanàdin**): (cause, benefit), e.g. **sabòdà rashìn lāfiyâ** 'due to illness', **sabòdà kai nè mukà zō** 'it's because of you we've come'. (See §3.3 for **dòmin** 'because of'.)

sai '(not) until, except': (time [duration]) e.g. **sai gòbe** 'until tomorrow'; (exception [with overt or implied negative]) e.g. **bâ mài yîn hakà sai Mūsā** 'no one can do this except Musa', **sai bāyan ƙarfè biyu** 'not until after two o'clock'.

ta 'via, through, by means of': (location [pathway]) e.g. **yā biyō ta Landàn** 'he came via London'; (manner) e.g. **ta yîn hakà** 'through/in doing this'.

tun 'since, all the way (from)': (time [position]) e.g. **tun bâra** 'since last year', **tun dà sāfe** 'since morning'; (location [source]) e.g. **tun dàgà gidā** 'all the way/right from home'.

yà (= ì) 'like, equivalent to': (manner) e.g. **mùtûm yà = ì wannàn** 'a man like this one'; (relation) (**yà**) **mū yà mū** 'people like us, our group' (we like we), **sun târu sū yà sū** 'they met amongst themselves'. Note too the future time-point adverbial phrase **rānā ì ta** X, e.g. **rānā ì ta yâu/gòbe** 'a week today/tomorrow' (day like of today/tomorrow).

zuwâ 'to(wards), (up) until' (= verbal noun of **zō** 'come'): (goal location/direction) e.g. **hanyâ zuwâ Kanò** 'the road to Kano'; (time) e.g. **zuwâ watàn gòbe** 'up until next month'.

Note also **bìsâ** 'according to', **fâcē** 'except', **hàttā = haƙ** (< Ar.) 'including, even', and **iyā** 'as far as [location], up to limit'. (See §**11**:8 for treatment of the indirect object marker **wà/ma-** 'to, for, from, etc.', and §**9**:2.5 for the genitive linker **na/ta** 'of'.)

Simple preps can take a variety of complements, e.g. NPs, adverbs, and PPs can occur as adverbial complements in verbal predicates, or as (part of)

nonverbal locative predicates following an Imperfective TAM (see last two exx. below). Examples:

yā dồkē shì [dà sàndā] 'he hit him with a stick'
sunằ màganằ [dà Hausa] 'they are talking in Hausa'
yā fàd'i lằbārîn [gà mutằnên dà sukà zō]
'he told the news to the people who had come'
wannàn bâ shi dà àmfằnī [gàrē nì] 'this is of no use to me'
nā gan tà [dà dare/rāna/sāfe]
'I saw her at night/during the day/in the morning'
sun yi tàfiyằ [tun dàgà Kanồ hař Dàurā]
'they've travelled all the way from Kano right to Daura'
zā sù zō [kằfîn gồbe] 'they'll come before tomorrow'
[dà/kằfîn isôwařsà] sai sukà tāshì 'on/before his arrival they left'
[dàgà yâu] nā tūba 'from today I've changed my ways'
bà zân fîta ba [sai dà yâmma] 'I won't go out until the evening'
zân dāwō [rānā ì ta yâu] 'I'll return a week today'
sun dāwō [à mōtằ] 'they returned by car'
nā karyề [à ƙafằ]
'I've broken my foot' (lit. 'broken on foot')
bàn san [dàgà gàrîn dà sukà fitō ba]
'I don't know the town they come from'
(Notice that core prepositions cannot be stranded but stay in position before the head, as in **dàgà gàrîn**... lit. 'from the town...'.)
mōtàřkà tanằ [cikin gāřējì] 'your car is in the garage'
bā yằ [kân tēbùř] 'it's not on top of the table'

The high-frequency, polysemic preposition **à** 'in, at, on, etc.' is the basic stationary locative preposition. It can take, as complements, genitive prepositions, locative, temporal and causal NPs, and space and time adverbs. For some speakers, inclusion of **à** expresses a higher degree of spatio-temporal specificity. Examples ((**à**) = optional):

tā zaunǎ̀ (a̲) kân kujèrā	'she sat down on a chair'
nā sâ ta (a̲) cikin gārējì	'I put it inside the garage'
nā gan shì a̲ masallācī	'I saw him at the mosque'
a̲ shèkarǎ̀ ta dubū biyu	'in the year 2000'
anǎ̀ ganinsà (a̲) kō'ìnā	'he's seen everywhere'
nā gan shì (a̲) nân	'I saw him here'
gǎ̀ shi cân (a̲) bāya	'there he is at the back'
sun isō (a̲) yànzu	'they've arrived just now'

a̲ sanàdinsà nē na sǎ̀mu aikì a̲ Ingìlà
'it was due to him I got work in England'

It also occurs regularly with manner adverbial statives (§2.1.5):

bàri nà gayǎ̀ makà wani àbù a̲ àsìrce	'let me tell you something in secret'

mun shìga ɗākì indà sukè a̲ kwànce
'we entered the room where they were lying down'

À is usually omitted in a nonverbal locative predicate following an Imperfective TAM, e.g. **sunǎ̀ makaɾantā** 'they're at school', **ɗǎ̀lìbân dà sukè Landàn** 'the students who are in London', though some speakers allow the more specific **à** with Focus (only) Imperfective TAMs, e.g. **ɗǎ̀lìbân dà sukè a̲ Landàn**. Cf. the corresponding focus constructions where the prep. **à** normally precedes the preposed locative noun, e.g. **a̲ makaɾantā sukè** 'they're *at school*', **a̲ Landàn sukè** 'they're *in London*'.

Other simple prepositions can also combine, subject to semantic compatibility, the initial prep. taking the following prep. as a complement. Examples:

tun dàgà/kǎ̂fìn ƙarfè biyu 'right from/well before two o'clock', **zuwǎ̀ gà Mālàm Mūsā** 'to Malam Musa' (standard opening in letter), **dàgà gàrē tà** 'from her' (cf. **dàgà mǎ̀tātā** 'from my wife', where simple **dàgà** 'from' can be followed by an NP complement), **haɾ̌ dà nī** 'including me, with me too', **haɾ̌**

zuwầ Kàtsinà 'all the way to Katsina', **bisà gà màganàr̃ nân** 'with regard to this matter', **bisà kân dōkǐ** 'on top of the horse', **ta cikin gàrī** 'through the town', **tun à gidā** 'right back at home', **tun kầfin Kir̃sìmatì** 'since before Christmas', **yà zuwầ yâu** 'up to today'

Note too the fixed **har̃**-headed prepositional phrases **har̃ ìlā yâu** 'moreover, in addition', and **har̃ sai illā mā shā Àllāhù** 'indefinitely' (until God decrees).

Those simple prepositions that can take a pronominal complement select from the independent pronoun set (**gàrē** excepted), e.g. **dà nī** 'with me', **dàgà shī** 'apart from him', **fàcē sū** 'apart from them', **sai ita** 'except her'. Cf. **gàrē** + weak object pronoun, e.g. **kuɗī gàrē shì** 'he's wealthy' (money in possession of 3m).

Prepositional phrases can occasionally act as post-head modifiers in complex NPs, e.g. **wani mālàmī [dàgà Jāmi'àr̃ Kanò̂] yā isō** 'a teacher [from Kano University] has arrived', **biyu [dàgà cikinsù]** 'two [of them]', **wani kwabàd [à ōfishīnā]** 'a cupboard [in my office]', **iyầkwàndishàn [don mânyan bầki]** 'air-conditioning [for important guests]'.

*3.2. Complex prepositions (formed with comitative/instrumental **dà** 'with')*

Complex prepositions of place, direction, time, manner, etc. are two-word sequences consisting of an adverbial element normally followed by the core comitative/instrumental prep. **dà** 'with' (occasionally **gà**), and they usually take NP complements. (Some could probably be analyzed as compound formations.) A number of phrasal respect, degree and comitative preps consist of a (L)LH final **-e** adverbial stative + prep. **dà**, e.g. **dàngàne dà** 'concerning', **gàme dà** 'concerning', **fiye dà** 'more than', **hàɗe dà** 'together with', **tầre dà** 'together with' (see also phrasal negative **bầ tầre dà...ba** 'without'). Another form-based category of complex preposition consists of an adverb, often denominal, extended with **dà**. Examples:

arêwa dà 'to the north of', **bāya dà = bāya gà** 'behind, in addition to, apart from', **dàbam dà** 'different from', **daidai dà** 'same as, equal to', **dāma dà** 'at/to

the right of', **duk dà** 'in spite of', **gàba dà** 'senior to, in front of', **hagu dà** 'at/to the left of', **kusa dà** 'near to', **ƙasà dà** 'below, less than, junior to', **nân dà** 'within' (time span), **nēsà dà** 'far from', **samà dà** 'above, senior to, more than'

Note too **ban dà** 'apart from, without', **dab dà = gab dà** 'near to' (time or space), **daurà dà** 'beside, next to', and (noun + **dà**) **sàbīlì dà** 'due to, because of', where the first elements do not occur independently.

Examples of complex prepositions formed with **dà** are:

dàngàne dà wannàn màganà...	'concerning this matter...'
yā zō tãre dà yārònsà	'he came together with his boy'
gằ shi cân dāma dà mōtàř	'there it is to the right of the car'
duk dà ƙòƙarinsà, bài gamà aikìn ba	
'in spite of his efforts, he didn't finish the work'	
zân shā furā ban dà nōnồ	'I'll drink *fura* (drink) without milk'

Dà 'than' can also be used following a PP formed with the quasi-prepositional modal **gāra** 'better, rather' with a preferential comparative meaning, e.g. (with an independent pronoun) **gāra nī dà kai** 'better me than you'. (See **§14**:3.6 for subordinative uses of correlative **gāra...dà** 'better...than'.) Note too the complex prepositional-like **ìn ji** 'according to' (lit. 1sg.SJN hear), which is unusual in being verbal.

3.3. Genitive prepositions (= noun or adverb + genitive linker)

"Genitive prepositions" (Newman 2000: chap. 57) are made up of a noun or adverb plus the (m./f.) **-n/-ř** linker (usually **-n**). Although morphologically complex, speakers consider genitive prepositions (genpreps) to be monomorphemic. The head noun is often a body-part with a relational locative sense or other free locative noun, e.g. **bằkin** 'close to, by (the edge of), on the point of, in exchange for' (< **bằkī** 'mouth') as in **yanằ bằkin kằsuwā** 'it's on

the edge of the market', **gēfèn** 'beside, by the side of' (< **gēfè** 'edge, side') as in **gǎ shi cân gēfèn hanyà** 'there he is by the side of the road'. The head can also be a denominal adverb, e.g. **ƙasàn** 'below, at the bottom of' (< **ƙasà** 'on the ground' < **ƙasā** 'ground, earth') as in **yanà ƙasàn shāfì** 'it's at the bottom of the page'. Pronominal complements are expressed by bound genitive pronouns, e.g. **bāyānā** 'behind me' ((at) back.of.1sg), **cikinsà** 'inside it' (inside.of.3m). In its free concrete meaning, **bāyānā** 'my back' is thus formally identical with the genprep. phrase 'behind me'. If no overt genitive complement is expressed, the related adverb is used, e.g. **yanà ciki/bāya** 'it's inside/at the back'.[3] Further examples (with basic and extended temporal/metaphorical meanings) are:

àlbařkàcin 'thanks to' (< **àlbařkàcī** 'good fortune, benefit'), **arēwacin** 'to the north of' (< **arēwacī** 'northern part'), **bāyan** 'after, behind, in addition to' (< **bāyā** 'back'), **cikin** 'in(side), among' (< **cikī** 'inside, interior'), **dàlīlìn** 'on account of' (< **dàlīlì** 'reason'), **dòmin = don** 'because of, for (the sake of)' (= genprep. only), **gàban** 'in front of, beyond (the scope of)' (< **gàbā** 'front of body', cf. complex prep. **gàba dà** 'in front of, senior to'), **gàrin** 'in the process of' (= genprep. only), **gìndin** 'at the base/foot of' (< **gìndī** 'bottom, base'), **gòshin** 'on the point of' (< **gòshī** 'brow'), **gwàřgwadon** 'in proportion to' (< **gwàřgwadō** 'proportion'), **jìkin** 'against (the side of)' (< **jìkī** 'body'), **kàmař = kàman** 'like, such as, about' (< **kàmā** 'likeness') = **tàmkař** 'like' (genprep. only), **kân** 'on (top of), about, concerning, on the point of' (< **kâi** 'head'), **kēwayèn** 'around' (< **kēwayè** 'environs'), **kìmānìn** 'about, approximately' (= genprep. only), **kusan** 'almost, approximately' (< **kusa** 'near'), **ƙàřƙashin** 'under(neath)' (< **ƙàřƙashī** 'underside'), **ƙētarèn** 'across, opposite' (< **ƙētarè** 'opposite side'), **madàdin** 'in place of' (< **madàdī** 'representative'), **màimakon**

[3]Genpreps such as **bāyan** 'at the back of, behind' and **cikin** 'inside (of)' could also be plausibly analyzed as being built directly on the cognate adverbs, i.e. the genpreps **bāyan** 'at the back of' < adv. **bāya** 'at the back' (cf. noun **bāyā** 'back') and **cikin** 'inside (of)' < adv. **ciki** 'inside' (cf. noun **cikī** 'inside, interior') would be derivationally parallel to forms such as **ƙasàn** 'at the bottom of' < adv. **ƙasà** 'below' (cf. noun **ƙasā** 'ground, earth'), and **wàjen** 'outside (of)' < adv. **wàje** 'outside' (cf. noun **wajē** 'side, place', direction'). Note, however, that the genprep **kân** 'on (top of)' derives from the nominal **kâi** 'head' with a F tone, not the H tone adverb **ka(a)** 'on the head'.

'instead of' (< **màimakō** 'representative'), **mìsālìn** 'about, approximately' (< **mìsālì** 'example, pattern'), **sàkàmakon** 'as a result of, due to' (< **sàkàmakō** 'result'), **samàn** 'above, over' (< **samà** 'above, overhead, sky(wards)', cf. complex prep. **samà dà** 'above, superior to, more than'), **tsàkānin** 'between' (< **tsàkānī** 'distance between two points'), **tsallakèn** 'across' (cf. **tsallàkē** 'to cross over'), **wajen** 'to(wards), in the vicinity of, with (regard to), at, approximately' (< **wajē** 'side, place, direction'), **wàjen** 'outside' (< **wàje** 'outside' < **wajē** 'side, place, direction'), **wurin** 'with, at, in the vicinity of' (< **wurī** 'place, side') = **gurin** = **gûn** (< **gurī** 'place').

Examples (with genitive complements):

zân dāwō bāyan kwānā ukù	'I'll return after three days'
yā shìga cikin gàrī	'he entered into the town'
gàrin hawan dōkìnsà...	'in the process of mounting his horse...'
gidansù yanà tsallakèn hanyà	'their house is across the road'
kàmaɾ̃ hakà zā kì yi	'you should do it like this'
tā shigō tsàkāninmù	'she came between us'
zâi ɗàuki wajen awà biyu	'it will take about two hours'

The clipped genprep. **don** 'because of, on account of, for the sake of' takes an independent pronoun as object, as may the full form **dồmin** and the genprep. **kàmaɾ̃** 'like', e.g. **in don nī nề** 'if it was up to me, on my account'. (Cf. too dialectal **dòn Allàh** 'please' (for God's sake), where the genprep. has polar (L) tone.) Some relational locative genpreps can take nominal clause complements with a temporal meaning, e.g. **sunà gồshin** = **kân tàfiyà Kanồ** 'they are on the point of travelling to Kano', **sunà cikin tàfiyà...sai** 'they were travelling along when...'.

Genpreps can also function as complements of simple prepositions to denote a more specific, often spatial relationship (inclusion of the core prep. **à** narrows down the location or time-point), e.g. **à/dàgà/ta cikin gàrī** 'inside/from inside/through the town', **à/dàgà kân tēbùɾ̃** 'from/on (top of) the table', **à gìndin**

bishiyǎ 'at the foot of the tree', **bà zân dāwō ba sai bāyan ƙarfè ukù** 'I won't return until after three o'clock'. The locative genpreps **wajen** and **wurin** 'to (in the vicinity of)' function as general relational preps with nonlocative (e.g. personal) goal complements, e.g. **nā jē wajen/wurin mālàmīnā** 'I went to my teacher', **zâi zō wurinkà** 'he will come to you' (lit...place.of.2m). If the complement locative NP is considered to have intrinsic front-back orientation, the intended referent has the same spatial relationship to both the location and to the interlocutors, e.g. **gǎ shi cân gàban wancàn dūtsè** 'there it is beyond (lit. in front of) that hill'.

4. Negation (bǎ...ba) of Adverbs and Prepositional Phrases

Adverbs and prepositional phrases are locally negated using the discontinuous **bǎ...ba** markers (also used to negate NPs, equational predicates and sentential constructions). The negated item often co-occurs with contrastive **àmmā** 'but'. Examples:

zân jirā shì, àmmā bǎ à tsàye ba 'I'll wait for him, but not standing'
nā san shì, àmmā bǎ sôsai ba 'I know him, but not well'
inǎ sônsà, àmmā bǎ dà yawǎ ba 'I like him, but not too much'
nakàn jē cōcì, àmmā bǎ kullum/kōyàushē ba
'I go to church, but not all the time'
bǎ yànzu ba! 'not now!'
tā isō, àmmā bǎ dà wuri ba 'she arrived, but not early'
zân dāwō nân bǎ dà jimǎwā ba
'I'll come back soon' (lit...NEG with spending time NEG)
nā sǎdu dà shī, àmmā bǎ cikin kǎsuwā ba
'I met him, but not in the market'
yā barˇ ōfîs bǎ tàre dà izìnin shǔgàbansà ba
'he left the office without the permission of his boss'
an kashè shi, àmmā bǎ dà wuƙā ba 'he was killed, but not with a knife'

5. Adverbial Conjuncts and Disjuncts

Clauses can also be linked by adverbials which provide a connection between clauses/propositions by reference to some circumstantial feature. These mainly phrasal conjuncts can be realized by various elements in the secondary clause, e.g. **bugù dà ƙārì** 'besides, furthermore' (= conjoined (de)verbal nouns), **dàgà ƙàrshē** 'finally, eventually' (prep. + noun), **kâfin nan** 'meanwhile' (prep. + time adverb), **sai** 'then' (conjunction), and a number contain the anaphoric pro-form **hakà** 'this, thus'. These connectives fulfil various conjunctive roles as clause structure elements, and some of the more common conjuncts include:

(contrastive/concessive) **duk dà hakà** 'yet, nevertheless, however', **màimakon hakà** 'instead (of this)'; (additive/reinforcing) **alàl mìsālì** 'for example', **bāya gà hakà** 'in addition to this, what is more', **ban dà hakà** 'moreover, besides', **daɗìn daɗàwā = bugù dà ƙārì** 'furthermore, in addition', **gâ shi kuma** 'what's more', **haɾ̃ wà yâu** 'furthermore'; (enumerative/temporal) **dà farkō = dà fārì(i)** 'firstly', **dàgà bāya** 'afterwards', **dàgà bìsānī** 'subsequently, later', **dàgà ƙàrshē** 'finally, eventually' (also summative), **dàgà nan** 'thereupon', **kâfin nan** 'meanwhile', **sai** 'then', **sai dai** 'except, but instead, on the other hand, only', **sànnan = sânnan** (</= **sā'àn nan**) 'then, afterwards'; (equative/comparative) **hakà kuma** 'similarly, in the same way', **kàzālikà** 'in the same way, likewise' (cf. **kàzā** 'such and such'); (causal/resultative) **ganin hakà** 'in view of this', **sabòdà hakà = don/dòmin hakà** 'so, therefore, for this reason, consequently', **sâkàmakon hakà** 'as a result (of this)', **ta hakà** 'in this way'; (negative condition) **in bâ hakà ba** 'otherwise, alternatively'; (summative) **dàgà ƙàrshē** 'in conclusion', **gàbā ɗaya** 'altogether, in all'; (appositive) **wâtò** 'in other words, that is to say'.

Disjuncts are often outside clause structure per se and are optional modal elements used to convey the speaker's attitude to a statement in a preceding primary clause, including its truth conditions. Commentative disjuncts occur with a variety of structures, e.g. **gālìbī = yawancī** 'generally, usually' (= nouns),

à tàƙàice 'in short' (prep. phrase = 'in/at' + stative), **in Allàh yā sō** 'God willing' (verbal = if God 3m.PF want). Other common disjuncts are:

(à) **hàƙīƙà/hàkīkà** 'obviously, clearly', **àbin mằmākì** 'surprisingly, strangely enough' (thing.of surprise), **Allàh yā sâ** 'luckily' (God 3m.PF cause), **àshē** 'in reality', **bābù/bâ shakkà** 'without a doubt, undoubtedly' (there is not doubt), **bisà kân gàskiyā/gaskiyā** 'in reality, in actual fact' (on on top.of truth), **gàskiyā/gaskiyā** 'in truth, honestly, really', **hàlâ (mā)** 'possibly', **inshā'àllāhù** 'God willing', **lằbuddà** 'certainly', **lallē** 'certainly, surely', **wai** 'allegedly, it is said', **wàllāhì (tàllāhì)** 'honestly', **(wata)ƙīlà = (wata)kīlà** 'perhaps'.

Examples of conjuncts and disjuncts (usually initial position in the secondary clause) are:

nā san zā à yi bìkī. Duk dà hakà, bà zân iyà zuwằ ba
'I know there's going to be party. Nonetheless, I won't be able to come'
...**kàzālikà mā ya cề**... '...similarly he said...'
zân kāwō tàkằrdunkù. Kằfin nan, inằ sô kù ci gàba dà kằrằtū
'I'll bring your papers. Meanwhile, I want you to carry on studying'
nā ga àbîn dà ta yi—gằ shi kuma nā gayằ matà
'I saw what she did—what's more I told her'
bâ ni dà kuɗī—sabồdà hakà bà zân sàyi mōtằ ba
'I don't have any money—for this reason I'm not going to buy a car'
gaskiyā, bâ ni dà lằbārì 'honestly, I knew nothing about it'
lallē, bâ ta dà kunyằ 'certainly, she's shameless'
bâ shakkà, wannàn yā fi 'undoubtedly, this is best'

6. Modal Particles

"Modal particles" (MPs) are a closed set of non-content adverbial-like discourse elements which cover a range of sometimes overlapping and scalar meanings in

English, including 'indeed, really, in fact, also, and, even, however, as for, etc.'. Modal particles are difficult to characterize in terms of meaning, both collectively and individually, and represent a challenge for second-language learning and translation, but their semantics combine context-determined truth-conditional features with pragmatic dimensions, and at the extremes they tend to be either restrictive/isolative, e.g. **dai** 'just, really, actually', or additive, e.g. **mā** 'also, too, as well'.[4] (Their values are sometimes conveyed by intonational stress in English, and suggested glosses in the examples below are only approximate.) Basically, MPs convey the speaker's attitude to the utterance, e.g. positions relating to truth value, personal conviction, evaluation, relevance, reinforcement, emotion, modality, etc., and they serve as links to connect ideas/propositions. (Parsons 1981: 15 notes that the Hausa themselves describe MPs as **gishirin Hausa** 'the salt (seasoning) of Hausa'.) MPs can have scope over both clauses and constituents, often behaving as interclausal connectives and as NP and adverb topic-restrictors (see below for various examples in a range of verbal and nonverbal sentence-types).

There are six MPs—**dai**, **fa**, **kàm**, **kuma**, **kùwa** = **kò**(**o**), and **mā**—most of which are monosyllabic CV(V) and contain the vowel **a**(**a**) as (part of) the nucleus. Although positionally mobile, MPs often occur to the right of the element (noun, phrase, adverb, etc.) they modify, e.g. **dàlīlì kùwa shī nè**... 'and the reason is...', **à nân arèwa dai**... 'here in the north in fact...', **àl'amàrī fa sai ya dāgùlē** 'the situation indeed deteriorated', and they are frequent in both direct speech and narrative discourse.

Various treatments of modal particles are to be found in: Kraft (1963: vol. 1: 172ff.; vol. 2: 29ff.), Parsons (1981: 15-20), Schmaling (1991), Tuller (1986), Wolff (1993: 447ff.), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 46).

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[4] A more refined and comprehensive semantic analysis would probably segregate the two categories, traditionally described as a homogeneous group, and handle them together with "focus" particles/adverbs such as **haɾ̃** 'even (including)', **kaɗ'ai** 'only, alone', **kawài** 'only, merely, just', **kō** '(not) even', etc. (§2.2.4.3).

The MP **dai** 'just, really, in fact, actually,' is basically an identifying restrictive element which is often corrective and/or contrastive in meaning (cf. the reduplicated form **daidai** 'correct(ly), exact(ly)'). Examples:

à hālin yànzu dai...	'now in present circumstances...'
shī dai wannàn ɗan-wằsā...	'now this player...'
nī dai, bàn gānề ba	'me, I don't understand'
bàri dai!	'just wait a minute!'
bài dai sanǐ ba	'he just didn't know'
dà dai sauransù	'and others, etcetera'
yằyằ dai?	'what's happening then?'
àkwai dai abūbuwằ dà dāmā...	'there are in fact many things...'

yằyằ jarřàbâwā?—bâ kōmē dai, nā haurề
'how was the exam?—no problem actually, I passed'
bằ mằtâř ba dai, wāwā dai yā cikằ
'it wasn't the wife in fact, actually the fool had died'
yā tàfi jiyà—shēkaranjiyà dai
'he left yesterday—in fact the day before yesterday'
yā cê, shī dai, bà à taßà yi masà ƙārìn jinī ba
'he said, he for one, he'd never had a blood transfusion'

Isolative **dai** regularly follows and reinforces the selective conjunction/preposition **sai** 'only, except' and the conditional conjunction **ìdan/in** 'if', e.g.

bàn sằmi tàfiyằ ba à 1992, sai dai à 1993
'I didn't manage to go in 1992, only in fact in 1993'
ìdan dai bà kà mântā ba... 'if in fact you haven't forgotten...'

The MP **fa** 'indeed, certainly, really' is also a reinforcing element, and so partially overlaps with **dai**. Examples:

yā cê aikìn hajjì fa bằ kàmař aikìn kằsuwā ba nề
'he said that going on the *Hajj* (pilgrimage) certainly wasn't like marketing'

nī fa, nā ɓòshi	'me, I'm full'
yā cê minì ìn fa sanì...	'he told me I should really know...'
àmmā fa mầsu iyà màganầ sunầ cêwā...	'but in fact articulate people say...'
ìnā fa zân yàr̃da!	'how on earth would I agree!'
kadà kà mântā fa!	'now don't you forget!'

The MP **kàm** 'as for' has the most restricted distribution of all, and is typically used as a marker of clause-initial topics. Examples:

nī kàm, bàn san shì ba	'as for me, I don't know him'
ita kàm, àbîn dà takề sô shī nề...	'as for her, what she wants is...'

Kuma 'also, too, and' is essentially an additive MP which functions as an overt clausal connective. Examples:

à ɗaya ɓangarèn kuma...	'and in the other part...'
bāyan wannàn kuma, à mākòn jiyà...	'and in addition to this, last week...'
Dầraktầ yā kuma bā dà izìnī...	'the Director also gave permission...'
yầyầ kuma zā kà yi?	'and what are you going to do then?'
gầ shi kuma nā gayầ makà	'what's more I told you'
hakà kuma bìncìkên yā nūnầ...	'so too the research has shown...'

wasu kàn tàfi ta hanyàr̃ mōtōcī, wasu kuma ta jirgin ruwa
'some go by land, and others by boat'
kầfîn à gānō mân à kuma haƙō shì
'before the oil was discovered and extracted'

Unlike other MPs, **kuma** can occur clause- or sentence-initially:

ya sầmu mùmmūnan ràunī, kuma akà tàfi dà shī asìbitì
'he received terrible injuries and was taken to hospital'
Kuma àkwai kāyan mōtầ dà sauran kāyā...
'Also there are car parts and other things...'
sun yi farin cikì, kuma sun ji dāɗin... 'they were happy, and they enjoyed...'

Kuma also regularly follows the alternative coordinator **kō** 'or, either', e.g. (clausal coordination) **zā à cī shì tārā kō kuma à tsarè shi** 'he'll be fined or else imprisoned', (NP coordination) **kā fi sôn wannàn kō kuma wannàn**? 'do you prefer this one or else this one?'. It can also be inserted between the conjunction **dà** 'and' and a rightmost conjoin in NP coordination, e.g **nā sàyi rìgā dà kuma jaĩ hùlā** 'I bought a gown and also a red cap', **sarkin kàřùwai dà kuma na 'yan-taurī** 'the head of the prostitutes and also of the toughs'.

The high-frequency MP **kùwa** is essentially affirmative 'and, moreover', as well as contrastive 'however, but'. It regularly reduces phonologically to **kǒ** or even **kò**. Examples:

yā shā giyà, yanà kùwa Mùsùlmī	'he drank beer, and he a Muslim too'
...wannàn àbù kùwa bài shàfē tà ba	
'...this matter however does not concern her'	
kūkân nàwa kùwa shī nè...	'and my complaint is...'
kai kanà sônsà, nī kǒ bā nà sônsà	'you like him, but I don't'
yanà dà kyâu kùwa mù dāwō dà wuri	'it's better too we get back early'
nā gan shì kùwa!	'I did see him!'
shī nè kùwa!	'that's right!'

It often follows the causal subordinator **dòmin/don** 'because' or the noun **dàlīlì** 'reason':

bà zâi kōmà ba dòmin kùwa bài ji dāđī ba
'he won't go back because he didn't enjoy (it)'
Hausa tanà dà muhimmancì, dàlīlì kò shī nè...
'Hausa is important, and the reason is...'

Kùwa, like **kuma**, is also used to reinforce the coordinator **kō** 'or' in alternative questions. Examples:

kanà zuwà kō kùwa bā kà zuwà?	'are you coming or aren't you coming?'

kanǎ sôntà kō kùwa?
'do you like her or what?'
wànnē kikà fi sô?—wannàn kō kǒ wannàn?
'which one do you prefer?—this one or this one?'

The widespread MP **mā** 'also, too, even' is basically additive and connective in meaning, and so partially overlaps with **kuma**. Examples:

shī Audù shī mā yā shā ràunī 'Audu too was injured'
wasu mōtōcī mā sunǎ kwānā à gidājen mâi
'some cars even spend the night at petrol stations'
bài mā faďǎ wà mătarsà ba 'he didn't even tell his wife'
bǎ mā ďānā kawài ba 'and it's not only my son'
don kùwa à kwǎnàkin bāya mā... 'because in recent days also...'
gòbe mā rānā cè 'tomorrow is another day'
shìrmē nè mā mù ci bāshìn nân
'it's nonsense too for us to take on this debt'
gǎ mā wani mìsālì... 'and here is an example...'

It regularly follows and reinforces the focus adverbs **haŕ** 'even' and **mùsammàn** 'especially':

à wasu wurǎrē haŕ mā sun sǒki sarkinsù
'in some areas they have even criticized their chief'
mū à nân arèwa ai haŕ mā mun mântā dà...
'we here in the north, well we've even forgotten...'
cùtâŕ tanǎ shǎfaŕ mātā, mùsammàn mā màsu jūnā biyu
'the disease affects women, and especially pregnant women'

Mā also usually occurs in the semantically comparable complex negative phrase **tun bǎ mā**...**bâ** 'especially':

bā nà sôn kōwā yà dàmē nì, tun bà mā inà aikì bâ
'I don't like anyone to disturb me, especially when I'm working'
kì rufà kânkì tun bà mā in zā kì shìga cōcì bâ
'you should cover up your head particularly if you go into a church'

It also follows the counterfactual conditional subordinator **dà** to express 'if only':

dà mā nā san hakà zā à yi	'if only I'd known this would happen'
dà mā kin isō jiyà	'if only you'd arrived yesterday'

Mā also combines with the time adverb **dâ** 'previously, formerly' to form a complex time-span adverb meaning 'all along, right from the start'. Examples:

dâ mā hakà nakè fàɗā	'that's what I've been saying all along'
dâ mā mun yi musù gàřgàdī	'we warned them from the start'
dâ mā hakà nē	'that's been the case for a long time'
dâ mā Hàusàwā sun cê...	'the Hausa have always said...'

It also follows the verb **cê** 'say' to form the phrasal subordinator **cê mā** 'even supposing, let's say':

cê mā kanà dà kuɗîn...	'even supposing you had the money...'
cê mā kā sàmu aikìn...	'let's say you get the job...'

6.1. Multiple occurrences of modal particles

Some MPs can co-occur in the same clause, usually to a maximum of two, e.g.

dòmin kùwa à kwânàkin bāya mā... 'because in recent days too...'
hakà kuma sū mā gidājen řēdiyòn Jihàř...
'and likewise too the State radio stations...'

Some may co-occur in direct sequence:

kō mā dai kà fārà dūbà̀ su 'or you just also start to look at them'
sai dai kuma sūnà̀yên dà sukà mīƙà̀...
'except too the names that they presented...'
kuma mā bābù mài iyà ɗagà ma'àikàcī dàgà wurîn dà yakè̀ aikì
'and also no one can remove a worker from where he works'
kō kùwa mā dai kà bâ Audù wuƙâř yà yankè̀ àbîn dà kânsà
'or else then just give Audu the knife so he can cut off the thing himself'

6.2. *Position of modal particles*

As with other adverbial elements, MPs are positionally versatile. Compare the following (near) synonymous sentences which contain the MP **mā** 'even' in various positions (Parsons 1981: 15):

bài mā faɗà̀ wà màtařsà ba 'he even didn't tell his wife'
bài faɗà̀ wà mā màtařsà ba 'he didn't tell even his wife'
bài faɗà̀ wà màtařsà mā ba 'he didn't tell his wife even'
bài faɗà̀ wà màtařsà ba mā 'he didn't tell his wife even'

MPs occur freely between (a) a lexical subject and the following person-aspect complex (PAC), as well as between (b) the PAC and the verb (or **dà**-marked HAVE predicate). Examples:

(a) **mū kṑ bâ mu dà mutà̀nē ƙwàràrrū** 'we however don't have experts'
wasu kuma sunà̀ ganin shī tsōhon ministà̀...
'and some feel that the former minister...'
wata majiyā mā tā cê manà... 'a source has also told us...'

(b) **shùgàbànnîn sun kuma kāwō mìsālì̀ dà cêwā...**
'the leaders also point to the fact that...'

yā cê minì ìn fa sanì...
'he told me I should certainly be aware...'
bài dai sanì ba 'he just didn't know'
sunà dai yî nē kawài 'they are just doing (it)'
Nìjēřiyà tanà kuma dà mân fētùř dà yawà 'Nigeria has also lots of oil'
bā nà mā bùƙātàř wannàn 'and I don't need this'

It is also possible, though less common, to get an MP, especially phonologically light **fa**, between a TAM-marker and following subject pronoun when the two elements are structurally discrete. Examples:

(Future) [**zā fa yà**] **dāwō jībi** 'he will indeed return the day after tomorrow'
(Allative) [**zâ dai ni**] **gidā** 'I'm just off home'

An MP can intervene between the initial, non-clitic long vowel **bà** negative marker and following PAC, e.g.

(Neg. Fut.) **màtātā bà kò zā tà dāwō ba sai gòbe**
'and my wife won't return until tomorrow'
(Neg. Hab.) **bà fa nakàn tàfì makařantā ba kullum**
'I certainly don't go to school always'

MPs can also appear between a finite verb and a nominal (but not pronominal) object:

nā sàyi mā rìgā 'I also bought a gown'
yā kashè kùwa kuɗī dà yawà 'and he spent a lot of money'
tā ci fa jařřàbâwâř 'she certainly did pass the exam'
bàn ji dai sàkàmakon zàɓên ba
'I didn't actually hear the result of the election'

An MP can also be placed either before or after the i.o. marker **wà**, i.e. between the verb and marker or marker and indirect object (though speaker-judgements vary here). Examples:

bài faɗầ wà mā mầtařsà ba 'he didn't tell even his wife'
kà kaucề wà dai mahàukàcin nàn 'just avoid this madman'
yā aikầ wà fa Lādì wàsīƙầ = yā aikầ fa wà Lādì wàsīƙầ
'he did send a letter to Ladi'
sun rufề fa wà mālàm ƙōfầ 'they closed the door for the teacher'
nā mayař fa wà Audù kuɗinsà 'I did return the money to Audu'
zân sayař fa mikì zanề 'I will sell you a body-wrapper'
tā kāwō kồ musù àbinci 'and she brought them food'

Grade 5 verbs and sociative verbs, both formed with **dà**, allow an MP either before or after the **dà**. Examples:

yā sayař dai dà mōtàřsà = yā sayař dà dai mōtàřsà (gr5)
'he actually sold his car'
nā gàmsu kồ dà amsàřkà = nā gàmsu dà kồ amsàřkà (soc-verb)
'and I'm pleased with your answer'
zā tà dāwō fa dà kuɗîn = zā tà dāwō dà fa kuɗîn (soc-verb)
'she will indeed return with the money'

As regards NP-internal syntax, although there are restrictions on MPs occurring between a pre-head (in)definite determiner or adjective and the following head NP, it is possible to have an MP in several positions. It can intervene between the universal quantifier **duk** 'every, all, entire' and the head noun e.g. **duk dai wannàn àl'amàřī** 'in fact thoughout this entire matter', between the numeral **ɗaya** 'one' and the head (= 'the other X'), e.g. **ɗaya mā mầtâř tanầ ciki** 'the other wife also is inside', between emphatic independent possessive pronouns and their heads, e.g. **à nầwa fa řa'àyîn**... 'in *my* opinion...', and between independent pronouns and their heads, e.g. **shī dai wannàn ɗan-wầsā**... 'now this player...'. An MP is also possible between the initial concessive **kō** and following *wh*-word in generic **kō**...*wh* ('*wh*...ever') forms, e.g. **kō mā mề yakề nufì** 'and whatever he means', **kō fa nawà ka bā nì** 'indeed however much you give me'.

In post-head position, MPs may occur before an adjective, e.g. **wani zanè fa sābō kuma jā** 'a really new and red body-wrapper' (= conjoined adjectives). In relative clauses it is possible to get an MP to the right of an antecedent head noun and either before or after the relativizer **dà**, e.g. **jā-ìn-jâř dai dà sukà yi ta yî** 'now the argument that they kept on having', **yāròn fa dà mukà ganī jiyà** 'the boy that we did see yesterday', **yāròn dà dai mukà ganī à makařantā** 'the boy that actually we saw at school'.

7. Ideophones

Ideophones constitute a large set of highly expressive, phonosemantic and sometimes collocational words which are used to describe and intensify mainly sensory experiences, e.g. sound, motion, smell, taste, appearance, colour, shape, action, etc. Ideophones have specific phonological and phonotactic features which distinguish them from other word classes. Syntactically they are cross-categorial, patterning mainly with manner adverbs—and so are handled here—but also functioning as adjectives (occasionally nouns), and they are widespread in both spoken and written Hausa. For various descriptions see: Galadanci (1971), Inkelas & Leben (1990), Inkelas, Leben & Cobler (1987), Moore (1968), Newman (1968, 1995), and especially Newman (2000: chap. 35).

7.1. Structure and phonology

Unlike words in other classes, ideophones often end in a consonant, e.g. voiceless obstruents and sonorants. Final diphthongs /**au**/ and /**ai**/ are also common, and some ideophones involve optional or fixed reduplication.[5] Many ideophones are monosyllabic CVC. Examples (with approximate glosses):

cif 'exactly' **buzū-bùzǔ** 'untidy'

[5]Although they have distinctive phonological properties, some ideophones are clearly cognate with other non-ideophonic items, e.g. **cùnkus** 'in profusion' (cf. **cùnkōsō** 'crowd, congestion'), **sako-sako** 'loosely' (cf. **sakī** 'release, let go').

fat	'pure (white)'	**daɓaɓa**	'very clear'
fìř	'flapping of wings'	**ɗàř-ɗàř**	'rapidly (pounding)'
gùm	'smelly'	**kacal**	'paltry'
ƙwal	'all alone'	**kwàngàřàm**	'with a clang'
sak	'directly'	**kwata-kwata**	'completely'
sam(sam)	'not at all'	**ƙìƙàm**	'silently'
tsit	'silently'	**tsùndum**	'deeply'
tîk	'with a thud'	**tubuřàn**	'raving (mad)'
(ƙa)lau	'healthy'	**fatau**	'dark (green)'
zau	'very hot'	**wàlàu**	'opening palm of hand'
tsai	'motionless'	**wasai**	'brightness (of sky)'
ƙut	'very close' (also conjoined **ƙut dà ƙut**)		

In affirmative declarative contexts, ideophones are typically characterized by an extra high pitch on any H tone(s) in phrase-final position (= "key raising" indicated ↑), e.g. **yā rufè ƙōfàř ↑řuf** 'he closed the door tight', **nā mântā ↑shaf** 'I completely forgot', **wani rawànī baƙī ↑wulik** 'a shiny black turban'. Similarly, L tones are usually pronounced with an extra low pitch (↓), e.g. **nā ji wārī ↓gùm** 'I smelled a pungent odour', **yā tsayà ↓ƙìƙàm** 'he stood stock still'. With a LH tone ideophone such as **màƙil** 'chock-full', e.g. **kàsuwā tā cìka ↓mà↑ƙil** 'the market was full to bursting', the space between the two tones is therefore maximal. Monosyllabic ideophones of the shape CVV often occur with extra lengthening of the monophthong, e.g. **sun tāshì ↓řì** [řìii...] 'they got up en masse'.

7.1.1. Monosyllabic ideophones

Monosyllabic ideophones usually have a H tone, as in most of the above examples. A handful are L tone, e.g. **ɗìm** 'huge', **řì** 'in a crowd, moving around', **wùl** 'very quickly', or F tone, e.g. **câ** 'crowding round', **tîk** 'with a thud', **zûř** 'false'.

Polysyllabic ideophones, i.e. with two or more syllables, can be conveniently organized into several classes based on syllable structure. See Newman (2000: chap. 35) for a more detailed treatment and break-down.

7.1.2. Disyllabic ideophones

Disyllabic ideophones end in a consonant, occasionally a diphthong, and many have LH tone, and sometimes identical vowels. Examples:

bìřjik 'in large numbers', **ɗùngum** 'entirely', **gàlau** 'with mouth wide open', **jùgum** 'despondently', **ƙùřmus** 'badly burnt', **màƙil** 'chock-full', **řèřas** 'in a straight line', **sàmɓal** 'straight', **tàtil** 'really drunk', **tìnjim** 'crowded'

Other attested tone patterns are: (HH = common) **duƙus** 'short', **fařat** 'suddenly', **kacal** 'paltry', **kakaf** 'completely', **ƙirin** 'jet-black', **shařaf** 'soaking wet, unripe', **tiɓis** 'dog-tired', **tsiřit** 'tiny', **tukuf** 'very old', **wulik** 'shiny blue/black'; (HL) **kwatsàm** 'suddenly', **riris** 'bitter (crying)'; (LL) **gùnùs** 'bad smelling', **ƙìƙàm** 'silently', **tsùndùm** 'sound of sth. plopping in water'.

7.1.3. Trisyllabic ideophones

Trisyllabic ideophones are typically monotonal LLL or HHH, with a final vowel, consonant or diphthong. Many have identical vowels (unless diphthong-final), and the final two syllables are often reduplicates. Examples:

(LLL): **bàřkàtài** 'in a mess', **ɓàkàtàn** 'idly', **ɓàngwàlgwàl** 'round and fleshy', **gàlàlà** 'loosely, exposed', **kwàngàřàm** 'with a clang', **rùgùzùm** 'headlong', **řàkwàcàm** 'in a mess', **sàmɓàlɓàl** 'straight and tall', **sàràrà** 'wandering around', **sùkùkù** 'despondently', **tsòlòlò** 'long/tall and thin'

(HHH): **danana** 'covered with oil', **firgigit** 'startled', **fururu** 'white from dust', **ƙēmēmē** 'flatly (refuse)', **řātātā** 'noisy, chattering', **tsalala** 'very thin'

7.1.4. Fully-reduplicated ideophones (X x 2)

A large number of ideophones are formed by complete reduplication of the underlying segmental base, which usually has identical vowels, and assignment

of either an overall H tone or heterotonic LL-HH or HH(H)-LL(L) tone melody on the two components. (Together with trisyllabic ideophones, fully reduplicated ideophones are similar in shape and meaning to "augmentative adjectives", §5:6.4.) The output often has an iambic light-heavy structure and the base can end in either a vowel or consonant. Examples:

X x 2)^{H}: **kaca-kaca** 'in a mess', **kwata-kwata** 'completely', **maza-maza** 'very quickly', **ƙasha-ƙasha** 'sprawled out', **rugu-rugu** 'in pieces'.

X x 2)$^{LL\text{-}HH}$: **cùkǔ-cukū** 'underhand dealing', **gìɗǐ-giɗī** 'fidgeting, officiousness', **hàdǎ-hadā** 'buying and selling', **wàcǎ-wacā** 'squandering', **wàndàƙ-wandaƙ** 'zigzagging', **wàtsàl-watsal** 'wriggling', **zìƙgǎ-ziƙgā** 'going to and fro' (cf. related ideophonic dynamic nouns of the shape **-niyā**)$^{LL\text{-}HH}$, e.g. **wàcǎniyā** 'squandering', **wàtsàlniyā** 'wriggling').

X x 2)$^{HH(H)\text{-}LL(L)}$: **buguzum-bùgùzùm** 'in a clumsy manner', **buzū-bùzǔ** 'long and untidy (e.g. beard)', **cukun-cùkùn** 'confused', **falā-fàlǎ** 'wide and thin', **dumū-dùmǔ** 'messy', **gatsal-gàtsàl** 'chunks of food', **ƙugū-ƙùgǔ** 'large and round (e.g. kolanut)', **zaƙō-zàƙǒ** 'protruding teeth'. See also HH-LL **ɓangwal-ɓàngwàl** (= pl. of trisyllabic ideophone **ɓàngwàlgwàl** 'round and fleshy').

The output of the HH-LL tone rule generates forms (as above) which are idiosyncratic in permitting a final L-L tone sequence with a long final vowel. Note too the partially reduplicated ideophones **gǎlàlǎ** 'loosely, exposed' and **tsǒlǒlǒ** 'long and thin', and monomorphemic **rìjǎ** 'all of a sudden' and **tìjǎ** 'falling with a thump', with L tone long final vowels.

7.2. Function

Syntactically, ideophones are often used as manner adverbs, providing additional information regarding the circumstances of a situation, event or activity, e.g. **yā cînyē shî kakaf** 'he ate it up completely'. They can also function as adjectives to postmodify head nouns, e.g. **gǎ bǎkinsà dumū-dùmǔ dà cākùlàn** 'look at his

mouth all messed up with chocolate'. Some cross-categorial ideophones can function as either, e.g. (adv.) **kàsuwā tā cìka màƙil** 'the market has filled up completely', (adj.) **mutànē màƙil sun isō** 'masses of people have arrived'. They occasionally occur as NP heads, e.g. **tsit ɗintà yā dàmē nì** 'her reticence annoyed me'.[6] Because they are highly expressive elements which describe states, they typically occur in affirmative clauses with Perfective TAMs.

Many ideophones have set collocational restrictions. For example, the ideophone **ƙirin** emphasizes and collocates with the adjective **baƙī** 'black', e.g. **wani dōkì baƙī ƙirin** 'a jet-black horse', and **tukuf** intensifies and collocates with either the noun/adjective **tsōhō** 'old (man)', e.g. **shī tsōhō nè tukuf** 'he's very old', or the related verb **tsūfa** 'grow old', e.g. **yā tsūfa tukuf** 'he's grown really old'.

7.2.1. Ideophones as adverbs

Ideophones function principally as clause adverbs, usually of manner in answer to a 'how?' question, and as such they normally occur in VP-final position following other predicate constituents. Some adverbial ideophones, e.g. **kwata-kwata** 'completely', **tak** 'exactly (one)', **tàtil** 'completely (e.g. drunk)', are close in meaning to adverbial intensifiers like **ainùn** 'very (much), really', **ƙwařai** 'very much, indeed', etc. (§2.2.4). Examples:

sun tāshì firgigit	'they woke up with a start'
gidân yā ƙōnè ƙùřmus	'the house burned to a cinder'
yā ƙi samsam	'he refused point-blank'
tā gānè sařai	'she understood completely'
yā jiƙè shařaf	'he was soaked to the skin'
tā zaunà sùkùkù	'she sat down despondently'
yā ɗaurè shi tam	'he tied it up firmly'
bàbānā yā tsūfa tukuf	'my father has really got old'

[6]Compare onomatopoeic compound formations such as (adverbial) 'helter-skelter', (adjectival) 'teeny-weeny', and (nominal) 'hocus-pocus' in English.

There is also a subset of mainly adverbial ideophonic formations which are cognate with so-called "augmentative adjectives" (§5:6.4), and which are highly expressive, denoting a manner or state. The ideophonic adverb typically occurs as a reduplicate and is formed by copying the augmentative base and imposing a H-L tone pattern, e.g. **bùgùzunzùmī** 'fat and ungainly' (base ***buguzum-**) → **buguzum-bùgùzùm** 'in an ungainly way'. Examples:

tanà tàfiyà buguzum-bùgùzùm
'she was walking along in an ungainly way'
ruwā yā saukō danƙwal-dànƙwàl 'the rain came down in big drops'
(cf. related augmentative adjective **danƙwalēlè** 'big and round')

Like other clausal adverbs, ideophones can be focus-fronted (without any copula), e.g.

fal takè dà ruwā	'it's *completely* full with water'
firgigit sukà tāshì	'they woke up *with a real start*'
ƙalau mukà isō	'we arrived back *just fine*'
ƙīƙàm ya tsayà, kàmař gāwā	'he stood *not moving*, like a corpse'

The ideophonic relative time adverbs **kwaràm = kwatsàm** 'suddenly' regularly occur in descriptive narrative contexts, usually clause-initially for climactic effect, and combine with the endpoint conjunction **sai** 'then'. Examples:

kwatsàm sai gà wani ɗan-sàndā... 'suddenly there was a policeman...'
inà zàune inà kallon talàbijìn, sai kwaràm akà ɗâukē manà wutā
'I was sitting watching television, when the lights suddenly went out on us'

Some intensifier ideophones can adverbially postmodify post-head adjectives and quality nouns, forming adjectival phrases (and corresponding to adjectives in English). Examples:

inà dà dōkì baƙī ƙirin 'I've got a jet-black horse'

yā sàyi wata mōtà sābuwā ful	'he bought a brand-new car'
nā sàyi rĩgā farā fat	'I've bought a pure white gown'
wani gōr̃ò ɗanyē shar̃af	'an unripe kolanut'
wannàn ɗākĩ yā yi zāfī zau	'this room is burning hot'

They can also postmodify quantifiers for additional precision:

shèkàrunsà gōmà cif/cur̃	'he is precisely ten years old'
yanà dà màtā gùdā ɗaya tak	'he has only (exactly) one wife'
gà shi cân shī ɗaya ƙwal	'there he is all alone'

In equational constructions, the postmodifying ideophone can be separated from the predicative adjective or quantifier by a copula, in order to give extra emphasis to the now phrase-final ideophone, e.g. **shī mahàukàcī nè tubur̃àn** 'he is absolutely mad', **hanyà gùdā cè tak** 'there is only one way'. With prenominal attributive adjectives, the ideophone can occur to the right of the intervening head noun, e.g. **yā sàyi wata bakar̃ mōtà wulik** 'he bought a really black car', **tanà dà wani sābòn kèkè ful** 'she has a brand-new bike'.

7.2.2. Ideophones as post-head adjectives

Ideophones can, like regular adjectives, attributively modify a head noun in post-position (though they do not inflect). Examples:

yanà dà shâsshāwà daɓaɓa	'he has very clear facial markings'
àkwai mōtōcī bĩr̃jik cikin tashà	'there are lots of cars in the car-park'
tanà dà haƙòrā zaƙō-zàƙò	'she has protruding teeth'
gàrī yā yi haskē wasai	'the sky is really bright'
nā ga àbù ɗil	'I saw a small thing'

A postmodifying reduplicated ideophone can be extended with **dà** 'with' plus a head-coreferential independent pronoun to form an emphatic adjectival phrase, e.g.

yanà dà gāshì buzū-bùzù dà shī	'he has long untidy hair'
tanà dà idānū darā-dàrà dà sū	'she has bold and beautiful eyes'
wani gōřò ɓàngwàlgwàl dà shī	'a large round kolanut'
nāmàn nân yanà dà mâi danana dà shī	'this meat is swimming in oil'

Ideophones can also follow the general verb **yi** 'do', in which case they often translate as predicate adjectives in English (see §7.2.3.1 below for **yi** + ideophone phrasal verbs). Examples:

àbinci yā yi ɓagā-ɓàgà	'the food is lumpy'
ɗākìn yā yi kaca-kaca	'the room is very messy'
Audù yā yi tàtil	'Audu is drunk'
gàrī yā yi wasai	'the sky is very clear'

See also §5:6.2 for diminutive (ideophonic) adjectives like **sìřīřì** m. (= **sīřīřī**) 'tall and skinny (person)', **fìtītì** m. 'skimpy', etc.

7.2.3. Ideophones as NPs

Some ideophones—typically reduplicates—can, like regular adverbs, function as NPs, typically behaving like dynamic-activity nouns (§3:2.1). They can take determiners and have grammatical gender (final **-ā** = feminine, otherwise masculine). Examples:

cùkù-cukū yā yi yawà à ƙasař nàn
'there is too much underhand dealing in this country'
wannàn zìřgà-ziřgā tā dàmē nì
'this to-ing and fro-ing bothers me' (with pre-head demonstrative)
yârā sunà wani dìrì-dirī
'the children are dilly-dallying' (with pre-head indefinite determiner)
kâi, tā cikà wùnì-wunī 'hey, she really looks/acts guilty'
tsit ɗintà bâ shi dà kyâu 'her reticence is not good'
(with post-head possessive **ɗintà**)

*7.2.3.1. Ideophone = noun in phrasal verb headed by **yi** 'do'.* Because ideophones typically express manner adverbial concepts, some of them can combine with the general verb **yi** 'do' to form often fixed phrasal verbs which sometimes correspond to adverbs in English. These **yi** + ideophone verbs are used in an initial coordinate clause to express a precipitate action of some kind, typically in narrative with a same subject and a same TAM. Examples:

...sai ya yi fařat ya cɛ̀...
then 3m.FOC-PF do **fařat** 3m.FOC-PF say
'...then he suddenly interjected and said...'
ya yi wuf ya mayař dà shī cikin àkwātì 'he hastily put it back into the box'
(yi) maza kà kirāwō shì! 'go quickly and call him!'

Some **yi** + ideophone formations can be extended with the preposition **dà** 'with' to form sociative verbs with oblique objects, e.g.

nā yi kàciɓìs dà ita kân hanyà 'I unexpectedly bumped into her on the road'
yā yi tiř dà zàrgîn 'he rejected the accusation'
yā yi wàcà-wacā dà kuɗinsà 'he squandered his money'
yârā sun yi câ gà bàƙôn
'the children crowded around the stranger' (with prep. **gà**)

Chapter 16
Selected Texts

1. Introduction: Writing Systems

As a consequence of the early contact with Islam dating back to the 14th century, Hausa has a long literary tradition dating back several centuries before initial direct contact with the west in the early 1900s. Hausa was first written using a system based on the Arabic script, and known as **àjàmi**. This writing system is still used by Muslim teacher-scholars (**màlàmai**) and students (**àlmàjìřai**) in Koranic schools (where most Hausa children still receive their early education), by people without any formal western education, and also by some poets for verse composition. However, **àjàmi** has been gradually superseded by the Romanized orthography **bōkò** (< Eng. 'book'), introduced by the British colonial authorities after establishment of colonial rule at the beginning of the 20th century (the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was proclaimed in 1900). The Roman script is used widely in the print media, i.e. in books, newspapers, magazines, signs and advertizing, and has opened the way for the development of modern Hausa literature. (See Furniss 1996 for a comprehensive and up-to-date survey of Hausa literature, both oral and written forms, and including poetry, prose, songs and theatre.) The standard Hausa alphabet consists of the following 27 letters:

', a, b, ɓ, c, d, ɗ, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, ƙ, l, m, n, o, (p), r, s, t, u, w, y, 'y, z

The special "hooked" letters **ɓ** (**Ɓ**), **ɗ** (**Ɗ**), and **ƙ** (**Ƙ**) were introduced in the 1930s, though one still encounters publications, including newspapers, where the plain letters are used. Otherwise, these glottalized consonants have been indicated using either apostrophes, i.e. **'b, 'd, k'** (as in Abraham 1934, and Bargery 1934), or subdots, i.e. **ḅ, ḍ, ḳ** (also **q**) (as in Abraham 1959b). The apostrophe **'** is used

to represent the glottal stop /ʔ/ and is only written word-medially in Hausa orthography, e.g. orthographic **jami'i** = /**jāmìʔī**/ 'leader, official', **ɗan'uwa** = /**ɗanʔuwā**/ 'brother', **sana'a** = /**sànāʔà**/ 'profession'. The apostrophe is also used to indicate glottalized **'y**. The letters **c** and **j** represent the affricates [tʃ] and [ʤ], and the marginal letter **p** is used with foreign proper names, e.g. **Japan, Pakistan**. The letter **r** represents both the tap/roll /**r̃**/ and flap /**r**/ phonemes, cf. /**tār̲à̃**/ 'collect' and /**ta r̃à**/ 'nine' which are both spelled as **tar̲a**. The digraphs **sh** [ʃ] and **ts** [s'] are normally handled as sequences of two letters for alphabetization purposes, i.e. **s** + **h** and **t** + **s**, as are the **fy, ky, gy, ƙy** and **kw, gw, ƙw** digraphs. The phonemic contrast between long vowels and their short counterparts, like distinctive tone, is not indicated in the orthography, e.g. /**dāfà̃**/ 'lean on' and /**dafà̃**/ 'cook' both appear as **dafa**. (See also §**2**.) For various treatments of Hausa orthography in Roman script, including the system used in Niger, in addition to spelling conventions and their development, see: Furniss (1991b), Galadanci (1976: chap. 10), Gouffé (1981b), Gregersen (1977), Kirk-Greene (1964b), Malka (1982), Newman (2000: chap. 82), Wolff (1991a, 1993: 19-23), Yahaya (1982), and Zarruk' (1982).

Arabic script (**àjàmi**) has been used to write Hausa from at least the beginning of the 19th century, e.g. for poetry, historical and religious texts, legends, proverbs, folktales, etc. Many of the early dictionaries transcribed Hausa entries in both Roman and Arabic script (e.g. Mischlich 1906, Robinson 1899/1900), and some grammars included transliterated and translated **àjàmi** tracts (e.g. Robinson 1897). Some of the many manuscripts written in **àjàmi** have been transliterated into Roman script, e.g. Edgar (1911-1913, reorganized and translated into English by Skinner 1969), and Rattray (1913) (see also Hiskett 1964/65, Piłaszewicz 1992, and Skinner 1968: 99ff.). The Hausa **àjàmi** alphabet is presented in Table 29 below, taken from Robinson (1897, 5th edition 1942, pp. 127-130).

Table 29. *The* **àjàmi** *alphabet*

Letters.	Unconnected.	Connected only with the preceding.	Connected on both sides.	Connected only with the following.	Pronunciation.
أَلِفْ Alif	ا	ا	—	—	Not pronounced
بَا Ba	ب	ب	ـبـ	بـ	English *b*[1]
تَا Ta	ت	ت	ـتـ	تـ	,, *t*
ƈَا Cha	ƈ	ƈ	ـƈـ	ƈـ	Soft *ch* as in *church*
جِيم Jim	ج	ج	ـجـ	جـ	English *j*
حَا Hha	ح	ح	ـحـ	حـ	Strong *h*
خَا Kha	خ	خ	ـخـ	خـ	*kh*, or hard *ch*, as in Scotch *loch*[1]
دَال Dal	د	د	—	—	English *d*
ذَال Zal	ذ	ذ	—	—	,, *z*
رَا Ra	ر	ر	—	—	,, *r*[1]
زَا Za	ز	ز	—	—	English *z*, usually pronounced the same as ذ
سِين Sîn	س	س	ـسـ	سـ	English *s*
شِين Shîn	ش	ش	ـشـ	شـ	,, *sh*
صَاد Sâd	ص	ص	ـصـ	صـ	,, *s*, pronounced the same
ضَاد Dâd	ض	ض	ـضـ	ضـ	English *d* or *l*; seldom used.

Letters.	Unconnected.	Connected only with the preceding.	Connected on both sides.	Connected only with the following.	Pronunciation.
طَا Ta	ط	ـط	ـطـ	طـ	English *ts*, sometimes *t*, also frequently used to represent hard *ḍ* or *dt* sound [1]
ظَا Tsa	ظ	ـظ	ـظـ	ظـ	English *ts*, very seldom used in Hausa
عَين Ain	ع	ـع	ـعـ	عـ	Not pronounced
غَين Ghain	غ	ـغ	ـغـ	غـ	English hard *g*
فَا Fa	ف	ـف	ـفـ	فـ	English *f*
قَاف Kâf	ق	ـق	ـقـ	قـ	*ḳ*, a sub-palatal guttural *k* [1]
كَاف Kâf	ك	ـك	ـكـ	كـ	English *k*
لَام Lâm	ل	ـل	ـلـ	لـ	,, *l* [1]
مِيم Mîm	م	ـم	ـمـ	مـ	,, *m*
نُون Nun	ن	ـن	ـنـ	نـ	,, *n*
هَا Ha	ه	ـه	ـهـ	هـ	,, *h*
وَاو Wâ	و	ـو	—	—	,, *w*
يَا Ya	ى	ـى	ـيـ	يـ	,, *y*

The reader who is acquainted with Arabic will observe that ث and ض, which represent *th* and a sort of palatal *d* respectively in Arabic, are pronounced *ch* and *l* in Hausa. The letter ض is, however, very rarely used.

The Arabic language contains several distinctions of sound which are not found in Hausa at all. Thus no clear or uniform distinction is recognized by the Hausas between ز and ذ, س and ص, ع and ء.

The letters *alif* and *ain* are used in Hausa simply as the bearers of the vowel-sounds, and are frequently interchanged; cf. *ita* إتَ and عتَ she; the presence of an *alif* does not necessarily imply that the syllable is long, or that the accent rests on that syllable. The letter ع *ain* is not at all commonly used by the Hausas except in words which they have borrowed from Arabic. Many words when they stand at the end of a line or sentence, especially in poetry, have a final ا *alif* or ى *y* which they would not otherwise take.

Hausa Vowels.—The vowel sounds used by the Hausas are: ـَ *wasali bisa*, pronounced like **a** in father, or in a closed syllable like **a** in fat; ـِ *wasali ƙasa*, pronounced like **i** in ravine, or in a closed syllable like **i** in fit; ـَا *guda ƙasa*, pronounced like **a** in fate. The vowel **u** or **o**, *rukuwa* is written ـُو, thus رُوغُو *rogo*, cassava, **o** in a closed syllable is written ـُ; the sound **u** as in flute is written ـُو, or occasionally ـُ, thus سَامُو *samu*, to find; a short **u** or a **u** in a closed syllable is written ـُ, thus *muska* مُسْكَا, musk.

Diphthongs.—The diphthongs are **ai** ـَيْ, pronounced like **i** in nice, thus مَيْتَا *maita*, witchcraft; **au** ـَوْ pronounced like **ow** in how, thus بَوْتَا *bauta*, slavery; and ـُى **oi**, pronounced like **oi** in loiter. Diphthongs in closed syllables are written with the first vowel of the diphthong only, e.g. حَيَّا for *hainya*. The writing and the pronunciation of the diphthong **oi**, or of the diphthong **ai** in a closed

syllable are rare, and in transliterating Hausa we may perhaps write *baḳwai*, *hanya*, &c.

Accents.—As the emphasis laid on different syllables differs a good deal in different localities, very sparing use has been made of accents. They have only been employed where the emphasis to be placed upon a syllable is very pronounced or specially liable to be misplaced.

Hamza.—The sign *hamza* ' which the Hausas have borrowed from the Arabs, and which denotes the cutting off of the stream of breath which can precede or follow a vowel, is more often omitted than inserted.

The student is reminded that he must be prepared to find considerable variety in the systems of writing adopted by different Hausa mallams. In the specimens of Hausa writing contained in this grammar an attempt is made to represent the method adopted by the best educated and most representative Hausas. The divisions between words are also differently made by different writers; pronouns and prepositions are sometimes joined on to substantives or verbs and sometimes written as separate words.

In the selected readings which follow no attempt has been made to correct the native writing so as to produce uniformity.

2. Texts

Below are two **àjàmi** tracts together with the original Hausa transliteration in Roman script (with glossing added), and the English translation (with minor modifications to the Hausa orthography and punctuation in addition to the English translations and punctuation).

Text 1: **Àjàmi** text from Robinson (1897, 5th edition 1942, pp. 158-160).

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE KING OF ZINDER.

جَغَبَنْ اَيَرِى يَغَيدَ سَرِكِنْ زِنْدِرْ يَغَيْشِشْ كُومَ
يَغَيْشِشْ غَيْسُوَا دُبُو دُبُو يَثِى اَللَّهْ يَدَطِى رَنْسَ
بَيَنْ حَكَ يَثِى مُو دَوَدَنْدَ كِى تَارِى دَمُو تُنْدَ
كُوَانَا غُومَ شَبُدُو مُبَرْكَدُو * يَنْدُو مُنَسُو مُدُو غَرِنْكَ
مُنْرُكِيكَ كَبَرْمُ مُشِغَ كَاسُوَنْ غَرِنْكَ مُيِى ثِنِكَ حَرْ
شَغُلْغَلَمُ سُفَارِى بَايَدَنْ ذَامُ حَجِ ذُوَ مَكَّ * مُيِى
اَبُو دُكَ دَكَفَطَ زَمَنْمُ نَنْ نَكَنِى فِتَنْمُ نَنْ نَكَ
نِى * جَغَبَا يَثِى اِنْ كَثِى يَكَمَتَ مُتَاشِى تُو
مُتَاشِى اِنْ كَثِى مُيِى شَغُلْغَلَمُ حَرْ سُفَارِى تُو مُيِى
سَانَنْ مُغُدِى مَكَ دَيَو * جَغَبَا يَثِى كُومَ كَدَ كَكَرْبَ
اَبِنْدَ اَكَثِى دُكَ اَغَرِمُ * مُودَى فِتَكِى نِى
مُو بَا مَاسُفَشِ بَا نِى بَلِى مُيِى سَاتَا اَثِكِنْ
كَاسُوَنْ غَرِنْكَ * مُنْرُكِيكَ كُومَ كَفَطَ مُتَنْثَكَ
كَدَ سُتَاشِمُ تِيلَسْ سَىْ مُنْسَمُ غُزُرِ سَبَدَ تَفِيرُمْ *
نَايَكُو مَكَ دَغُورُو اَلْفِنْ تَارِى دَتَكَرْدَنْ نَنْ اَللَّهْ
شِطَوُنْتَ رَنْكَ * اِيَاكَا يَفَارِى *

Transliteration into Roman script:

Jagaban ayari ya gaida sarikin Zindar, ya gaishe shi, kuma ya gaishe shi
guide.of caravan 3m.PF greet king.of Zinder 3m.PF greet 3m and 3m.PF greet 3m
gaisuwa dubu dubu. Ya ce Allah shi daɗe ransa.
greeting thousand thousand 3m.PF say God 3m.SJN prolong life.of.3m
Bayan haka ya ce mu da waɗanda ke tare da mu
after this 3m.PF say 1pl and RELPRO(pl) FOC-IMPF together with 1pl
tun da kwana goma sha fuɗu mu bar Kano.
since day ten plus four 1pl.SJN leave Kano
Yanzu muna so mu zo garinka, mun roƙe ka ka bar
now 1pl.IMPF wish.VN 1pl.SJN come town.of.2m 1pl.PF beg 2m 2m.SJN allow
mu mu shiga kasuwan garinka mu yi ciniki
1pl 1pl.SJN enter market.of town.of.2m 1pl.SJN do trading
har shagulgulanmu su ƙare. Baya nan za mu haji zuwa Makka.
until business.of.1pl 3pl.SJN finish after this ALLAT 1pl pilgrimage to Mecca
Mu yi abu duka da ka faɗa.
1pl.SJN do thing all REL 2m.FOC-PF say
Zamanmu nan naka ne, fitanmu nan naka ne.
stay.VN.of.1pl here of.2m COP(m) leave.VN.of.1pl there of.2m COP(m)
Jagaba ya ce, in ka ce ya kamata mu tashi, to, mu tashi.
guide 3m.PF say if 2m.PF say 3m.PF be fitting 1pl.SJN leave well 1pl.SJN leave
In ka ce mu yi shagulgulanmu har su ƙare, to, mu yi,
if 2m.PF say 1pl.SJN do business.of.1pl until 3pl.SJN finish well 1pl.SJN do
sa'anan mu gode maka da yawa. Jagaba ya ce kuma
then 1pl.SJN thank IOM.2m with plenty guide 3m.PF say also
kada ka karɓi abin da aka ce duka a gare mu.
NEG 2m.SJN accept thing.DD(m) REL 4pl.FOC-PF say all at in relation to 1pl
Mu dai fatake ne, mu ba masu fashe ba ne,
1pl indeed traders COP(pl) 1pl NEG ones doing highway robbery NEG COP(pl)
balle mu yi sata a cikin kasuwan garinka. Mun roƙe ka kuma
much less 1pl.SJN do stealing at in market.of town.of.2m 1pl.PF beg 2m also

ka faɗa mutanenka kada su tashe mu tilas sai mun samu
2m.SJN tell men.of.2m NEG 3pl.SJN disturb 1pl forcibly until 1pl.PF get
guzuri sabada tafiyarmu. Na aiko maka da goro alfin
provisions because of journey.of.1pl 1sg.PF send IOM.2m with kolanut two thousand
tare da takardan nan. Allah shi tsawonta ranka. Iyaka. Ya ƙare.
together with letter this God 3m.SJN prolong life.of.2m end 3m.PF finish

Translation:

The guide of the caravan salutes the king of Zinder, he salutes him again, he salutes him with thousands of salutations. He says, may God prolong his life. After this he says we and those who are with us left Kano fourteen days ago. Now we wish to come to your town, we beg of you that you allow us to enter the market-place of your town that we may trade until our business is finished. After this we will go forth as pilgrims to Mecca. We will do everything that you tell us. Our stay here is in your hands, our going forth hence is in your hands. The guide says, if you say it is necessary for us to arise, well, we will arise. If you say that we are to do the business that we have until it is finished, well, we will do it, and will then thank you much. The guide says again, do not believe everything that is said of us. We are indeed traders, we are not brigands, much less do we wish to steal in the market of your town. We beg of you again that you will say to your men that they are not to forcibly disturb us till we have obtained provision for the way in view of our journey. Together with this letter I send two thousand kola nuts. May God prolong your life. The end. It is finished.

Text 2: **Àjàmi** text from Rattray (1913, vol. 2, pp. 10-13).

Transliteration into Roman script:

Wannan tatsuniyar zaki ce da damisa.
this fable.of lion COP(f) and leopard
Ga ta nan, ga ta nan, ta je, ta komo.
PRESENT 3f there PRESENT 3f there 3f.SJN go 3f.SJN come back
Zaki, da shi da damisa suka gamu wurin farauta.
lion and 3m and leopard 3pl.FOC-PF meet place.of hunting
Zaki ya kashe nama, ya aje,
lion 3m.FOC-PF kill meat 3m.FOC-PF put aside
ya tafi shina biɗan wani.
3m.FOC-PF go 3m.IMPF look for.VN.of SID(m)
Sai damisa ya tafo, ya ishe nama, babu kowa.
then leopard 3m.FOC-PF come 3m.FOC-PF find meat NEG EXIST everyone
Shi kuwa ya ji yunwa, sai ya tsuguna, shina ci.
3m and 3m.PF feel hunger then 3m.FOC-PF squat down 3m.IMPF eat.VN
Sai zaki ya tarda shi, shina ci. Sai zaki ya kama shi.
then lion 3m.FOC-PF find 3m 3m.IMPF eat.VN then lion 3m.FOC-PF seize 3m
Da kokuwa, suna kokuwa sai kura ta zo.
EXIST wrestling 3pl.IMPF wrestling then hyena 3f.FOC-PF come
Tana wucewa da hamzari, ba ta ce masu komi ba.
3f.IMPF pass by.VN with speed NEG 3f.PF say IOM.3pl everything NEG
Ashe fakara tana bisa itace, tana ganin kura, sai ta ce:
but bush-fowl 3f.IMPF on tree 3f.IMPF see.VN.of hyena then 3f.FOC-PF say
"Ke kura kina gani manya suna faɗa, kina wucewa,
2f hyena 2f.IMPF see.VN great ones 3pl.IMPF quarrelling 2f.IMPF pass by.VN
ba ki raba su." Sai ta ƙyale, tana tafiya tata.
NEG 2f.IMPF separate 3pl then 3f.FOC-PF ignore 3f.IMPF go.VN of.3f
Sai zaki ya daka mata tsawa ya ce:
then lion 3m.FOC-PF beat IOM.3f shouting 3m.FOC-PF say
"Ke kura, komo!" Sai ta komo ta ce:
2f hyena come back.IMPER then 3f.FOC-PF come back 3f.FOC-PF say

"Zaki, bari, damisa, bari, faɗanku na manya,
lion stop.IMPER leopard stop.IMPER quarrelling.of.2pl of great ones
wa shike shiga, sai wawa, sai mahaukaci?" Sai zaki ya ji daɗi,
who 3m.FOC-IMPF enter.VN only fool only madman then lion 3m.FOC-PF feel pleasure
sai ya kwashi rawa, ya tafi da nisa.
then 3m.FOC-PF take dancing 3m.FOC-PF go with distance
Damisa shi kuma ya ji daɗi, ya kwashi rawa,
leopard 3m too 3m.FOC-PF feel pleasure 3m.FOC-PF take dancing
ya tafi da nisa.
3m.FOC-PF go with distance
Ba su komo maza ba. Sai kura ta gudu.
NEG 3pl.PF come back quickly NEG then hyena 3f.FOC-PF run off
Shi ke nan. Kungurus kan kusu.
that is that it's finished head.of rat

Translation:

This story is about a lion and a leopard. Here it [the story] is, here it is, let it go, let it come. A lion and a leopard met out hunting. The lion killed some game, put it away and went off to look for some more. And the leopard came and found the meat, with no one near it. Now he felt hungry, so he squatted down and was eating it. Then the lion came across him as he was eating. Then the lion seized him. They were struggling and wrestling when a hyena came up. She [the hyena] was scuttling past and did not say anything to them. But a bush-fowl was up above on a tree, and she saw the hyena and said: "You hyena, you see the great ones quarrelling, and you pass by and do not separate them." But she [the hyena] paid no attention and was going off her own way. Then the lion roared out at her and said: "You hyena, come back!" So she returned and said: "Lion, leave off, leopard, leave off, your fighting is the quarrelling of the mighty ones, who is going to mix himself up in it except a fool, except a madman?" Then the lion was happy and

danced and went far away. The leopard too was pleased and danced and went far away. They did not return soon. Then the hyena ran off. That's all. Off with the rat's head [phrase used to conclude a tale].

Text 3: Modern Newspaper Article. **An Haramta Auren Yara a Abuja** 'Marrying Children is Forbidden in Abuja' (*Hausa Newspaper Reader*, Jaggar 1996: 59, 155).

A halin yanzu ya zama laifi ga duk wani uba ko mai riƙo
in situation.of now 3m.PF become crime for all SID(m) father or guardian
da ya fitar da ɗiyarsa daga makaranta domin yi mata aure
COMP 3m.SJN take out daughter.of.3m from school in order to do IOM.3f marriage
a Karamar Hukumar Gwagwalada da ke Birnin Abuja.
in small.of authority.of Gwagwalada REL FOC-IMPF city.of Abuja
A wata sanarwa da mujallar Karamar Hukumar ta bayar,
in SID(f) announcement REL newsletter.of small.of authority.DD(f) 3f.FOC-PF give
ta bayyana cewa babban laifi ne kuma
3f.PF explain COMP major.of crime COP(m) also
wani ya yi ma ɗaliba mace ciki a Karamar Hukumar.
SID(m) 3m.SJN do IOM student female pregnancy in small.of authority.DD(f)
Dokokin da aka wallafa cikin mujallar sun nuna cewa,
laws.DD(pl) REL 4pl.FOC-PF publish in newsletter.DD(f) 3pl.PF indicate COMP
idan wanda ya aikata laifin hakan shi ma ɗalibi ne,
if RELPRO(m) 3m.FOC-PF commit crime.of thus.DD(m) 3m also student COP(m)
to za a kore shi har na tsawon lokacin da ɗalibar
well FUT 4pl expel 3m up to of length.of time.DD(m) REL student.DD(f)
da aka yi wa cikin za ta yi ba ta makarantar.
REL 4pl.FOC-PF do IOM pregnancy.DD(m) FUT 3f do NEG 3f.IMPF school.DD(f)
Amma idan ba ɗalibi ne ba, to za a hukunta shi daidai yadda
but if NEG student COP(m) NEG well FUT 4pl sentence 3m exactly how

dokokin ƙasa suka tanada, kuma zai biya gwamnati
laws.of country 3pl.FOC-PF provide and FUT.3m pay government
kuɗin da aka kashe ma ɗalibar na makaranta,
money.DD(m) REL 4pl.FOC-PF spend IOM student.DD(f) of school
har ya zuwa lokacin da ta yi cikin.
up to equivalent of to time.DD(m) REL 3f.FOC-PF do pregnancy.DD(m)
Dokar ta ci gaba da cewa,
law.DD(f) 3f.PF continue with say.VN
duk yaron ko yarinyar da ta kai shekara shidda,
every boy.DD(m) or girl.DD(f) REL 3f.FOC-PF reach year six
to a tabbatar an sanya su makarantar firamare
well 4pl.SJN guarantee 4pl.PF place 3pl school.of primary
da ke kusa da iyayen ko masu riƙon nasu.
REL FOC-IMPF close to parents.DD(pl) or guardians.DD(pl) of.3pl
Haka duk yaron da ya shiga makaranta ta sama da firamare,
so every boy.DD(m) REL 3m.FOC-PF enter school of higher than primary
to zai ci gaba da karatunsa, kuma iyayen nasa
OK FUT.3m continue with studying.of.3m and parents.DD(pl) of.3m
su tabbatar yana zuwa makarantar ba tare da fashi ba.
3pl.SJN ensure 3m.IMPF go.VN school.DD(f) NEG with postponement NEG
Sai dai dokar ta ba da sharaɗin cewa, idan an canza
but law.DD(f) 3f.PF give condition.DD(m) COMP if 4pl.PF change
wa iyayen ko masu riƙon yaran wurin aiki zuwa wani gari,
IOM parents.DD(pl) or guardians.of children.DD(pl) place.of work to SID(m) town
to a wannan hali ana iya cire yaron daga makaranta.
well in this circumstance 4pl.IMPF can take out child.DD(m) from school
Kuma duk wanda ya ƙi amfani da waɗannan dokokin,
and every RELPRO(m) 3m.FOC-PF refuse use with these laws.DD(pl)
za a ci shi tarar naira 100, ko kuma a ɗaure shi cikin kurkuku
FUT 4pl eat 3m fine.of *naira* 100, or else 4pl.SJN jail 3m in prison

har tsawon lokacin da bai wuce wata uku ba, ko kuma duka biyun.
up to length.of time.DD(m) REL NEG.3m.PF pass month three NEG or else all two.DD(pl)

Translation:

It has now become a crime for any father or guardian to take his daughter out of school to get her married in Gwagwalada Local Authority in Abuja City. In an announcement that the Local Authority newsletter made, it explained that it was also a major crime for anyone to impregnate a female student in the Local Authority.

The laws that were published in the newsletter indicate that if the person who commits a crime of this kind is also a student, well then he will be expelled for the length of time the pregnant student will spend out of school. But if he is not a student, he will be sentenced in accordance with the provisions of the country's laws, and he will pay the government the money spent on the student's schooling right up to the time she got pregnant.

The law added that any boy or girl who had reached six years should be guaranteed a place in a primary school close to their parents or guardians. So too any boy who has entered a school higher than primary will carry on with his studies, and his parents should ensure that he goes to school regularly.

But the law adds the condition that if the job location of the children's parents or guardians is changed to another town, in these circumstances the child can be taken out of the school. Also, whoever refuses to abide by these rules will be fined 100 *naira* or jailed for a maximum of three months, or both.

Text 4: Modern Poem. **Maraba da Soja** 'Welcome to the Soldiers' (from *Wakokin Sa'adu Zungur* [The Poems of Sa'adu Zungur] by Sa'adu Zungur, 1955, cited in Furniss 1996: 224).

Babu amfani ga 'yanci,
NEG EXIST use for freedom

In akwai halin talauci,
if EXIST condition.of poverty
Babu yin zarafin aminci,
NEG EXIST do.VN.of opportunity.of trust
In da masu ƙwafa a zuci,
if EXIST ones with envy in heart
Babu kyawun shugabanci,
NEG EXIST goodness.of leadership
Sai idan da akwai adalci,
only if EXIST EXIST honesty
Babu amfanin zumunci,
NEG EXIST use.of fellowship
Sai fa in da akwai karimci,
only indeed if EXIST EXIST generosity
Kuma babu yawan butulci,
and NEG EXIST plenty.of ingratitute
Babu ƙeta, ba sakarci,
NEG EXIST malice NEG EXIST folly
Babu ketawar mutunci,
NEG EXIST tear.VN.of decency
Babu mai yunwar abinci,
NEG EXIST one with hunger.of food
San nan 'yanci yake tsayawa.
then freedom 3m.FOC-IMPF stop.VN

Translation:
Useless is freedom,
Where there is poverty,
Hopeless to look for trust,
Where there are those who hide envy in their hearts,
Worthless is the leadership,

Where there is no honesty,
Useless are close human ties,
Unless there is noble generosity,
Never while ingratitude abounds,
Never while there is malice or folly,
Never while men are scorned,
Never while they are hungry,
Never, till these are ended, can freedom endure.

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INDEX

Abdoulaye, Mahamane L., 258, 264, 433
Ablaut, 300
Abraham, R. C., 3, 4
Abstract nouns, 34-35, 92-103, 189, 350-51, 471-79, 550-52, 572-73, 648
Abstract nouns of sensory quality (ANSQs), 103-6, 146, 229, 237, 432
Abubakar, Abdulhamid, 3
Abu-Manga, Al-Amin, 3
Acronymns, 52
Actor-subject, 226, 239, 241, 253, 265-66, 425, 427, 430
Ader (Hausa), 258, 441-42
Adjectives, 342-57; agential, 146-47; as heads, 348-49; attributive, 343-47; comparison, 357-58; compound, 142-43; derived, 131-47; diminutive ideophonic, 133-34; ethnonymic, 147; feminine forms, 58-61; fully-reduplicated "X-like, X-ish", 143-46; ideophones as, 347, 695-96; intensive sensory, 141-42; negative-defective, 134-35; non-specific 'such-and-such', 355-56; noun + PP, 356; past participial, 131-33; phrasal, 349; plurals, 61-82; predicate, 348; simple, 48, 62, 343, 349. *See also* **d'an**, **MAI**.
Adverbs, 643-67; as cognate complements, 589-90; as NPs (gender), 56-57, 667; compound, 647; degree, 645; deictic (space or time), 645-47; denominal, 649; downscalers, 664-65; focus, 665-66; fully-reduplicated (intensification and detensification), 656-57; ideophones as, 693-95; intensifiers, 663-66; locative, 644, 659-60; manner, 645; modality, 645; negation of, 677; NPs as, 657-59; phrasal, 647-49; position, 661-63; postmodifying, 660-61; simple, 644-47; syntactic functions, 659-67; temporal, 644-45; universal, 380-81; upscalers, 663-64. *See also* Statives.
Affected-subject, 239, 260-67, 425-27, 439, 653. *See also* Grade 7.
Afroasiatic, 2, 48, 107, 156, 333, 411
Afterthought, 399-400, 537
Agential nouns, 107-11, 123, 352, 357; as adjectives, 146-47; plurals, 69
Agreement. *See* Concord.
Ahmad, Mustapha, 4, 142
Ahmad, Sa'idu Baßura, 3
Ahmed, Umaru, 3
àjàmi (Arabic) script, 698-710
Aktionsart, 154
Aliyu, Yahaya, 4
Allative (TAM), 197-200
Alphabet, 698-99
Amfani, Ahmed H., 3
Anaphora, 316, 330, 356, 360, 600, 602-4, 646. *See also* **d'în**, Ellipsis, Reflexives.
Animacy, 235, 421; and syntactic

coding, 313, 359, 499, 540-41, 602. *See also* Actor-subject.
Apocopation, 12, 22, 121, 184, 198, 222, 232, 244, 409
Applicative verbs, 227-29, 256, 270, 272-74, 422, 445, 481
Apposition, 362, 366, 385, 393, 396-400, 424, 460, 537-38
Arabic: loanwords, 5n, 7, 20, 22, 26, 36, 41, 45, 46, 71-72, 80, 99, 337, 358, 365, 490; script, 698-710
Aspectual verbs, 286, 289, 419, 546-52, 596, 656
Assimilation, 7, 9, 26, 28, 65, 68, 70, 74, 76, 77, 92, 111, 128, 138, 141, 184, 239, 240, 250, 270, 280, 281, 283, 326, 337, 353, 409, 412, 480, 527, 528. *See also* Gemination.
Augmentative adjectives, 22, 135-41
Awde, Nicholas, 3, 4

Bagari, Dauda M., 3
Baldi, Sergio, 4
Barau, Malam, 3
Bargery, G. P., 3, 4, 244
Bature, Abdullahi, 4, 264
Bauchi (Hausa), 2, 480n
Bellama, David, 3
Bello, Ahmadu, 3
Benin, 1
Botne, Robert D., 4
Burkina Faso, 1

Cameroon, 1
Caron, Bernard, 3, 258, 442
Cataphora, 320, 329, 387
Causative constructions, 552-59. *See also* Grade 5.
Chadic, 2, 48, 107, 156, 161, 191, 212, 223, 269, 279, 312, 335n, 480n
Change-of-state verbs, 237, 239, 247
Citation form (verbs), 218-19
Clause: elements, 415-20; non-verbal, 457-73. *See also* Complement, Coordinate, Relative, Subordinate clauses.
Cleft constructions. *See* Focus.
Clipped forms, 220, 231, 232, 233, 237, 238, 248, 251, 252, 261, 272, 297, 329, 336, 352, 365, 446, 608, 625, 637, 649, 650, 676
Cognate complements, 588-91
Collective nouns, 32-33
Commands, 184-87, 436, 449; indirect, 587-88; negative, 185. *See also* Verbs.
Comparison, 110, 357-58, 363, 368-69, 424, 473-80, 544, 624, 641-42, 674
Complement/complementation, 157, 172, 180, 187, 188-90, 196, 199, 239, 240, 241, 255-56, 261, 265, 287, 289, 313-14, 339, 374, 381, 392, 405, 407, 409, 417-20, 423, 424, 427, 428, 429, 454, 457-59, 466, 470, 471, 473, 501, 508, 522, 545-91, 652, 656, 664, 668, 670-71, 672, 673, 675, 676, 677. *See also* Small clause.
Complementizers, 190, 370, 566, 567-71, 583, 584, 622, 636
Complement-taking expressions (CTEs), 160, 240, 267, 454,

478, 503, 570-80
Compounds: adjectives, 142-43, 146, 347; adverbs, 644, 647; gender and number, 51, 124-26, 318, 337; nouns, 21, 53, 84, 105, 110, 117-27, 206, 211, 341, 345, 354, 360, 650, 655; personal names, 38-39; place names, 44-45; universal determiners and pronouns, 370, 617; verb, 271
Concessive clauses, 159, 621-22
Concord: adjectives, 343-44, 348; copula, 457-59, 494, 508; demonstratives, 324; determiners, 90, 312, 319; diminutive, 349; genitive forms, 332, 335, 363, 398; **MAI** constructions, 351, 357; personal pronouns, 402-4; *wh*-elements, 513-17. *See also* Feminines, Plurals, Subject-agreement pronouns.
Concrete nouns, 34-35, 87, 100, 143, 180, 304, 306, 352
Conditional clauses, 608-21; concessive, 613-15; counterfactual-hypothetical, 611-13; generic conditional-concessive, 615-21; open, 158, 608-11
Conjoins. *See* Coordination.
Conjunctions, 163, 192, 359, 362, 391-93, 594-600, 627, 628, 629, 681, 683, 694
Conjuncts, 397, 400, 469, 594, 600, 622, 662, 678-79
Consonants, 5-9; abutting, 7, 24, 27, 28-29; clusters, 24; codas, 11, 24, 27, 28; coronals, 8, 9, 11, 25, 26, 27, 66, 71, 78, 81, 82, 98, 104, 108, 114, 128, 131, 137, 138; glottalized, 5-7, 23; obstruents, 9, 22, 24, 26-27, 689; sonorants, 24, 27, 689; word-final, 22-23, 340, 689
Contraction, 68, 165, 179, 194, 257, 294, 361, 629, 640
Coordination/coordinate: adjectives, 346, 355-56; adverbs, 647, 648, 649, 656, 658, 659, 665, 678; asymmetric, 393; asyndetic, 590, 598; clauses, 231, 526, 531, 550, 564, 592-604, 683, 697; ellipsis and substitution in, 329, 333, 601-3; noun phrases, 333, 346-47, 362, 384, 391-96, 514, 515, 683; numerals, 359; syndetic, 391-96; TAMs in clauses, 157, 166, 171, 183, 186, 191, 193, 197, 199, 204, 207
Copula, 15, 317, 348, 404, 457-63, 575, 580, 618; and *wh*-elements, 514, 515, 516, 517; in *yes-no* questions, 524; optionality, 361, 375, 384, 388, 461; position, 350, 456, 695. *See also* Focus.
Copular verbs, 237, 239, 418, 428
Copying (segmental): in derived nouns and adjectives, 98, 99, 131, 134, 137, 138, 141; in plurals, 64-65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74; in verbs, 229-30, 237. *See also* Reduplication.
Correlatives, 163, 189, 315, 321, 330, 391, 394-95, 526, 587, 598-99, 611, 613, 622, 624, 629, 634-35, 641-42
Count nouns, 31-32, 34, 40, 87,

306, 331, 342, 359, 363, 366, 367, 370, 376, 378, 519; non-count nouns, 33-34
Cowan, J Ronayne, 4

Dative verbs, 418, 429-30, 482
Daura (Hausa), 1, 2
Daura, Bello, 3
Days of the week, 46; gender of, 55
Definite determiner (DD), 13, 125, 310, 312, 315, 316-21, 328, 331, 334, 335, 338, 378, 393-94, 399, 468, 527, 528, 629, 667
Deixis/deictic: adverbs, 645-47; determiners/demonstratives, 312, 317, 324, 326, 516; function words, 409, 457, 468; pro-form, 603-4; tense-aspect, 154, 156, 161; verbs, 213, 242, 245, 252, 258, 407, 640
Demonstratives, 310, 316, 318, 323-31, 334, 399, 579, 657; as pronouns, 323-24, 329
Detensification: of adjectives ("X-ish"), 144-46; of adverbs, 657; of ANSQs ("X-ish"), 105-6, 146
Determiners, 310-41. *See also* Definite Determiner, Demonstratives, Genitive Constructions, Independent Pronouns, Specific Indefinite Determiner, Universals, *Wh*-words.
Deverbal nouns (DVNs), 85, 285, 294, 298, 300, 301, 303-9, 588-89, 590
Dialects, 2-3. *See also* Western Hausa.
Diminutives. *See* Adjectives, **ɗan**.
Diphthongs, 9-12, 49, 66, 276, 689, 691; nasal, 11
Direct object, 213, 218, 245, 255, 417, 420-23, 483, 500, 502, 534, 540, 542, 556, 558, 560, 574, 581, 590-91, 601-2. *See also* Pronouns.
Direct speech, 582-88
Disjuncts, 662, 678-79
Dissimilation, 72, 76, 409
Distributives, 361-62, 378-79, 383, 514, 515, 519, 657, 658-59. *See also* Quantifiers.
Ditransitive verbs, 417, 418, 420, 421-23
Dynamic (activity) nouns, 30-31, 35, 87, 144, 168, 171-72, 173-74, 353, 430-32, 434, 482, 550-52, 558, 560; non-dynamic nouns, 31, 32, 35, 87
ɗan ('son.of', etc.): adverbial downscaler, 665; diminutive premodifier, 134, 145, 345, 349, 368, 369; ethnonymn, profession, etc., 115-16, 118-19; in names, 38-39, 44; quantifier, 152, 417
ɗin (possessive), 340-41
ɗîn (anaphoric 'the one in question'), 321-23, 334, 399-400, 527

Eastern Hausa, 496n, 522n
Efferential (grade 5) verbs, 248-56, 268, 424, 433, 435, 486
Ellipsis, 329, 333, 346, 348-49, 421, 452, 459, 466, 470n, 569, 601-3, 629, 639, 654. *See also* Subject-agreement pronouns.

English: loans from, 7, 13-14, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 41, 45, 46, 50, 71, 75, 82, 83-84, 95, 123, 124, 337, 341
Epenthetic. *See* Vowels.
Epicene nouns, 53, 61
Epithets. *See* Names.
Equational sentences, 348, 361, 404, 457-64, 472-73, 522, 532, 613, 618, 695; focus in, 505-7. *See also* Negation.
Equatorial Africa, 1
Equivalence, 477
Ethnonyms, 113-16; as adjectives, 147; plurals, 44, 82-83, 342
Exclamations, 22, 462, 469, 486-92, 518, 539; derivative, 491-92; of contempt/dismissiveness, 488
Existential sentences, 177, 405, 409, 464-68, 532, 605, 606. *See also* Negation.
Experiencer, 230, 237, 265-66, 427, 431
Expletive pronouns, 188-89, 240, 462, 510, 571-74, 576-77, 580-82
Extraposition, 580-82

Factive verbs. *See* Verbs.
Feminines, 57-61, 92, 98, 99, 106, 108, 111, 114-15, 125, 131, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 141, 297, 301, 309, 325, 344, 391, 516, 649; derivational, 57-58; inflectional, 58-61. *See also* Gender.
Focus, 493-512; adverbs, 511-12, 665-66; clefts, 459, 462, 494-95, 500, 511, 514, 665-66; fronting, 494-96; in non-verbal constructions, 505-7; in situ, 496-98; negation and, 498-99; pseudo-clefts, 459, 507-8, 580; sentence-level, 508-11; syntactic function, 499-505; with copula, 462, 493-95, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 505, 506, 507, 508-10, 511, 638, 662, 665; with particles ('only', 'just', 'even', 'at least', etc.), 511-12. *See also* Focus TAMs.
Focus imperfective-1 (TAM), 173-75, 463, 471, 540, 634
Focus imperfective-2 (TAM), 175-78, 462, 469, 470, 532, 628, 638
Focus perfective (TAM), 161-64, 531, 595-96, 608-9, 612, 624, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634
Fulani, 1
Furniss, Graham, 4, 698
Future (TAM), 155, 193-97, 203, 204, 504, 563, 564-65, 572, 582, 596, 609, 610, 627, 629

Galadanci, M. K. M., 4
Games (terms for). *See* Nouns.
Geminates/gemination, 8, 26, 27, 28, 65, 66, 73, 74, 75, 79, 81, 99, 128, 131, 252, 281, 282, 380, 441, 651, 656. *See also* Assimilation.
Gender, 42, 43, 46, 48-61, 286, 501, 667. *See also* Compounds, Feminines.
Generic ('*wh*...ever') conditionals, 615-21
Generic reference, 313-14, 341-42, 374, 377, 383-84, 527-28, 530,

586, 610-11, 641-42
Genitive constructions, 332-41. *See also* Possessive constructions, Verbal nouns.
Genitive linker, 105, 109, 117, 125, 141, 142, 286, 290, 295, 297-98, 323, 324, 332-41, 344, 363-65, 381, 389, 410-13, 517, 519-20, 562, 563, 581, 607, 668, 674
Genitive prepositions. *See* Prepositions.
Geographical locations: gender of, 53-55
Ghana, 1
Givón, Talmy, 545
Glides, 5, 8, 9, 28, 58, 59, 60, 66, 70, 98, 108, 131, 239, 249, 257, 261, 297, 490
Glottalized consonants. *See* Consonants.
Gobir (Hausa), 1, 2
Gouffé, Claude, 191, 251, 293, 299
Grade 0, 219-22, 244, 249, 257, 261, 267-68; imperative, 222; verbal nouns, 294-96
Grade 1 (basic), 224-27, 235, 237, 246-47; applicative, 227-29, 242, 256, 269-74; imperative, 226; verbal nouns, 292-94
Grade 2 (basic), 230-35, 252, 270, 272; imperative, 234; partitive, 235, 242; verbal nouns, 297-301
Grade 3, 236-41, 272, 282; imperative, 238, 239; verbal nouns, 296-97
Grade 3a, 238
Grade 3b, 238-39
Grade 4, 242-48; imperative, 244; semantically degraded, 248; separative-deprivative, 245-46; totality-conclusive, 245; unaccusative, 246-47; verbal nouns, 292-94
Grade 5 (efferential), 248-56, 424; imperative, 250; **-shē** B-forms, 252; short forms, 250-51; verbal nouns, 292-94; with indirect objects, 255-56
Grade 6 (ventive-centripetal), 256-60; imperative, 258; verbal nouns, 292-94
Grade 7 (affected-subject), 260-67; actor/experiencer subject, 265-67; imperative, 262; patient subject (passive), 262-65; verbal nouns, 292-94
Greenberg, Joseph H., 2, 11
Greetings, 490-91
Grundaspekt, 165, 191

Habitual and negative habitual (TAM), 181-83
HAVE constructions, 151, 172, 176, 469, 470-71, 580-82; negative, 178, 179, 180-81, 469, 471, 580-82. *See also* Imperfective (TAM).
Herms, Irmtraud, 3
Hodge, Carleton T., 4
Hunter, Linda, 4
Hypocoristics. *See* Names.

Identificational sentences, 348, 404, 457-64, 575; focus in, 505-7. *See also* Equational sentences.
Ideophones, 689-97; function, 692-97; ideophonic sound/movement nouns, 106-7; in compounds,

120; structure and phonology, 7, 20, 21, 22, 689-92. *See also* Adjectives, Adverbs.
Igbo, 2
Imperative, 186, 435-51; in compound nouns, 122; L tone, 446; LH tone, 437-46; of 'come' and 'go', 451; of monosyllabic verbs, 446-51. *See also* individually numbered Grades.
Imperfective (TAM), 167-72, 469-73, 531, 537-38, 573, 576, 580-81, 595, 597, 609, 626-28, 652, 659
Impersonal subject pronoun, 207-11; oblique impersonal construction, 210-11
Implicative verbs, 545-61
Inalienable possession, 335n, 383, 460-61
Indirect object, 480-86; grade switching, 269-75; heavy NP, 485-86; with applicatives, 228-29; with grade 5 verbs, 255-56; with imperatives, 444-46. *See also* Dative verbs, Pre-indirect object D-suffix **-ař**.
Indirect speech, 582-88; commands, 587-88; questions, 584-87; statements, 583-84
Infinitives, 285, 288-89, 545. *See also* Implicative verbs, Non-Implicative verbs, Imperfective (TAM).
INFL. *See* Person-aspect-complex.
Instrumental nouns, 81, 111
Intensification: of adjectives, 141-42; of adverbs, 656. *See also* Pluractional verbs.
Interjections, 491
Intonation, 16-19; interrogatives, 18-19, 513, 525; statements, 16-18, 494n, 497, 537; with ideophones, 690
Intransitive copy pronoun (ICP), 198, 407, 451
Intransitive verbs, 213, 226-27, 239-40, 246-47, 258, 262-67, 417, 418, 425-28, 571-72, 582, 589-90. *See also* Verb grades.
Islam, 698

Jaggar, Philip J., 4, 261, 262, 314
Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, 4

Kano (Hausa), 1, 2, 3, 5, 27, 52, 198, 471, 484
Kanuri, 41
Katsina (Hausa), 1, 2, 52
Key raising. *See* Intonation.
Kirk-Greene, A. H. M., 4
Klingenheben's law, 24, 26-27, 67
Kraft, Charles H., 4
Kraft, Marguerite G., 4

Labialization, 7-8, 201
Languages. *See* Names.
Lawal, Ahmed Tijani, 3
Leben, William R., 4, 16, 57
Linguistic works, 3-4
Linker. *See* Genitive linker.
Loanwords. *See* Arabic, English.
Locative constructions, 172, 174, 176-77, 198-99, 227-28, 265, 417, 419, 469, 472, 496. *See also* Adverbs, Imperfective (TAM), Non-verbal clauses/sentences.
Locative nouns, 44, 80, 81, 111-12
Low tone raising (LTR), 21, 59n, 129

MAI (connective), 38, 39, 319, 350-55, 363, 367, 368, 460, 654; **MARAS** (negative), 110, 123, 352-53
Malka, Jean-Guy, 3
Manipulative verbs, 552-61, 565, 566-67, 588
Maradi (Hausa), 2, 258, 264
Matsushita, Shuji, 3
McIntyre, J. A., 3
Metathesis, 28-29, 72
Meyer-Bahlburg, Hilke, 3
Mijinguini, Abdou, 3
Mischlich, Adam, 3, 699
Miya, 159, 370, 497, 505, 545, 589, 616
Modal particles, 679-89; multiple occurrence, 685-86; position of, 152, 182, 194, 198, 417, 484, 526, 527, 598, 600, 603, 613, 620, 666, 686-89. *See also* Topicalization.
Möhlig, W. J. G., 4
Monophthongs, 11, 20, 23
Monosyllabic words, 13, 20, 82
Monoverbs (monosyllabic verbs). *See* Grade 0.
Months, 46; gender of, 55
Morphophonemics, 10, 24-25, 48, 175, 220, 221, 238, 239, 296, 297, 406, 409, 412, 441, 469, 484, 649
Muhammad, Liman, 3
Mutuality. *See* Nouns.

Names: books, newspapers, 47; epithets, 39, 101; everyday, 37-40; geographical, 21, 42-46; hypocoristics, 40-41; Islamic, 36-37; languages, 95; personal, 17, 21, 36-41, 319, 322, 341, 397; plurals of, 83, 116; temporal, 46-47. *See also* Gender.
Narrative, 158, 162-64, 169, 463, 469, 511, 594-96, 629, 694, 697
Negation: and complementation, 454-55, 557-58, 566, 576-77, 581, 584, 585; in conjoined sentences, 594, 599, 600; of entire sentences, 456, 510; of equational sentences, 459-60, 462, 506-7; of existential sentences, 315, 374-75, 395, 405, 466-68, 530, 648; of HAVE sentences, 178-81, 315, 469, 471; of verbal clauses, 152-54, 451-56, 636; with **kō**-*wh* expressions ('no(one), nothing, etc.'), 371, 374-75. *See also* Adverbs, Focus, Negative TAMs.
Negative allative (TAM), 197-200
Negative future (TAM), 193-95, 202
Negative habitual (TAM), 181-82
Negative imperfective (TAM), 178-81, 182, 263, 427, 471
Negative perfective (TAM), 165-67, 191, 626
Negative potential (TAM), 200-2
Negative subjunctive (TAM), 183-90, 566, 641
Neutral (TAM), 171, 183, 189, 191-93, 197, 199-200, 204, 207, 211, 593, 601, 609, 611, 613
Newman, Paul, 2, 3, 4, 11, 14, 28, 35, 57, 61, 108, 127, 156, 161, 169, 191, 210, 212-13, 218, 231, 252, 270, 281, 288, 297,

299, 316, 323, 406, 408, 437n, 447, 588, 674, 691
Newman, Roxana Ma, 2, 3, 4, 135, 173, 649
Niger, 1, 2, 699
Niger-Congo, 50
Nigeria, 1, 2, 698
Non-implicative verbs, 561-70; complement-taking, 569-70; of emotion, intention, attempt and command, 561-67; mental, 567-69
Non-specific pronouns ('so-and-so'), 390-91
Non-verbal clauses/sentences, 457-73, 605. *See also* Equational Sentences, Existential Sentences, Focus, Imperfective (TAM), Presentational Sentences.
'No one, nothing, etc.'. *See* Negation.
Nouns: classification, 30-47; common, 30-35; concrete vs. abstract, 34-35; derived, 91-131; deverbal, 303-9; games, 15, 102-3; gender of, 48-61; mutuality, 98-99; number (plurals), 61-90; politico-religious systems, 99-100; proper, 35-41; related characteristics, 100-2; simple, 48-90; sound/movement, 106-7. *See also* Abstract nouns of sensory quality (ANSQs), Agential nouns, Collective nouns, Compounds, Dynamic and Non-dynamic nouns, Epicene nouns, Ethnonymns, Instrumental nouns, Locative nouns, Reduplication.
Noun phrases: basic syntax of, 310-12
Null-subject, 148, 548, 572
Numerals, 358-67; cardinal, 358-63; dates and clock-times, 365-66; fractions, 365; gender of, 56; ordinal, 363-65; percentages and decimals, 366-67

Object. *See* Direct object, Indirect object.
Oblique impersonal construction. *See* Impersonal subject pronoun.
Olderogge, D. A., 3
Orthography, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 25n, 117, 152, 153-54, 295n, 324, 332, 408, 441, 514, 537, 616, 698-99. *See also* **àjàmi** (Arabic) script.

Palatal(ized) consonants, 5, 7-8
Palatalization, 8, 25-26, 66, 71, 78, 84, 98, 104, 108, 114, 131, 138, 200-1, 231, 252, 491, 651; depalatalization, 68, 80, 81, 137, 232, 488
Parataxis, 550, 595-96, 626-27
Parsons, F. W., 3, 4, 11, 61, 103, 106, 212-13, 217, 238, 252, 262, 297n, 452, 680
Partitive constructions, 316, 337, 338, 339, 340, 365, 368, 369, 371, 373, 379-80, 516, 517. *See also* Genitive constructions, Grade 2.
Passive, 262-65, 426-27, 653; medio-passive, 265-66. *See also* Affected-subject, Grade 7.
Past participles. *See* Adjectives.
Patient role. *See* Experiencer, Grade

7.
Pedagogical works, 3-4
Perfective (TAM), 155-60, 263, 271, 474, 537-38, 550, 559, 562, 564, 567, 571, 572, 608-9, 611, 623, 630, 631, 636, 693
Permissive constructions, 559-61
Person-aspect-complex (PAC), 148-49, 152, 415-17, 686-87
Phonology, 5-29. *See also* Gemination, Metathesis, Palatalization, Phonotactics, Rhotacization, Sonorization.
Phonotactics, 20-23, 136, 252, 689
Phrasal verbs, 430-32, 434-35, 477, 479, 482, 486, 562, 563, 565-66, 572-73, 589, 697
Pied-piping, 435, 483, 501, 521, 535, 536
Pitch. *See* Intonation.
Pluractional verbs, 237, 279-84, 651; imperative, 448-49
Plurals (nouns and adjectives), 61-90; alternative, 88; homophonous, 89; of plurals, 88-89; zero, 90. *See also* Copying, Reduplication, Repetitive-frequentatives.
Politico-religious systems. *See* Nouns.
Possessive constructions: 332, 336-38, 382, 409, 460-61, 465, 499-500, 507, 521, 533, 535-36, 541; with **d'in**, 340-41. *See also* HAVE constructions, **MAI**.
Possessive pronouns: bound, 314, 316, 335-40, 373, 378, 381, 389, 393-94, 411-13, 634-35; free, 15, 314, 320, 333-34, 382-83, 394, 410-11, 688
Potential (TAM), 200-4, 263, 504, 531, 608-9, 611, 615
Prayer times: gender of, 55
Preference clauses, 641-42
Prefixation: nouns, 91, 107-16; verbs (*see* Pluractional verbs)
Pre-indirect object D-suffix **-ař**, 215, 233, 240-41, 261, 269-75, 422, 445
Prepositional phrases, 256, 465-66, 476-77, 483, 485, 496, 501, 517, 536, 571, 579, 637, 647-49, 663, 667-68; as nonfinite VPs, 605, 635-36; as NP postmodifiers, 356, 660, 673; comitative-instrumental, 120-21, 134, 135, 141, 387-88; locative, 174, 264, 349-50, 460, 472; manner, 652; negation of, 677; reason, 666. *See also* HAVE constructions, Sociative verbs.
Prepositions, 501, 620, 667-68; approximating, 360; comitative-instrumental, 367, 387, 391, 393, 507, 536, 652, 673-74; complex, 190, 363, 405, 538, 668, 673-74; core, 176, 373, 395, 405, 483, 521, 535, 649, 652, 653, 668; degree, 589, 625; genitive, 339-40, 395, 502, 535, 649, 668, 674-77; locative, 501, 671-72, 673-74; manner, 673-74; simple, 668-73; stranding, 470, 501, 521, 541; temporal, 626, 630, 632, 633, 673-74. *See also* HAVE constructions, Pied-piping, Sociative verbs.
Presentational/presentative sentences, 177, 407, 468-69,

532
Pro-drop, 415
Professions, 95-96, 97, 118. *See also* Ethnonymns.
Pro-form **hakà** 'so, thus, this, etc.', 57, 579, 600, 603-4, 678
Prohibitives, 559-61. *See also* Negative subjunctive.
Pronouns (non-personal). *See* Demonstratives, Expletive pronouns, Non-specific pronouns ('so-and-so'), Relative pronouns, Specific indefinite determiner, Quantifiers, *Wh*-words.
Pronouns (personal), 401-13; direct object (strong), 150n, 179, 224, 243, 255, 406-7, 466, 471, 468; direct object (weak), 220, 231, 252, 257, 407-9, 464-65, 469, 673; independent, 134, 135, 139, 141, 250, (as determiners) 330-32, 341, 347, 360, 361, 378, 385-86, 387, 388, 393, 397-98, 399-400, 404-6, 416, 462, 465, 466, 467, 496, 504, 506, 507, 508, 510, 515, 527, 544, 673, 674, 676, 688, 695-96; indirect object, 256, 409-10, 432-33, 480, 488; resumptive, 384-85, 435, 470, 483, 499, 501-2, 520-21, 533-36, 540-41, 601-3, 653. *See also* Impersonal subject pronoun, Intransitive copy pronoun, Possessive pronouns, Reciprocals, Reflexives, Relative pronouns, Subject-agreement pronouns.
Pro-relative (TAM), 177, 532-33, 638
Pro-verb **yi** 'do', 502-3, 550, 565, 580; with **hakà** 'so, thus, etc.', 604
Pseudo-clefts. *See* Focus.
Psych-verbs, 431-32
Purpose-intention clauses, 190, 500, 640-41

Quantifiers: multal 'many' and paucal 'few', 33, 367-69, 479; universal (collective, distributive), 32, 33, 339, 370-81, 688. *See also* Comparison, **d'an**.
Questions, 512-26; alternative, 526, 683; indirect, 454, 584-87, 616; negative, 452; q-morpheme, 18-19, 513, 515, 524; *wh-* 166, 176, 182, 192, 493, 494, 495, 505, 513-20; *yes-no*, 150, 466, 495, 505, 523-25, 576-77. *See also* Intonation, Rhetorical *wh*-expressions, *Wh*-words.
'Quick' construction, 582

Raising (subject-to-object), 553-54, 559, 560, 568-69
Randell, Richard, 4
Reason clauses, 530, 636-39, 666, 683
Reciprocals, 207, 265, 389-90, 413. *See also* Grade 7.
Reduplication (full and partial): adjectives, 133, 134, 136, 137, 140-41, 143-46; adverbs, 519, 644, 656-57, 694; ideophones, 691-92; nouns, 107, (frozen) 127-31, (plurals) 64-65, 69, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83-86; verbs, 277 (*see* Pluractional

verbs). *See also* Copying, Detensification, Intensification.
Reflexives: basic, 381-85, 413; emphatic, 334, 385-89, 416
Related characteristics. *See* Nouns.
Relative clauses: nonrestrictive, 536-38; restrictive, 177, 315, 319, 320, 372, 374-75, 377, 378, 395, 460, 462, 467, 469, 507, 526-36, 556, 586, 620-21, 628-29, 638, 639, 654, 689
Relative pronouns, 13, 374, 377, 395, 507, 528-30, 537, 586, 620
Relativizer, 13, 163, 320-21, 323, 526, 527, 528, 532, 629, 662, 689; as complementizer, 569-70
Repetitive-frequentatives (plurals), 84-87
Reported speech. *See* Indirect speech.
Rhetorical (TAM), 204-7, 615
Rhetorical *wh*-expressions, 515, 518, 559
Rhotacization, 8-9, 27-28, 77, 128, 184, 281, 353, 408, 409, 651, 656
Right dislocation. *See* Afterthought.
Robinson, Charles H., 3
Roman script, 698-99

Sa'id, Bello, 3
Schön, James Frederick, 3
Schuh, Russell G., 4, 159, 317, 335n, 370, 497, 505, 545, 589, 616
Schwa-verbs, 218n, 232, 239
Semi-vowels. *See* Glides.
Sentence: emphasis, 508-11; non-verbal, 469-73; simple verbal, 414-20. *See also* Complement(ation), Coordination, Equational, Existential, Focus, Imperative, Negation, Presentational, Questions, Topicalization.
Separative-deprivative. *See* Grade 4.
Skinner, Neil, 3, 4
Small clause (complement), 418, 473, 567, 569
Sociative verbs, 213, 227, 241, 248, 262, 266, 267, 393, 425, 432-35, 440, 546, 563, 688, 697
Sokoto (Hausa), 1, 2
Sonorization. *See* Syllables.
Specific indefinite determiner (SID), 310, 312-16, 321, 338, 378, 527-28; as pronoun, 315-16
Standard Hausa. *See* Kano Hausa.
Statives, 172, 174, 176-77, 283, 353, 354, 363, 434, 472, 564, 651-56, 672, 673
Stative verbs, 159-60, 428, 474, 561-62, 564, 567, 571
Strong verbal nouns. *See* Verbal nouns.
Subject, 148-49, 313, 374, 395, 404, 407, 415-17, 465, 471, 493, 521, 523, 534, 571, 574, 581, 582, 601, 603, 634, 639, 640, 652-53, 697. *See also* Actor-subject, Affected-subject, Comparison, Equational sentences, Focus, Implicative verbs, Non-implicative verbs, Reflexives.
Subject-agreement pronouns

(SAPs), 15, 17, 148, 150, 223, 319, 366, 399, 416, 471, 532, 534, 540; deletion of, 168, 170, 171, 174-75, 183, 205-6, 540, 595. *See also* Expletive pronouns, Impersonal subject pronouns, individual TAMs.
Subjunctive (TAM), 183-90, 191, 196, 208, 240, 436, 478, 508, 599; following complement-taking expressions, 570-80; in compound nouns, 122; in extraposed constructions, 580-81; in subordinate clauses, 623, 625, 640, 641-42; with implicative verbs, 552, 554-55, 559-560; with non-implicative verbs, 561-67
Subjuncts, 511-12
Subordinate clauses, 453, 587, 604-42; finite, nonfinite and nonverbal, 605-6. *See also* Concessive, Conditional, Preference, Purpose-intention, Reason, Temporal clauses, individual TAMs.
Subordinators, 159, 163, 177, 188-89, 190, 207, 381, 479-80, 531, 575, 606-8. *See also* Subordinate clauses.
Sudan (Blue Nile Province), 1
Suffixation. *See* Tone-integrating suffixes, Verbalizer **-TA**.
Superlative. *See* Comparison.
Syllables: reduplication, 127-31, 134, 138, 140, 691; structure, 23-25, 57, 691; syllable-final sonorization, 26-28; tone on, 12-14, 215, 217, 236, 238, 239
Syllable weight, 24-25, 60, 104, 109, 115, 135, 136, 138, 250, 252, 275, 277-78; and tone, 25, 243, 293, 406; polarity, 65, 78, 106, 107, 140, 278, 282, 284, 692. *See also* Plurals.
Syncope, 128, 244, 656

Tags, 344, 400, 495, 524-25
Temporal clauses, 623-36; 'after', 'when', 'as soon as', 'since', '(not) until', 159, 209, 511, 609, 628-36; 'until', 'before', 189, 623-26; 'when', 'while/as', 'as long as', 626-28
Tense/aspect/mood (TAM), 148-55. *See also* Allative, Focus Imperfective, Focus Perfective, Imperfective, Future, Habitual, Neutral, Perfective, Potential, Rhetorical, Subjunctive (TAMs), Subject-agreement pronouns, Subordinate clauses.
Texts, 704-14
Times of the day, 366; gender of, 55
Titles, 39, 41-42
Togo, 1
Tone, 12-15; floating, 12, 18-19, 293, 317, 513, 527; in imperatives, 437-51; object pronouns, 406-9; polarity, 15, 149, 168, 173, 175, 181, 200, 205, 410, 458, 676; simplification, 13, 14, 232, 321; verb grades, 212-13, 215-17. *See also* Intonation, Low tone raising, Person-aspect-complex, Subject-agreement pronouns, Syllable weight, Tone-integrating suffixes.

Tone-integrating suffixes, 14-15. *See also* Abstract nouns, Adjectives (derived), Adverbs (denominal), Exclamations (derived), Feminines, Nouns (derived), Plurals, Statives, Verb grades (secondary).
Topicalization, 318, 330, 404, 416, 465, 538-44, 654; and complementation, 577, 579; multiple, 543; of reflexives, 386; of verb phrases, 541-42; with focus, 504, 543
Totality-conclusive. *See* Grade 4.
'Tough movement'. *See* Extraposition.
Transitive verbs, 417, 419, 420-24, 427-28, 546, 561, 573-75, 590-91. *See also* Applicative verbs, Ditransitive verbs, Verb grades.
Transitive/intransitive verbs, 427
Tripoli, 1

Umaru, Ibrahim, 4
Unaccusatives, 242, 246-47, 426. *See also* Grade 4.
Unit measures, 362-63
Universals. *See* Quantifiers.

Valency, 241, 253, 262, 433
Ventive-centripetal. *See* Grade 6.
Verbalizer -**TA**, 225, 233, 237, 275-79, 652
Verbal nouns, 151, 285-88, 289-303, 339, 503, 581, 634-36; strong, 290-91, 294-301; weak, 290-91, 292-94. *See also* Cognate complements, Implicative verbs, Non-implicative verbs, Imperfective (TAM).
Verbal sentences, 150-52, 414-20, *See also* Negation.
Verb grades, 212-15; A/B/C/D-forms, 213; final vowel length, 217-19; irregular verbs, 222-23, 233; primary, 219; secondary, 241-42; stacking, 267-69; switching (before indirect objects) 269-75; tones, 215-17. *See also* individually numbered Grades.
Verbs: citation form, 213, 217-19; emotion, intention, attempt and command, 561-67, 587-88; factive, 548, 552-58, 567; mental, 567-69; reporting, 583; syntactic classification/subcategorization, 420-35; weather-verbs, 432, 550. *See also* Applicative, Change-of-state, Complement-taking expressions, Copular, Dative, Ditransitive, Efferential, Imperative, Implicative, Intransitive, Non-implicative, Manipulative, Phrasal, Pluractional, Pro-verb, Psych-verbs, Sociative, Stative, Transitive, Verbalizer -**TA**,Verb Grades.
Verb phrase, 415, 417-20, 573. *See also* Negation.
Vowel-class/extension system, 212-13
Vowel length, 9, 10-11, 12; and tone, 238, 243; half-long (indeterminate), 10, 257, 412; word-final, 20-22, 37. *See also* Compounds (nouns), Intonation,

Low tone raising, Syllable weight (polarity), Verb grades.
Vowels, 9-12; epenthetic, 24, 323, 337-38. *See also* Apocopation, Gender, Syncope.

Weak verbal nouns. *See* Verbal nouns.
Western Hausa (WH), 7, 22n, 27, 28n, 29, 70, 73, 75, 81, 82, 89, 115, 173, 179, 200, 222, 251, 268, 271, 293n, 326n, 337, 372n, 412
Wh-words, 487-88, 513-20, 530; as clefts, 514; in situ, 522-23; movement of, 520-22, 556, 577-78. *See also* Generic ('*wh*...ever') conditionals, Indirect questions, Quantifiers (universal), Questions.
Wolff, H. Ekkehard, 3, 4, 191
Word structure. *See* Phonotactics.
Writing systems, 698-714. *See also* Orthography.

Yalwa, Lawan D., 4
Yoruba, 2, 71

Zaria (Hausa), 1, 2
Zaria, Ahmadu Bello, 3
Zima, Petr, 3